

THE
First and second
volumes of Chronicles,
compriſing

1 The deſcription and hiſtorie of England,
2 The deſcription and hiſtorie of Ireland,
3 The deſcription and hiſtorie of Scotland:

First collected and publiſhed by Raphaell Holinſhed, William Harriſon, and others:

Now newlie augmented and continued (with) manifold matters of ſingular note and worthie memorie) to the yeare 1586. by Iohn Hooker *alias* Vowell Gent. and others.

With conuenient tables at the end of theſe volumes.

Hiſtoriæ placeant noſtrates ac peregrinæ

¶ The names of the Authors from whome this *Historie of England is collected.*

A.

Aelius Spartianus.
Aelius Lampridius.
Asserius Meneuensis.
Alfridus Beuerlacensis.
Aeneas Syluius Senensis.
Auentinus.
Adam Merimouth with additions.
Antoninus Archiepiscopus Florentinus.
Albertus Crantz. *Alexander Neuill.*
Arnoldus Ferronius.
Annius Viterbiensis.
Amianus Marcellinus.
Alliances genealogiques des Roys & Princes de France.
Annales D. Aquitaine per Iean Bouchet.
Annales de Bourgoigne per Guilamme Paradin.
Annales de France per Nicol Giles.
Annales rerum Flandricarum per Jacobum Meir.
Antonius Sabellicus.
Antonius Nebricensis. *Aurea Historia.*

B.

Biblia Sacra. *Beda venerabilis.*
Berosus. *Brian Tuke knight.*
Blondus Forliuiensis.
Berdmondsey, a Register booke belonging to that house.

C.

Cæsars Commentaries.
Cornelius Tacitus.
Chronica Chronicorum.
Chronica de Dunstable, a booke of Annales belonging to the Abbey there.
Chronicon Io. Tilij.
Chronica de Eyton, an historie belonging to that colledge, although compiled by some Northernman, as some suppose named Otherborne.
Chronicles of S. Albon.
Chronica de Abingdon, a booke of Annales belonging to that house.
Chronica de Teukesburie.
Claudianus.
Chronicon Genebrard.
Chroniques de Normandie.
Chroniques de Britaine.
Chroniques de Flanders published by Denis Sauage.
Continuation de Historie and Chroniques de Flanders by the same Sauage.
Couper. *Cuspinianus.*
Chronica Sancti Albani.
Caxtons Chronicles.
Carion with additions.
Crockesden, a Register booke belonging to an house of that name in Staffordshire.

D.

Diodorus Siculus.
Dion Cassius.
Dominicus Marius Niger.

E.

Edmerus.
Eusebius. *Eutropius.*
Encomium Emmæ, an old Pamphlet written to hir, conteining much good matter for the vnderstanding of the state of this realme in hir time, wherein hir praise is not pretermitted, and so hath obteined by reason thereof that title.
Enguerant de Monstrellet.
Eulogium.
Edmund Campian.

F.

Fabian. *Froissart.*
Franciscus Tarapha.
Franciscus Petrarcha.
Flauius Vopiscus Siracusanus.
Floriacensis Vigorinensis.

G.

Viciardini Francisco.
Guiciardini Ludouico.
Gildas Sapiens.
Galfridus Monemutensis, aliàs Geffrey of Monmouth.
Giraldus Cambrensis.
Guilielmus Malmesburiensis.
Galfridus Vinsauf.
Guilielmus Nouoburgensis.
Guilielmus Thorne.
Gualterus Hemmingford, aliàs Gisburnensis.
Geruasius Dorobernensis.
Geruasius Tilberiensis.
Guilielmus Gemeticensis de ducibus Normaniæ.
Guilielmus Rishanger.
Guilielmus Lambert. *Georgius Lillie.*
Guilamme Paradin.

The Authors names.

H.

Higinus.
Henricus Huntingtonenſis.
Henricus Leiceſtrenſis.
Hector Boece. *Hiſtorie Daniou.*
Hiſtoria Eccleſiaſtica Magdeburgenſis.
Henricus Mutius.
Hiſtoria quadripartita ſeu quadrilogium.
Hardings Chronicle.
Halles Chronicle. *Henricus Bradſhaw.*
Henricus Marleburgenſis.
Herodianus. *Humfrey Luyd.*

I.

Iohannes Bale.
Iohannes Leland.
Iacobus Philippus Bergomas.
Iulius Capitolinus. *Iulius Solinus.*
Iohannes Pike with additions.
Iohannes Funcſtius.
Iohn Price knight. *Iohannes Textor.*
Iohannes Bodinus. *Iohannes Sleidan.*
Iohannes Euerſden a Monke of Berry.
Iohannes or rather Giouan villani a Florentine.
Iohannes Baptiſta Egnatius.
Iohannes Capgraue.
Iohannes Fourden. *Iohannes Caius.*
Iacob de Voragine Biſhop of Nebio.
Iean de Bauge a Frenchman wrote a pamphlet of the warres in Scotland, during the time that Monſieur de Deſſe remained there.
Iohn Fox. *Iohannes Maior.*
Iohn Stow, by whoſe diligent collected ſummarie, I haue beene not onelie aided, but alſo by diuers rare monuments, ancient writers, and neceſſarie regiſter bookes of his, which he hath lent me out of his own Librarie. *Ioſephus.*

L.

Liber conſtitutionum London.
Lucan. *Lælius Giraldus.*

M.

Marianus Scotus. *Matthæus Paris.*
Matthæus Weſtmonaſter. aliàs Flores hiſtoriarum.
Martin du Bellay, aliàs Monſ. de Langey.
Mamertinus in Panegyricis.
Memoires de la Marche.

N.

Nicephorus. *Nennius.*
Nicholaus Treuet with additions.

O.

Roſius Dorobernenſis.
Oſbernus Dorobernenſis.
Otho Phriſingenſis.

P.

Auſanias. *Paulus Diaconus.*
Paulus Aemilius.
Ponticus Virunius. *Pomponius Lætus.*
Philip de Cumeins, aliàs M. de Argenton.
Polydor Virgil. *Paulus Iouius.*
Platina. *Philippus Melanchthon.*
Peucerus. *Pomponius Mela.*

R.

Rogerus Houeden.
Ranulfus Higeden, aliàs Ceſtrenſis the author of Polychronicon.
Radulfus Cogheſhall. *Radulfus Niger.*
Regiſter of the Garter.
Records of Battell Abbey.
Richardus Southwell. *Robert Greene.*
Radulfus de Diceto. *Robert Gaguin.*
Rodericus Archiepiſcopus Toletanus.
Records and rolles diuerſe.

S.

Strabo. *Suetonius.*
Sigebertus Gemblacenſis.
Sidon Appollinaris. *Simon Dunelmenſis.*
Sextus Aurelius Victor.

T.

Rebellius Pollio.
Thomas More knight.
Thomas Spot. *Thomas Walſingham.*
Titus Liuius de Foroliuiſys de vita Henrici. 5. *Titus Liuius Patauienſis.*
Thomas Lanquet. *Thomas Couper.*
Taxtor a Monke of Berry. *Theuet.*
Thomas de la More. *Tripartita Hiſtoria.*

V.

Vlcatius Gallicanus.
Volfgangus Lazius.

W.

Whethamſted, a learned man, ſometime Abbat of Saint Albons a Chronicler.
William Harriſon.
William Patten of the expedition into Scotland. 1574.
William Proctor of Wiats rebellion.

Beſides theſe, diuers other bookes and treatiſes of hiſtoricall matter I haue ſeene and peruſed, the names of the authors being vtterlie vnknowne.

FINIS.

To the Right Honorable, and his ſingular good

Lord and Maiſter, S. William Brooke Knight, Lord Warden of
the cinque Ports, and Baron of Cobham, all increaſe of the feare
and knowledge of God, firme obedience toward his Prince,
infallible loue to the common wealth, and commendable
renowme here in this world, and in the world to come
life euerlaſting.

HAuing had iuſt occaſion, Right Honorable, to remaine in London, during the time of Trinitie terme laſt paſſed, and being earneſtlie required of diuers my freends, to ſet downe ſome breefe diſcourſe of parcell of thoſe things, which I had obſerued in the reading of ſuch manifold antiquities as I had peruſed toward the furniture of a Chronologie, which I haue yet in hand; I was at the firſt verie loth to yeeld to their deſires: firſt, for that I thought my ſelfe vnable for want of skill and iudgment, ſo ſuddenlie & with ſo haſtie ſpeed to take ſuch a charge vpon me: ſecondlie, bicauſe the dealing therein might prœue an hinderance and impechment vnto mine owne Treatiſe: and finallie, for that I had giuen ouer all earneſt ſtudie of hiſtories, as iudging the time ſpent about the ſame, to be an hinderance vnto my more neceſſarie dealings in that vocation & function wherevnto I am called in the miniſterie. But when they were ſo importunate with me, that no reaſonable excuſe could ſerue to put by this trauell, I condeſcended at the length vnto their yrkeſome ſute, promiſing that I would ſpend ſuch void time as I had to ſpare, whileſt I ſhould be inforced to tarie in the citie, vpon ſome thing or other that ſhould ſatisfie their requeſt; and ſtand in lieu of a deſcription of my Countrie. For their parts alſo they aſſured me of ſuch helps as they could purchaſe: and thus with hope of good, although no gaie ſucceſſe, I went in hand withall, then almoſt as one leaning altogither vnto memorie, ſith my books and I were parted by fourtie miles in ſunder. In this order alſo I ſpent a part of Michaelmas and Hilarie termes inſuing, being inforced thereto I ſay by other buſineſſes which compelled me to keepe in the citie, and abſent my ſelfe from my charge, though in the meane ſeaſon I had ſome repaire vnto my poore librarie, but not ſo great as the dignitie of the matter required, and yet far greater than the Printers haſt would ſuffer. One helpe, and none of the ſmalleſt that I obtained herein, was by ſuch commentaries as *Leland* had ſomtime collected of the ſtate of Britaine, books vtterlie mangled, defaced with wet and weather, and finallie vnperfect through want of ſundrie volumes: ſecondlie, I gat ſome knowledge of things by letters and pamphlets, from ſundrie places & ſhires of England, but ſo diſcordant now and then amongſt themſelues, eſpeciallie in the names and courſes of riuers and ſituation of townes, that I had oft greater trouble to reconcile them one with an other, than orderlie to pen the whole diſcourſe of ſuch points as they contained: the third aid did grow by conference with diuers, either at the table or ſecretlie alone, wherein I marked in what things the talkers did agree, and wherin they impugned ech other, chooſing in the end the former, and reiecting the later, as one deſirous to ſet foorth the truth abſolutelie, or ſuch things in deed as were moſt likelie to be true. The laſt comfort aroſe by mine owne reading of ſuch writers as haue heretofore made mention of the condition of our countrie, in ſpeaking wherof, if I ſhould make account of the ſucceſſe, & extraordinarie cõming by ſundrie treatiſes not ſuppoſed to be extant, I ſhould but ſeeme to pronounce more than may well be ſaid with modeſtie, & ſay farder of my ſelfe than this Treatiſe can beare witnes of. Howbeit,

I re-

I refer not this ſucceſſe wholie vnto my purpoſe about this Deſcription, but rather giue notice thereof to come to paſſe in the penning of my Chronologie, whoſe rums as it were fell out verie well in the framing of this Pamphlet. In the proceſſe therefore of this Booke, if your Honor regard the ſubſtance of that which is here declared, I muſt needs confeſſe that it is none of mine owne: but if your Lordſhip haue conſideration of the barbarous compoſition ſhewed herein, that I may boldlie claime and challenge for mine owne, ſith there is no man of any ſo ſlender skill, that will defraud me of that reproch, which is due vnto me for the meere negligence, diſorder, and euill diſpoſition of matter comprehended in the ſame. Certes I proteſt before God and your Honour, that I neuer made any choiſe of ſtile, or words, neither regarded to handle this Treatiſe in ſuch preciſe order and method as manie other would haue done, thinking it ſufficient, truelie and plainelie to ſet foorth ſuch things as I minded to intreat of, rather than with vaine affectation of eloquence to paint out a rotten ſepulchre; a thing neither commendable in a writer, nor profitable to the reader. How other affaires troubled me in the writing hereof manie know, and peraduenture the ſlackneſſe ſhewed herein can better teſtifie: but howſoeuer it be done, & whatſoeuer I haue done, I haue had an eſpeciall eye vnto the truth of things, and for the reſt, I hope that this foule frizeled Treatiſe of mine will prooue a ſpur to others better learned, more skilfull in Chorographie, and of greater iudgement in choiſe of matter to handle the ſelfe ſame argument, if in my life time I doo not peruſe it againe. It is poſſible alſo that your Honour will miſlike hereof, for that I haue not by mine owne trauell and eyſight viewed ſuch things as I doo here intreat of. In deed I muſt needs confeſſe, that vntill now of late, except it were from the pariſh where I dwell, vnto your Honour in Kent; or out of London where I was borne, vnto Oxford & Cambridge where I haue bene brought vp, I neuer trauelled 40. miles foorthright and at one iourney in all my life; neuertheleſſe in my report of theſe things, I vſe their authorities, who either haue performed in their perſons, or left in writing vpon ſufficient ground (as I ſaid before) whatſoeuer is wanting in mine. It may be in like ſort that your Honour will take offenſe at my raſh and retchleſſe behauiour vſed in the compoſition of this volume, and much more that being ſcambled vp after this maner, I dare preſume to make tendour of the protection therof vnto your Lordſhips hands. But when I conſider the ſingular affection that your Honour dooth beare to thoſe that in any wiſe will trauell to ſet foorth ſuch profitable things as lie hidden, and therevnto doo weigh on mine owne behalfe my bounden dutie and gratefull mind to ſuch a one as hath ſo manie and ſundrie waies benefited me that otherwiſe can make no recompenſe, I can not but cut off all ſuch occaſion of doubt, and therevpon exhibit it, ſuch as it is, and ſo penned as it is, vnto your Lordſhips tuition, vnto whome if it may ſeeme in anie wiſe acceptable, I haue my whole deſire. And as I am the firſt that (notwithſtanding the great repugnancie to be ſeene among our writers) hath taken vpon him ſo particularlie to deſcribe this Ile of Britaine; ſo I hope the learned and godlie will beare withall, & reforme with charitie where I doo tread amiſſe. As for the curious, and ſuch as can rather euill fauouredlie eſpie than skilfullie correct an error, and ſooner carpe at another mans doings than publiſh any thing of their owne, (keeping themſelues cloſe with an obſcure admiration of learning & knowledge among the common ſort) I force not what they ſaie hereof: for whether it doo pleaſe or diſpleaſe them, all is one to me, ſith I referre my whole trauell in the gratification of your Honour, and ſuch as are of experience to conſider of my trauell, and the large ſcope of things purpoſed in this Treatiſe, of whome my ſeruice in this behalfe may be taken in good part, that I will repute for my full recompenſe, and large guerdon of my labours. The Almightie God preſerue your Lordſhip in continuall health, wealth, and proſperitie, with my good Ladie your wife, your Honours children, (whom God hath indued with a ſingular towardneſſe vnto all vertue and learning) and the reſt of your reformed familie, vnto whom I wiſh farder increaſe of his holie ſpirit, vnderſtanding of his word, augmentation of honor, and continuance of zeale to follow his commandements.

Your Lordships humble ſeruant
and houſhold Chaplein. W. H.

A Table of ſuch Chapiters as are conteined *in the firſt booke of this Deſcription.*

1 Of the diuiſion of the whole earth.
2 Of the poſition, circuit, forme, and quantitie of the Ile of Britaine.
3 Of the ancient denominations of this Iland.
4 What ſundrie nations haue dwelled in Albion.
5 Whether it be likelie that anie giants were, and whether they inhabited in this Ile or not.
6 Of the languages ſpoken in this Iland.
7 Into how manie kingdoms this Iland hath beene diuided.
8 The names of ſuch kings and princes as haue reigned in this Iland.
9 Of the ancient religion vſed in Albion.
10 Of ſuch Ilands as are to be ſeene vpon the coaſts of Britaine.
11 Of riuers, and firſt of the Thames, and ſuch riuers as fall into it.
12 Of ſuch ſtreames as fall into the ſea, betweene the Thames and the mouth of Sauerne.
13 The deſcription of the Sauerne, and ſuch waters as diſcharge themſelues into the ſame.
14 Of ſuch waters as fall into the ſea in compaſſe of the Iland, betweene the Sauerne and the Humber.
15 The deſcription of the Humber or Iſis, and ſuch water-courſes as doo increaſe hir chanell.
16 Of ſuch fals of waters as ioine with the ſea, betweene Humber and the Thames.
17 Of ſuch ports and creeks as our ſea-faring-men doo note for their benefit vpon the coaſts of England.
18 Of the aire, ſoile, and commodities of this Iland.
19 Of the foure high waies ſometime made in Britaine by the princes of this Iland.
20 Of the generall conſtitution of the bodies of the Britons.
21 How Britaine at the firſt grew to be diuided into three portions.
22 After what maner the ſouereigntie of this Ile dooth remaine to the princes of Lhoegres or kings of England.
23 Of the wall ſometime builded for a partition betweene England and the Picts and Scots.
24 Of the maruels of England.

REGVM ANGLIÆ SERIES
& catalogus.

Wil. Conqu.
Wil. Rufus.
Henricus 1.
Stephanus.
Henricus 2.
Richardus 1.
Ioannes.
Henricus 3.
Eduardus 1.
Eduardus 2.
Eduardus 3.
Richardus 2.
Henricus 4.
Henricus 5.
Henricus 6.
Eduardus 4.
Eduardus 5.
Richardus 3.
Henricus 7.
Henricus 8.
Eduardus 6.
Phil. & Mar.
Eliſabeth.

CONqueſtor, Rufus, prior Henricus, Stephanúſque,
Alter & Henricus, Leonino corde Richardus,
Rex & Ioannes, Henricus tertius inde:
Eduardus primus, Gnatúſque, Nepóſque ſequuntur:
His infœlicem Richardum iunge ſecundum:
Henricus quartus ſoboles Gandaui Ioannis,
Præcedit Gnato quinto, ſextóque Nepoti:
Eduardus quartus, quintus, homicida Richardus,
Septimi & Henricus octauus clara propago:
Eduardus ſextus, regina Maria, Philippus:
Eliſabeth longos regnet victura per annos,
Seráque promiſſo fœlix potiatur olympo.

CARMEN CHRONOLOGICON
Thomæ Newtoni Ceſtreſhyrij.

GRamine, fluminibus, grege, principe, fruge, metallis,
Lacte, feris, armis, vrbibus, arte, foris,
Quæ viget ac floret generoſa Britannia, quæque,
Obruta puluereo ſqualluit ante ſitu:
Exerit ecce caput, genuinum nacta nitorem,
Et rutilum emittit cum grauitate iubar.
Et quod blæſa hominum mutilarat tempore lingua,
Illud habet rectum pumice terſa nouo.

Loydus.
Lelandus.
Priſius.
Stous.
Holinſhedius.
Lambardus.
Morus.
Camdenus.
Thinnius.
Hallus.
Vocalis aliâs
Hookerus.
Graftonus.
Foxius.
Harriſonus.
Hardingus.
Gildas.
Staniherſtus.
Beda.
Neuillus.
Flemingus.
Parkerus.

Loydus in hac pridem gnauus proluſit arena,
Lelandus, Priſius, Stous, Holinſhedius,
Lambardus, Morus, Camdenus, Thinnius, Hallus,
Vocalis, Grafton, Foxius, Harriſonus,
Hardingus, Gildas, Staniherſtus, Beda, Neuillus,
Doctáque Flemingi lima poliuit opus:
Nec te cane ſenex, magne ô Parkere, ſilebo,
Cui decus attulerat pontificalis apex.
Omnibus his meritò eſt laus debita & optima merces,
Quòd patriæ accendant lumina clara ſuæ.
Longa dies opus hoc peperit, longæua ſenectus,
Et libri authores perbeet, atque librum.

An Historicall descriptiõ of the Iland of Britaine, with a briefe reherſall of the nature and qualities of the people of England, and ſuch commodities as are to be found in the ſame. Comprehended in three bookes, and written by W. H.

Of the diuiſion of the whole earth.

Chapter. 1.

WE read that the earth hath bæne diuided into thræe parts, euen ſithens the generall floud. And the common opinion is, that Noah limited and beſtowed it vpon his thræe ſons, Iaphet, Cham, and Sem, preſerued with him in the Arke, giuing vnto each of them ſuch portions thereof as to him ſæmed good, and neuertheleſſe reteining the ſouereigntie of the whole ſtill vnto himſelfe: albeit as yet it be left vncertaine how thoſe ſeuerall parts were bounded, and from whome they tooke ſuch names as in our times are attributed to each of them. Certes the words, Aſia, Europa, and Africa, are denominations giuen but of late (to ſpeake of) vnto them, and it is to be doubted, whether ſithens the time of Noah, the ſea hath in ſundrie places wonne or loſt, added or diminiſhed to and from each of them; or whether Europa, and Lybia were but one portion; and the ſame weſterlie regions of late diſcouered (and now called America,) was the third part (counting Aſia for the ſecond) or the ſelfe region of the Atlantides, which Plato and others, for want of traffike thither in their times, ſuppoſed to be diſſolued and ſunke into the ſea: as by their writings appæreth.

Noah firſt diuided the earth among his ſonnes.

The diuiſion of the earth not yet certeinlie knowne.

Not long before my time, we reckoned Aſia, Europa, and Africa, for a full and perfect diuiſion of the whole earth, which are parcels onelie of that huge Iland that lieth eaſt of the Atlantike ſea, and whereof the firſt is diuided from the ſecond by Tanais (which riſeth in the rocks of Caucaſus, and hideth it ſelfe in the Meotine moores) and the Ocean ſea; and the laſt from them both by the Mediterrane and red ſea, otherwiſe called Marc Erythræum. But now all men, eſpecially the learned, begin to doubt of the ſoundnes of that partition; bicauſe a no leſſe part than the greateſt of the thræe ioined with thoſe Ilands and maine which lie vnder the north and Southpoles, if not double in quantitie vnto the ſame, are found out and diſcouered by the diligence of our trauellers. Hereby it appæreth, that either the earth was not exactlie diuided in time paſt by antiquitie; or els, that the true diuiſion thereof came not to the hands and notice of their poſteritie, ſo that our anceſtors haue hitherto as it were laboured in the Cimmerian darkeneſſe, and were vtterlie ignorant of the truth of that whereabout they indeuoured to ſhew their trauels and knowledge in their writings. Some pæce of this confuſion alſo is to be found amongſt the ancient and Romane writers, who (notwithſtanding their large conqueſts) did ſticke in the ſame mire with their ſucceſſors; not being able (as appæreth by their treatiſes) to deliuer and ſet downe the veritie. For Saluſt in his booke *De bello Iugurthino* cannot tell whether Africa be parcell of Aſia or not. And with the ſame ſcruple Varro in his booke *De lingua Lat.* is not a litle incumbred, who in the end concludeth, that the whole earth is diuided into Aſia and Europa: ſo that Africa is excluded and driuen out of his place. Silius alſo writeth of Africa, (as one not yet reſolued wherevnto to leane,) that it is;

Clariance among the writers about the diuiſion of the earth.

Aut ingens Aſiæ latus, aut pars tertia rerum.

Wherein Lucane *lib.* 9. ſheweth himſelfe to be far of another iudgement, in that he aſcribeth it to Europa, ſaieng after this maner:

Tertia pars rerum Lybia: ſi credere famæ
Cuncta velis, ſi ventos cœlúmque ſequaris,
Pars erit Europæ, nec enim plus littora Nili
Quàm Scythicus Tanais primis à gradibus abſunt.

Whereby (I ſaie) we may well vnderſtand, that in the time of Auguſtus Tiberius, Claudius & Nero, the Romanes were not yet reſolued of the diuiſion of the earth. For my part, as I indeuour not to remoue the credit of that which antiquitie hath deliuered (and yet loth to continue and maintaine any corruption that may be redreſſed) ſo I thinke good to giue forth a new diuiſion more probable, & better agreeing with a truth. And therefore I diuide the whole into fiue ſeuerall parcels, reteining the common diuiſion in the firſt thræe, as before; and vnto the fourth allowing not onelie all that portion that lieth by north of the Magellan ſtreicts, and thoſe Hyperborean Ilands which lie weſt of the line of longitude, of late diſcouered by Frobiſher, and called by hir Maieſtie *Meta incognita:* but likewiſe ſo manie Ilands as are within 180. degrees Weſtwards from our beginning or common line of longitude, whereby they are parted from thoſe, which by this diuiſion are allotted vnto Aſia, and the portion it ſelfe made equipollent with the ſame for greatnes, & far exceeding either Europa or Africa, if it be not fullie ſo much in quantitie as they both vnited and laid togither. The fift & laſt part is the Antartike portion with hir Ilands annexed, that region (I meane) which lieth vnder the South pole, cut off from America, or the fourth part by the Magellan ſtreicts; & from Africa by the ſea which paſſeth by the Cape of good hope; a countrie no leſſe large for limits and bounds than Africa or America, and therefore right worthie to be called the fift: howſoeuer it ſhall pleaſe the curious to miſlike of this diuiſion. This alſo I will adde, that albeit the continent hereof do not extend it ſelfe vnto the verie Antartike point, but lieth as it were a long table betwæne two ſeas, of which the later is vnder the South pole, and as I may call it a maine ſea vnder the aforeſaid pricke, yet is it not without

The earth diuided into fiue parts, whereas Belforreſt hath but foure, in Prefac. lib. 4.

Cape di bona Speranza.

The forme of the fift part.

out ſundrie Ilands alſo adioining vnto it, and the inner moſt ſea not deſtitute of manie, as by experience hath béene of late confirmed. Furthermore, whereas our deſcribers of the earth haue made it ſuch in their deſcriptions, as hath reached litle or nothing into the peaceable ſea without the Antartike circle: it is now found by Thenet and others, that it extendeth it ſelfe northwards into that trace, by no ſmall number of leagues, euen in maner to the Equator, in ſo much that the weſterlie part thereof from America, is ſuppoſed to reach northward ſo far from the Antartike article, as Africa doth ſouthwards from the tropike of Cancer, which is no ſmall portion of ground; & I maruell why not obſerued by ſuch as heretofore haue written of the ſame. But they excuſe themſelues by the ingratitude of the Portingals and Spaniards, who haue of purpoſe concealed manie things found out in their trauell, leaſt they ſhould ſéeme to open a gap by doing otherwiſe, for ſtrangers to enter into their conqueſts. As for thoſe Ilands alſo which lie in the peaceable ſea, ſcattered here and there, as Iaua the greater, the leſſer Sumatra, Iapan, Burneo, &c: with a number of other, I refer them ſtill vnto Aſia, as before, ſo as they be without the compaſſe of 90. degrées eaſtward from the line of longitude, & not aboue 180. as I do the Ile of S. Laurence, and a number of other vnto Africa within the ſaid proportion, wiſhing ſo little alteration as I may: and yet not yéelding vnto any confuſion, whereby the truth of the diuiſion ſhould hereafter be impeached.

And whereas by Virgil (ſpeaking of our Iland) ſaith;

Et penitùs toto diuiſos orbe Britannos,

And ſome other authors not vnworthie to be read and peruſed, it is not certeine vnto which portion of the earth our Ilands, and Thule, with ſundrie the like ſcattered in the north ſeas ſhould be aſcribed, becauſe they excluded them (as you ſée) from the reſt of the whole earth: I haue thought good, for facilitie ſake of diuiſion, to refer them all which lie within the firſt minute of longitude, ſet downe by Ptolome, to Europa, and that as reaſon requireth: ſo that the aforeſaid line ſhall henceforth be their Meta & partition from ſuch as are to be aſcribed to America; albeit they come verie neere vnto the aforeſaid portion, & may otherwiſe (without préiudice) be numbred with the ſame. It may be that ſome will thinke this my dealing either to be ſuperfluous, or to proceed from (I wot not what) foolish curioſitie: for the world is now growne to be very apt and readie to iudge the hardeſt of euerie attempt. But forſomuch as my purpoſe is to leaue a plaine report of ſuch matter as I do write of, and deliuer ſuch things as I intreat of in diſtinct and vpright order; though method now and then do faile, I will go forward with my indeuour, referring the examination of my doings to the indifferent and learned eare, without regard what the other do conceiue and imagine of me. In the meane ſeaſon therefore it ſhall ſuffice to ſay at this time, that Albion as the mother, and the reſt of the Ilands as hir daughters, lieng eaſt of the line of longitude, be ſtill aſcribed vnto Europa: wherevnto ſome good authours heretofore in their writings, & their owne proper or naturall ſituations alſo haue not amiſſe referred them.

Vnto what portion Britaine is referred.

Of the poſition, circuit, forme and quantitie of the Ile of Britaine. Cap. 2.

How Britaine lieth from the maine.

BRitannia or Britain, as we now terme it in our Engliſh tong, or Brutania as ſome pronounce it (by reaſon of the letter y in the firſt ſyllable of the word, as antiquitie did ſometime deliuer it) is an Ile lieng in the Ocean ſea, directlie ouer againſt that part of France which conteineth Picardie, Normandie, and thereto the greateſt part of litle Britaine, which later region was called in time paſt Armorica, of the ſituation thereof vpon the ſea coaſt, vntill ſuch time as a companie of Britons (either led ouer by ſome of the Romane Emperours, or fleing thither from the tyrannie of ſuch as oppreſſed them here in this Iland) did ſetle themſelues there, and called it Britaine, after the name of their owne countrie, from whence they aduentured thither. It hath Ireland vpon the weſt ſide, on the north the maine ſea, euen to Thule and the Hyperboreans; and on the eaſt ſide alſo the Germane Ocean, by which we paſſe dailie through the trade of merchandize, not onlie into the low countries of Belgie, now miſerablie afflicted betwéene the Spaniſh power and popiſh inquiſition (as ſpice betwéene the morter and the peſtell) but alſo into Germanie, Friezeland, Denmarke, and Norwaie, carrieng from hence thither, and bringing from thence hither, all ſuch neceſſarie commodities as the ſeuerall countries do yéeld: through which meanes, and beſides common amitie conſerued, traffike is maintained, and the neceſſitie of each partie abundantlie releéued.

The longitude and latitude of this Ile.

It conteineth in longitude taken by the middeſt of the region 19. degrees eractlie: and in latitude 53. degrées, and thirtie min. after the opinions of thoſe that haue diligentlie obſerued the ſame in our daies, and the faithfull report of ſuch writers as haue left notice thereof vnto vs, in their learned treatiſes to be perpetuallie remembred. Howbeit, whereas ſome in ſetting downe of theſe two lines, haue ſéemed to varie about the placing of the ſame, each of them diuerſlie remembring the names of ſundrie cities and townes, whereby they affirme them to haue their ſeuerall courſes: for my part I haue thought good to proceed ſomewhat after another ſort; that is, by diuiding the lateſt and beſt chards each way into two equall parts (ſo neere as I can poſſiblie bring the ſame to paſſe) whereby for the middle of latitude, I product Caerlile and Newcaſtell vpon Tine, (whoſe longeſt day conſiſteth of ſixtéene houres, 48. minuts) and for the longitude, Newberie, Warwike, Sheffield, Skipton, &c: which dealing, in mine opinion, is moſt eaſie and indifferent, and likelieſt meane to come by the certeine ſtanding and ſituation of our Iland.

Longeſt day.

The compaſſe of Britaine.

Touching the length and bredth of the ſame, I find ſome variance amongſt writers: for after ſome, there are from the Piere or point of Douer, vnto the fartheſt part of Cornewall weſtwards 320. miles: from thence againe to the point of Cathneſſe by the Iriſh ſea 800. Wherby Polydore and other do gather, that the circuit of the whole Iland of Britaine is 1720. miles, which is full 280. leſſe than Cæſar doth ſet downe, except there be ſome difference betwéene the Romane and Britiſh miles, as there is indéed; wherof hereafter I may make ſome farther conference.

Martianus writing of the bredth of Britaine, hath onlie 300. miles, but Oroſius hath 1200. in the whole compaſſe. Ethicus alſo agreeing with Plinie, Martianus, and Solinus, hath 800. miles of length, but in the bredth he commeth ſhort of their account by 120. miles. In like maner Dion *in* Seuero maketh the one of 891. miles: but the other; to wit, where it is broadeſt, of 289. and where it is naroweſt, of 37. Finally, Diodorus Siculus affirmeth the ſouth coaſt to conteine 7000 furlongs, the ſecond; to wit, *à Carione ad Promontorium* 15000. the third 20000. and the whole circuit to conſiſt of 42000. But in our time we reckon the bredth from Douer to Cornewall, not to be aboue 300. miles, and the length from Douer to Cathneſſe, no more than 500. which neuertheleſſe muſt be meaſured by a right line, for otherwiſe I ſée not how the ſaid diuiſion can hold.

The forme.

The forme and faſhion of this Ile is thrée cornered, as ſome haue deuiſed, like vnto a triangle, baſtard ſword, wedge, or parteſant, being broadeſt in the ſouth part,

part, and gathering still narrower and narrower, till it come to the farthest point of Cathnesse northward, where it is narrowest of all, & there endeth in maner of a promontorie called Caledonium & Orchas in Britis Morwerydh, which is not aboue 30. miles ouer, as daily experience by actuall trauell doth confirme.

Promontories of Britaine.

The old writers giue vnto the three principall corners, crags, points, and promontories of this Iland, three seuerall names. As vnto that of Kent, Cantium, that of Cornewall, Hellenes, and of Scotland, Caledonium, and Orchas; and these are called principall, in respect of the other, which are Taruisium, Nouantum, Epidium, Gangacum, Octapites, Herculeum, Antiuestæum, Ocrinum, Berubium, Taizalum, Acantium, &c: of which I thought good also to leaue this notice, to the end that such as shall come after, may thereby take occasion to seeke out their true places, wherof as yet I am in maner ignorant, I meane for the most part; bicause I haue no sound author that doth leade mée to their knowledge.

The distance from the maine.

Furthermore, the shortest and most vsuall cut that we haue out of our Iland to the maine, is from Douer (the farthest part of Kent eastward) vnto Calice a towne in Picardie 1300 miles from Rome, in old time called Petressa and Scalas, though some like better of blacknesse where the breadth of the sea is not aboue thirtie miles. Which course, as it is now frequented and vsed for the most common and safe passage of such as come into our countrie out of France and diuers other realms, so it hath not beene vnknowne of old time vnto the Romans, who for the most part vsed these two hauens for their passage and repassage to and fro; although we finde, that now and then diuerse of them came also from Bullen, and landed at Sandwich, or some other places of the coast more toward the west, or betweene Hide and Lid; to wit, Romneie marsh, (which in old time was called Romania or Romanorum insula) as to auoid the force of the wind & weather, that often molesteth seafaringmen in these narrowe seas, best liked them for their safegards. Betweene the part of Holland also, which lieth neere the mouth of the Rhene and this our Iland, are 900. furlongs, as Sosimus saith; and besides him, diuers other writers, which being conuerted into English miles, do yeeld 112. and foure od furlongs, whereby the iust distance of the neerest part of Britaine, from that part of the maine also, doth certeinlie appeere to be much lesse than the common maps of our countrie haue hitherto set downe.

Of the ancient names or denominations of this Iland. Cap. 3.

Dis, Samothes.

IN the diligent perusall of their treatises, who haue written of the state of this our Iland, I find that at the first it seemed to be a parcell of the Celtike kingdome, whereof Dis otherwise called Samothes, one of the sonnes of Japhet was the Saturne or originall beginner, and of him thenceforth for a long while called Samothea. Afterward in processe of time, when desire of rule began to take hold in the minds of men, and ech prince endeuoured to enlarge his owne dominions: Albion the sonne of Neptune,

Neptunus Mareoticus.

Amphitrite surnamed Mareoticus (bicause his dominions laie among the Ilands of the Mediterrane sea, as those of Plutus did on the lower grounds neere vnto those, as contrariwise his father Iupiter dwelled on the high hils nearer to heauen) hearing of the commodities of the countrie, and plentifulnesse of soile here,

The first conquest of Britaine.

made a voiage ouer, and finding the thing not onelie correspondent vnto, but also farre surmounting the report that went of this Iland, it was not long after yer he inuaded the same by force of armes, brought it to his subiection, in the 29. yeare after his grandfathers decease, and finallie changed the name thereof into Albion, whereby the former denomination after Samothes did grow out of mind, and fall into vtter forgetfulnesse. And thus was this Iland bereft at on time both of hir ancient name, and also of hir lawfull succession of princes descended of the line of Japhet, vnder whom it had continued by the space of 341. yeres and nine princes, as by the Chronologie following shall easilie appeere.

Britaine vnder the Celts 341. yeares.

Goropius our neighbor being verie nice in the denomination of our Iland, as in most other points of his huge volume of the originall of Antwarpe lib. 6. (whom Buchanan also followeth in part) is brought into great doubt, whether Britaine was called Albion of the word Alb, white; or Alp an hill; as Bodinus is no lesse troubled with fetching the same *ab olbijs*, or as he writeth it, *ab Albijs gallis*. But here his inconstancie appeareth, in that in his Gotthadanica liber. 7. he taketh no lesse paines to bring the Britaines out of Denmarke, whereby the name of the Iland should be called Vridania, Freedania, Brithania, or Bridania, *tanquam libera Dania*, as another also doth to fetch the originall out of Spaine, where Breta signifieth soile or earth. But as such as walke in darkenesse do often straie, bicause they wot not whither they go: euen so do these men, whilest they seeke to extenuate the certeintie of our histories, and bring vs altogither to vncertenties & their coniectures. They in like maner, which will haue the Welshmen come from the French with this one question, *vnde Walli nisi a Gallis*, or from some Spanish colonie, do greatlie bewraie their ouersights; but most of all they erre that endeuour to fetch it from Albine the imagined daughter of a forged Diocletian, wherewith our ignorant writers haue of late not a little stained our historie, and brought the sound part thereof into some discredit and mistrust: but more of this hereafter.

Now to speake somewhat also of Neptune as by the waie (sith I haue made mention of him in this place) it shall not be altogither impertinent. Wherfore you shall vnderstand, that for his excellent knowledge in the art of nauigation (as nauigation then went) he was reputed the most skilfull prince that liued in his time. And therfore, and likewise for his courage & boldnesse in aduenturing to and fro, he was after his decease honoured as a god, and the protection of such as trauelled by sea committed to his charge. So rude also was the making of ships wherewith to saile in his time (which were for the most part flat bottomed and broad) that for lacke of better experience to calke and trim the same after they were builded, they vsed to naile them ouer with rawe hides of bulles, buffles, and such like, and with such a kind of naue (as they say) first Samothes, & then Albion arriued in this Iland, which vnto me doth not seeme a thing impossible. The northerlie or artike regions, do not naile their ships with iron, which they vtterly want, but with wooden pins, or els they bind the planks togither verie artificiallie with ball ropes, oziers, rinds of trees, or twigs of popler, the substance of those vessels being either of fir or pine, sith oke is verie deintie & hard to be had amongst them. Of their wooden anchors I speake not (which neuertheless are common to them, and to the Gothlanders) more than of ships wrought of wickers, sometime vsed in our Britaine, and couered with leather euen in the time of Plinie, *lib. 7. cap. 56.* as also botes made of rushes and reeds, &c. Neither haue I iust occasion to speake of ships made of canes, of which sort Staurobates, king of India fighting against Semiramis, brought 4000. with him and fought with hir the first battell on the water that euer I read of, and vpon the riuer Indus, but to his losse, for he was ouercome by hir power, & his naue either drowned or burned by the furie of hir souldiers.

The maner of building of ships in old time.

But to proceed, when the said Albion had gouerned here in this countrie by the space of seauen yeares, it came to passe that both he and his brother Bergion were killed by Hercules at the mouth of Rhodanus, as the said Hercules passed out of Spaine by the Celtes to go ouer into Italie, and vpon this occasion (as I gather among the writers) not vnworthie to be remembred. It happened in time of Lucus king of the Celts, that Lestrigo and his issue (whom Dysyis his grandfather had placed ouer the Janigenes) did exercise great tyrannie, not onelie ouer his owne kingdome, but also in molestation of such princes as inhabited round about him in most intollerable maner. Moreouer he was not a little incouraged in these his doings by Neptune his father, who thirsted greatly to leaue his xxvij. sonnes settled in the mightiest kingdoms of the world, as men of whom he had alreadie conceiued this opinion, that if they had once gotten foot into any region whatsoeuer, it would not be long yer they did by some meanes or other, not onelie establish their seats, but also increase their limits to the better maintenance of themselues and their posteritie for euermore. To be short therefore, after the giants, and great princes, or mightie men of the world had conspired and slaine the aforsaid Dysyis, onelie for that he was an obstacle vnto them in their tyrannous dealing; Hercules his sonne, surnamed Labin, Lubim, or Libius, in the reuenge of his fathers death, proclaimed open warres against them all, and going from place to place, he ceased not to spoile their kingdomes, and therewithall to kill them with great courage that fell into his hands. Finallie, hauing among sundrie other ouercome the Lomnimi or Geriones in Spaine, and vnderstanding that Lestrigo and his sonnes did yet remaine in Italie, he directed his viage into those parts, and taking the kingdome of the Celts in his waie, he remained for a season with Lucus the king of that countrie, where he also maried his daughter Galathea, and begat a sonne by hir, calling him after his mothers name Galates, of whom in my said Chronologie I haue spoken more at large.

Lestrigo.

Janigenes were the posteritie of Noah in Italie.

Neptune had xxvij. sonnes.

Lomnimi. Geriones.

Galathea.

Galates or Celts.

In the meane time Albion vnderstanding how Hercules intended to make warres against his brother Lestrigo, he thought good if it were possible to stop him that tide, and therefore sending for his brother Bergion out of the Orchades (where he also reigned as supreame lord and gouernour) they ioined their powers, and sailed ouer into France. Being arriued there, it was not long yer they met with Hercules and his armie, neare vnto the mouth of the riuer called Roen (or the Rhodanus) where happened a cruell conflict betweene them, in which Hercules and his men were like to haue lost the day, for that they were in maner wearied with long warres, and their munition sore wasted in the last viage that he had made for Spaine. Hereupon Hercules perceiuing the courages of his souldiours somewhat to abate, and seeing the want of artillerie like to be the cause of his fatall daie and present ouerthrowe at hand, it came suddenlie into his mind to will each of them to defend himselfe by throwing stones at his enimie, whereof there laie great store then scattered in the place. The policie was no sooner published than hearkened vnto and put in execution, whereby they so preuailed in the end, that Hercules wan the field, their enimies were put to flight, and Albion and his brother both slaine, and buried in that plot. Thus was Britaine rid of a tyrant, Lucus king of the Celts deliuered from an vsurper (that dailie incroched vpon him, building sundrie cities and holds, of which some were placed among the Alps & called after his owne name, and other also euen in his owne kingdome on that side) and Lestrigo greatlie weakened by the slaughter of his brethren. Of this inuention of Hercules in like sort it commeth, that Iupiter father vnto Hercules (who indeed was none other but Dysyis) is feigned to throw downe stones from heauen vpon Albion and Bergion, in the defense of his sonne: which came so thicke vpon them, as if great drops of raine or haile should haue descended from aboue, no man well knowing which waie to turne him from their force, they came so fast and with so great a violence.

Bergion.

Pomponius Mela cap. de Gallia.

Strabo lib. 4.

But to go forward, albeit that Albion and his power were thus discomfited and slaine, yet the name that he gaue vnto this Iland died not, but still remained vnto the time of Brute, who arriuing heere in the 1116. before Christ, and 2850. after the creation of the world, not onelie changed it into Britaine (after it had beene called Albion, by the space of about 600. yeares) but to declare his souereigntie ouer the rest of the Ilands also that lie scattered round about it, he called them all after the same maner, so that Albion was said in time to be *Britanniarum insula maxima*, that is, The greatest of those Iles that beare the name of Britaine, which Plinie also confirmeth, and Strabo in his first and second bookes denieth not. There are some, which vtterlie denieng that this Iland toke hir name of Brute, do affirme it rather to be so called of the rich mettals sometime carried from the mines there into all the world as growing in the same. Vibius Sequester also saith that Calabria was sometime called Britannia, *ob immensam affluentiam totius delitiæ atque vbertatis*, that was to be found heerein. Other contend that it should be written with P (Pritannia.) All which opinions as I absolutelie denie not, so I willinglie leane vnto none of them in peremptorie maner, sith the antiquitie of our historie carrieth me withall vnto the former iudgements. And for the same cause I reiect them also, which deriue the aforesaid denomination from Britona the nymph, in following Tertor (or Prutus or Prytus the sonne of Araxa) which Britona was borne in Creta daughter to Mars, and fled by sea from thence onelie to escape the villanie of Minos, who attempted to rauish and make hir one of his paramours: but if I should forsake the authoritie of Galfride, I would rather leane to the report of Parthenius, whereof elsewhere I haue made a more large rehersall.

It is altogither impertinent, to dispute whether Hercules came into this Iland after the death of Albion, or not, although that by an ancient monument sene of late, as I heare, and the cape of Hartland or Harcland in the West countrie (called *Promontorium Herculis* in old time) diuers of our British antiquaries do gather great likelihod that he should also be here. But sith his presence or absence maketh nothing with the alteration of the name of this our region and countrie, and to search out whether the said monument was but some token erected in his honour of later times (as some haue beene elsewhere, among the Celts framed, & those like an old cripple with a bow bent in one hand & a club in the other, a rough skin on his backe, the haire of his head all to be matted like that of the Irishmens, and drawing manie men captiue after him in chaines) is but smallie auailable, and therefore I passe it ouer as not incident to my purpose. Neither will I spend any time in the determination, whether Britaine had beene sometime a parcell of the maine, although it should well seeme so to haue beene, because that before the generall flood of Noah, we do not read of Ilands, more than of hils and vallies. Wherfore as Wilden Arguis also noteth in his philosophie and tractation of meteors, it is verie likelie that they were onelie caused by the violent motion and working of the sea, in the time of the flood, which if S. Augustine had well considered, he would neuer haue asked how such creatures as liued in Ilands far distant from the maine could come into the arke, *De ciuit. lib. 16. cap. 7.* howbeit in the end he concludeth with another matter more profitable than his demand.

As for the spædie and timelie inhabitation thereof, this is mine opinion, to wit, that it was inhabited

bited ſhortlie after the diuiſion of the earth. For I read that when each capteine and his companie had their portions aſſigned vnto them by Noah in the partition that he made of the whole among his poſteritie, they neuer ceaſed to trauell and ſearch out the vttermoſt parts of the ſame, vntill they found out their bounds allotted, and had ſeene and vewed their limits, euen vnto the verie poles. It ſhall ſuffice therefore onelie to haue touched theſe things in this manner a farre off, and in returning to our purpoſe, to proceed with the reſt concerning the denomination of our Iland, which was knowne vnto moſt of the Grecians for a long time, by none other name than Albion, and to ſaie the truth, euen vnto Alexanders daies, as appeareth by the words of Ariſtotle in his *De mundo*, and to the time of Ptolomie: notwithſtanding that Brute, as I haue ſaid, had changed the ſame into Britaine, manie hundred yeares before.

Pet Timeus, Ephorus, and ſome of the Grecians, know the name Britannia, as appeareth alſo by Diodorus, &c, before the comming of Cæſar.

After Brutus I doo not find that anie men attempted to change it againe, vntill the time that Theodoſius, in the daies of Valentinianus and Valens endeuoured, in the remembrance of the two aforeſaid Emperours, to call it Valentia, as Marcellinus ſaith. But as this deuiſe tooke no hold among the common ſort, ſo it retained ſtill the name of Britaine, vntill the reigne of Ecbert, who about the 800. yeare of Grace, and firſt of his reigne, gaue forth an eſpeciall edict, dated at Winchester, that it ſhould be called Angles land, or Angellandt, for which in our time we doo pronounce it England. And this is all (right honorable) that I haue to ſay, touching the ſeuerall names of this Iland, vtterlie miſliking in the meane ſeaſon their deuiſes, which make Hengiſt the onlie parent of the later denomination, whereas Ecbert, bicauſe his anceſtours deſcended from the Angles one of the fiue nations that came with the Saxons into Britaine (for they were not all of one, but of diuers countries, as Angles, Saxons, Germans, Switzers, Norwegiens, Jutes otherwiſe called Jutons, Vites, Gothes or Getes, and Vandals, and all comprehended vnder the name of Saxons, bicauſe of Hengiſt the Saxon and his companie that firſt arriued here before anie of the other) and therto hauing now the monarchie and preheminence in maner of this whole Iland, called the ſame after the name of the countrie from whence he deriued his originall, neither Hengiſt, neither anie Quæne named Angla, neither whatſoeuer deriuation *ab Angulo*, as from a corner of the world bearing ſwaie, or hauing ought to doo at all in that behalfe.

Of this opinion is Belforeſt, lib. 3. cap. 44.

What ſundrie nations haue dwelled in Albion.
Cap. 4.

AS few or no nations can iuſtlie boaſt themſelues to haue continued ſithence their countrie was firſt replenished, without any mixture, more or leſſe, of forreine inhabitants; no more can this our Iland, whoſe manifold commodities haue oft allured ſundrie princes and famous capteines of the world to conquer and ſubdue the ſame vnto their owne ſubiection. Manie ſorts of people therfore haue come in hither and ſettled themſelues here in this Ile, and firſt of all other, a parcell of the linage and poſteritie of Japhet, brought in by Samothes in the 1910. after the creation of Adam. Howbeit in proceſſe of time, and after they had indifferentlie replenished and furniſhed this Iland with people (which was done in the ſpace of 335. yeares) Albion the giant afore mentioned, repaired hither with a companie of his owne race proceeding from Cham, and not onelie annexed the ſame to his owne dominion, but brought all ſuch in like ſort as he found here of the line of Japhet, into miſerable ſeruitude and moſt extreame thraldome. After him alſo, and within leſſe than fiue hundred and two yeares, came Brute the ſonne of Syluius with a great traine of the poſteritie of the diſperſed Troians in 324. ſhips: who rendering the like courteſie vnto the Chemminits as they had done before vnto the ſeed of Japhet, brought them alſo wholie vnder his rule and gouernance, and diſpoſſeſſing the peeres & inferior owners of their lands and poſſeſſions, he diuided the countrie among ſuch princes and capteines as he in his arriuall here had led out of Grecia with him.

Samotheans.

Britains.

Chemmiuits.

From henceforth I doo not find any ſound report of other nation whatſoeuer, that ſhould aduenture hither to dwell, and alter the ſtate of the land, vntill the Romane emperours ſubdued it to their dominion, ſauing of a few Galles, (and thoſe peraduenture of Belgie) who firſt comming ouer to rob and pilfer vpon the coaſts, did afterward plant themſelues for altogither neere vnto the ſhore, and there builded ſundrie cities and townes which they named after thoſe of the maine, from whence they came vnto vs. And this is not onelie to be gathered out of Cæſar where he writeth of Britaine of ſet purpoſe, but alſo elſe-where, as in his ſecond booke a litle after the beginning: for ſpeaking of Deuiaticus king of the Swelſions liuing in his time, he affirmeth him not onelie to be the mightieſt prince of all the Galles, but alſo to hold vnder his ſubiection the Ile of Britaine, of which his ſonne Galba was afterward diſpoſſeſſed. But after the comming of the Romans, it is hard to ſay with how manie ſorts of people we were dailie peſtered, almoſt in euerie ſtead. For as they planted their forwarne legions in the moſt fertile places of the realme, and where they might beſt lie for the ſafegard of their conqueſts: ſo their armies did commonlie conſiſt of manie ſorts of people, and were (as I may call them) a confuſed mixture of all other countries and nations then liuing in the world. Howbeit, I thinke it beſt, bicauſe they did all beare the title of Romans, to reteine onelie that name for them all, albeit they were wofull gheſts to this our Iland: ſith that with them came all maner of vice and vicious liuing, all riot and exceſſe of behauiour into our countrie, which their legions brought hither from each corner of their dominions: for there was no prouince vnder them from whence they had not ſeruitours.

Romans.

How and when the Scots, a people mixed of the Scithian and Spaniſh blood, ſhould arriue here out of Ireland, & when the Picts ſhould come vnto vs out of Sarmatia, or from further toward the north & the Scithian Hyperboreans, as yet it is vncerteine. For though the Scotiſh hiſtories doo carrie great countenance of their antiquitie in this Iland: yet (to ſaie freelie what I thinke) I iudge them rather to haue ſtolne in hither within the ſpace of 100. yeares before Chriſt, than to haue continued here ſo long as they themſelues pretend, if my coniecture be any thing. Yet I denie not, but that as the Picts were long planted in this Iland before the Scots aduentured to ſettle themſelues alſo in Britaine; ſo the Scots did often aduenture hither to rob and ſkeale out of Ireland, and were finallie called in by the Peats or Picts (as the Romans named them, becauſe they painted their bodies) to helpe them againſt the Britains, after the which they ſo planted themſelues in theſe parts, that vnto our time that portion of the land cannot be cleanſed of them. I find alſo that as theſe Scots were reputed for the moſt Scithian-like and barbarous nation, and longeſt without letters; ſo they vſed commonlie to ſkeale ouer into Britaine in leather ſkewes, and began to helpe the Picts about or not long before the beginning of Cæſars time. For both

Scots. Picts.

Diodorus *lib.6.* and Strabo *lib.4.* doo ſeeme to ſpeake of a parcell of the Iriſh nation that ſhould inhabit Britaine in their time, which were giuen to the eating of mans fleſh, and therefore called Anthropophagi. Mamertinus in like ſort doth note the Redſhanks and the Iriſh (which are properlie the Scots) to be the onelie enimies of our nation, before the comming of Cæſar, as appeareth in his panegyricall oration, ſo that hereby it is found that they are no new gheſtes in Britaine. Wherefore all the controuerſie doth reſt in the time of their firſt attempt to inhabit in this Iland. Certeinlie I maruell much whie they trauell not to come in with Cantaber and Partholonus: but I ſee perfectlie that this ſhift ſhould be too groſſe for the maintenance of their deſired antiquitie. Now, as concerning their name, the Saxons tranſlated the word Scotus for Iriſh: whereby it appeareth that thoſe Iriſh, of whom Strabo and Diodorus doo ſpeake, are none other than thoſe Scots, of whom Ierome ſpeaketh *Aduerſus Iouinianum, lib.2.* who vſed to feed on the buttocks of boies and womens paps, as delicate diſhes. Aethicus writing of the Ile of Man, affirmeth it to be inhabited with Scots ſo well as Ireland euen in his time. Which is another proofe that the Scots and Iriſh are all one people. They were alſo called Scoti by the Romans, becauſe their Iland & originall inhabitation thereof were vnknowne, and they themſelues an obſcure nation in the ſight of all the world. Now as concerning the Picts, whatſoeuer Ranulphus Hygden imagineth to the contrarie of their latter enterance, it is eaſie to find by Herodian and Mamertinus (of which the one calleth them Meates, the other Redſhankes and Pictones) that they were ſetled in this Ile long before the time of Seuerus, yea of Cæſar, and comming of the Scots. Which is proofe ſufficient, if no further authoritie remained extant for the ſame. So that the controuerſie lieth not in their comming alſo, but in the true time of their repaire and aduenture into this Iland out of the Orchades (out of which they gat ouer into the North parts of our countrie, as the writers doo report) and from whence they came at the firſt into the aforeſaid Ilands. For my part I ſuppoſe with other, that they came hither out of Sarmatia or Scythia: for that nation hauing had alwaies an eie vnto the commodities of our countrie, hath ſent out manie companies to inuade and ſpoile the ſame. It may be that ſome will gather, thoſe to be the Picts, of whom Cæſar ſaith that they ſtained their faces with wad and madder, to the end they might appeare terrible and fearefull to their enimies; and ſo inferre that the Picts were naturall Britans. But it is one thing to ſtaine the face onelie as the Britans did, of whom Propertius ſaith,

Nunc etiam infectos demum mutare Britannos,

And to paint the images and portraitures of beaſts, fiſh and foules ouer the whole bodie, as the Picts did, of whom Martial ſaith,

Barbara depictis veni Baſcauda Britannis.

Certes the times of Samothes and Albion, haue ſome likelie limitation: and ſo we may gather of the comming in of Brute, of Cæſar, the Saxons, the Danes, the Normans, and finallie of the Flemmings, (who had the Roſſe in Wales aſſigned vnto them 1066. after the drowning of their countrie.) But when firſt the Picts, & then the Scots ſhould come ouer into our Iland, as they were obſcure people, ſo the time of their arriuall is as far to me vnknowne. Wherefore the reſolution of this point muſt ſtill remaine In tenebris. This neuertheleſſe is certeine, that Maximus firſt Legate of Britaine, and afterward emperour, draue the Scots out of Britaine, and compelled them to get habitation in Ireland, the out Iles, and the North part of the maine, and finallie diuided their region betweene the Britaines and the Picts. He denounced warre alſo againſt the Iriſhmen, for receiuing them into their land: but they crauing the peace, yeelded to ſubſcribe, that from thence-forth they would not receiue any Scot into their dominions; and ſo much the more, for that they were pronounced enimies to the Romans, and diſturbers of the common peace and quietneſſe of their prouinces here in England.

Of the Picts.

The Saxons became firſt acquainted with this Ile, by meanes of the piracie which they dailie practiſed vpon our coaſtes (after they had once begun to aduenture themſelues alſo vpon the ſeas, thereby to ſeeke out more wealth than was now to be gotten in the Weſt parts of the maine, which they and their neighbours had alreadie ſpoiled in moſt lamentable and barbarous maner) howbeit they neuer durſt preſume to inhabit in this Iland, vntill they were ſent for by Vortiger to ſerue him in his warres againſt the Picts and Scots, after that the Romans had giuen vs ouer, and left vs wholie to our owne defenſe and regiment. Being therefore come vnder Hengiſt in three bottoms or keeles, and in ſhort time eſpieng the idle and negligent behauiour of the Britaines, and fertilitie of our ſoile, they were not a little inflamed to make a full conqueſt of ſuch as at the firſt they came to aid and ſuccour. Hereupon alſo they fell by little and little to the winding in of greater numbers of their countrimen and neighbours, with their wiues and children into this region, ſo that within a while theſe new comlings began to moleſt the homelings, and ceaſed not from time to time to continue their purpoſe, vntill they had gotten poſſeſſion of the whole, or at the leaſtwiſe the greateſt part of our countrie; the Britons in the meane ſeaſon being driuen either into Wales and Cornewall, or altogither out of the Iland to ſeeke new habitations.

The hurt by forren aid.

In like maner the Danes (the next nation that ſucceeded) came at the firſt onelie to pilfer and robbe vpon the frontiers of our Iland, till that in the end, being let in by the Welſhmen or Britons through an earneſt deſire to be reuenged vpon the Saxons, they no leſſe plagued the one than the other, their freends than their aduerſaries, ſeeking by all meanes poſſible to eſtabliſh themſelues alſo in the ſure poſſeſſion of Britaine. But ſuch was their ſucceſſe, that they proſpered not long in their deuiſe: for ſo great was their lordlineſſe, crueltie, and inſatiable deſire of riches, beſide their deteſtable abuſing of chaſt matrons, and yong virgins (whoſe huſbands and parents were dailie inforced to become their drudges and ſlaues, whileſt they ſat at home and fed like drone bees of the ſweet of their trauell and labours) that God I ſay would not ſuffer them to continue any while ouer vs, but when he ſaw his time he remoued their yoke, and gaue vs libertie as it were to breath vs, thereby to ſee whether this his ſharpe ſcourge could haue moued vs to repentance and amendment of our lewd and ſinfull liues, or not. But when no ſigne thereof appeared in our hearts, he called in an other nation to ver vs, I meane the Normans, a people mixed with Danes, and of whom it is worthilie doubted, whether they were more hard and cruell to our countrimen than the Danes, or more heauie and intollerable to our Iland than the Saxons or the Romans. This nation came out of Newſtria, the people thereof were called Normans by the French, becauſe the Danes which ſubdued that region, came out of the North parts of the world: neuertheleſſe, I ſuppoſe that the ancient word Newſtria, is corrupted from Weſt-rike, becauſe that if you marke the ſituation, it lieth oppoſite from Auſtria or Oſt-rike, which is called the Eaſt region, as Newſtria is the Weaſt: for Rike in the old Scithian tong doth ſignifie a region or kingdome, as in Franc-rike, or Franc-reich, Weſtſaxon-reich, Oſtſaxon-reich, Su-rike, Angel-rike, &c, is elſe to be ſeene. But howſoeuer this falleth out, theſe Normans

Danes.

The Normans.

or Danish French, were bodlie aduersaries to the English Saxons, first by meane of a quarell that grew betweene them in the daies of Edward the Confessour, at such time as the Earle of Bullen, and William Duke of Normandie, arriued in this land to visit him, & their frends; such Normans (I meane) as came ouer with him and Emma his mother before him, in the time of Canutus and Ethelred. For the first suting that euer the French did set in this Iland, sithence the time of Ethelbert & Sigebert, was with Emma, which Ladie brought ouer a traine of French Gentlemen and Ladies with hir into England.

The cause of the conquest by the Normans.

After hir also no small numbers of attendants came in with Edward the Confessour, whome he preferred to the greatest offices in the realme, in so much that one Robert a Norman, became Archbishop of Canturburie, whose preferment so much enhanced the minds of the French, on the one side, as their lordlie and outragious demeanour kindled the stomachs of the English nobilitie against them on the other: insomuch that not long before the death of Emma the kings mother, and vpon occasion of the brall hapning at Douer (whereof I haue made sufficient mention in my Chronologie, not regarding the report of the French authors in this behalfe, who write altogither in the fauour of their Archbishop Robert, but following the authoritie of an English priest then liuing in the court) the English Peres began to shew their disliking in manifest maner. Neuertheless, the Normans so bewitched the king with their lieng and bosking, Robert the Archbishop being the chefe instrument of their practise, that he beleeued them, and therevpon vered sundrie of the nobilitie, amongst whom Earle Godwin of Kent was the chefe, a noble Gentleman and father in law to king Edward by the mariage of his daughter. The matter also came to such issue against him, that he was exiled, and flue of his sonnes with him, whereupon he goeth ouer the sea, and sone after returning with his said sonnes, they inuaded the land in sundrie places, the father himselfe comming to London, where when the kings power was readie to ioine with him in battell, it vtterlie refused so to do: affirming plainelie, that it should be meere follie for one Englishman to fight against another, in the reuenge of Frenchmens quarels: which answer entred so deeplie into the kings mind, that he was contented to haue the matter heard, and appointing commissioners for that purpose; they concluded at the vpshot, that all the French should depart out of England by a day, few excepted, whom the king should appoint and nominate.

Archbishop of Can. exiled, and the rest of the French.

By this means therfore Robert the Archbishop, & of secret counsell with the king, was first exiled as principall abuser & seducer of the king, who gooth to Rome, & there complaineth to the Pope of his iniurie receiued by the English. Howbeit as he returned home againe with no small hope of the readeption of his See, he died in Normandie, whereby he saued a killing. Certes he was the first that euer tendered complaint out of England vnto Rome, & with him went William Bishop of London (afterward reuoked) and Vlfo of Lincolne, who hardlie escaped the furie of the English nobilitie. Some also went into Scotland, and there held themselues, expecting a better time. And this is the true historie of the originall cause of the conquest of England by the French: for after they were well beaten at Douer, bicause of their insolent demeanour there shewed, their harts neuer ceased to boile with a desire of reuenge that brake out into a flame, so sone as their Robert possessed the primacie, which being once obteined, and to set his mischefe intended abroch withall, a contention was quicklie procured about certeine Kentish lands, and controuersie kindled, whether he or the Earle should haue most right vnto them. The king held with the priest as with the church, the nobilitie with the Earle. In processe also of this businesse, the Archbishop accused the Earle of high treason, burdening him with the slaughter of Alfred the kings brother, which was altogither false: as appeareth by a treatise yet extant of that matter, written by a chaplaine to king Edward the Confessour, in the hands of Iohn Stow my verie frend, wherein he saith thus, *Alfredus incautè agens in aduentu suo in Angliam a Danis circumuentus occiditur.* He addeth moreouer, that giuing out as he came through the countrie accompanied with his few proud Normans, how his meaning was to recouer his right vnto the kingdome, and supposing that all men would haue yeelded vnto him, he fell into their hands, whome Harald then king did send to apprehend him, vpon the same onelie of this report brought vnto his eares. So that (to be short) after the king had made his pacification with the Earle, the French (I say) were exiled, the Queene restored to his fauour (whom he at the beginning of this broile had imprisoned at Wilton, allowing hir but one onlie maid to wait vpon hir) and the land reduced to hir former quietnesse, which continued vntill the death of the king. After which the Normans not forgetting their old grudge, remembred still their quarell, that in the end turned to their conquest of this Iland. After which obteined, they were so cruellie bent to our vtter subuersion and ouerthrow, that in the beginning it was lesse reproch to be accounted a slaue than an Englishman, or a drudge in anie filthie businesse than a Britaine: insomuch that euerie French page was superiour to the greatest Pere; and the losse of an Englishmans life but a pastime to such of them as contended in their brauerie, who should giue the greatest strokes or wounds vnto their bodies, when their toiling and drudgerie could not please them, or satisfie their greedie humors. Yet such was our lot in those daies by the diuine appointed order, that we must needs obey such as the Lord did set ouer vs, and so much the rather, for that all power to resist was vtterlie taken from vs, and our armes made so weake and feeble that they were not now able to remoue the importable load of the enimie from our surburdened shoulders. And this onelie I saie againe, bicause we refused grace offered in time, and would not heare when God by his Preachers did call vs so fauourablie vnto him. Oh how miserable was the estate of our countrie vnder the French and Normans, wherein the Brittish and English that remained, could not be called to any function in the commonwealth, no not so much as to be constables and headburowes in small villages, except they could bring 2. or 3. Normans for suerties to the Lords of the soile for their good behauiour in their offices! Oh what numbers of all degrees of English and Brittish were made slaues and bondmen, and bought and sold as oxen in open market! In so much that at the first comming, the French bond were set free; and those that afterward became bond, were of our owne countrie and nation, so that few or rather none of vs remained free without some note of bondage and seruitude to the French. Hereby then we perceiue, how from time to time this Iland hath not onelie been a prey, but as it were a common receptacle for strangers, the naturall homelings or Britons being still cut shorter and shorter, as I said before, till in the end they came not onelie to be driuen into a corner of this region, but in time also verie like vtterlie to haue been extinguished. For had not king Edward, surnamed the saint, in his time, after greeuous wars made vpon them 1063. (wherein Harald latelie made Earle of Oxenford, sonne to Godwin Earle of Kent, and after king of England, was his generall) permitted the remnant of their women to ioine in mariage with the Englishmen (when the most part of their husbands and male children were slaine with the sword) it could not haue been otherwise chosen, but their whole race must needs

Erle Goodwine slandered by the French writers.

The miserie of the English vnder the French.

The cause of our miserie.

In this voiage the said Harald builded Portaschith, which Caradoch ap Griffin afterward ouerthrew, and killed the garrison that Harald left therein.

needs haue ſuſteined the vttermoſt confuſion, and thereby the memorie of the Britons vtterlie haue periſhed among vs.

Thus we ſee how England hath ſix times beene ſubiect to the reproch of conqueſt. And whereas the Scots ſeeme to challenge manie famous victories alſo ouer vs, beſide greeuous impoſitions, tributs, & diſhonorable compoſitions: it ſhall ſuffice for anſwer, that they deale in this as in the moſt part of their hiſtorie, which is to ſeeke great honor by lieng, & great renowme by prating and crabbing. Indeed they haue done great miſcheefe in this Iland, & with extreme crueltie; but as for any conqueſt the firſt is yet to heare of. Diuers other conqueſts alſo haue beene pretended by ſundrie princes ſithence the conqueſt, onelie to the end that all priſtinate lawes and tenures of poſſeſſion might ceaſe, and they make a new diſpoſition of all things at their owne pleaſure. As one by king Edw. the 3. but it toke none effect. Another by Henrie the 4. who neuertheleſſe was at the laſt though hardlie drawne from the challenge by William Thorington, then chefe Iuſtice of England. The third by Henrie the 7. who had ſome better ſhew of right, but yet without effect. And the laſt of all by Q. Marie, as ſome of the papiſts gaue out, and alſo would haue had hir to haue obteined, but God alſo ſtaied their malices, and hir challenge. But beſide the ſix afore mentioned, Huntingdon the old hiſtoriographer ſpeaketh of a ſeuenth, likelie (as he ſaith) to come one daie out of the North, which is a wind that bloweth no man to good, ſith nothing is to be had in thoſe parts, but hunger & much cold. See more hereof in the hiſtorie of S. Albons, and aforeſaid author which lieth on the left ſide of the librarie belonging now to Paules: for I regard no prophecies as one that doubteth from what ſpirit they do proceed, or who ſhould be the author of them.

Whether it be likelie that any giants were, and whether they inhabited in this Ile or not. Cap. 5.

BEſides theſe aforeſaid nations, which haue crept (as you haue heard) into our Iland, we read of ſundrie giants that ſhould inhabit here. Which report as it is not altogither incredible, ſith the poſterities of diuers princes were called by the name: ſo vnto ſome mens eares it ſeemeth ſo ſtrange a reherſall, that for the ſame onelie cauſe they ſuſpect the credit of our whole hiſtorie, & reiect it as a fable, vnworthie to be read. They alſo condemne the like in all other hiſtories, eſpeciallie of the North, where men are naturallie of greateſt ſtature, imagining all to be but fables that is written of Starcater, Hartben, Angrine, Aruerode, &c: of whom Saxo, Iohannes Magnus and Olaus do make mention, & whoſe bones do yet remaine to be ſeene as rare miracles in nature. Of theſe alſo ſome in their life time were able to lift vp (as they write) a veſſell of liquor of 1000. weight, or an horſſe, or an ore, & caſt it on their ſhoulders (wherein their verie women haue beene likewiſe knowne to come nere vnto them) and of the race of thoſe men, ſome were ſeene of no leſſe ſtrength in the 1500. of Grace, wherein Olaus liued, and wrote the ſame of his owne experience and knowledge. Of the giant of Spaine that died of late yeares by a fall vpon the Alpes, as he either went or came fro Rome, about the purchaſe of a diſpenſation to marrie with his kinſwoman (a woman alſo of much more than common ſtature) there be men yet liuing, and may liue long for age, that can ſaie verie much euen by their owne knowledge. Wherfore it appeareth by preſent experience, that all is not abſolutelie vntrue which is remembred of men of ſuch giants. For this cauſe therfore I haue now taken vpon me to make this breefe diſcourſe inſuing, as indeuouring therby to proue, that the opinion of giants is not altogither grounded vpon vaine and fabulous narrations, inuented onelie to delight the eares of the hearers with the report of marueilous things: but that there haue beene ſuch men in deed, as for their hugeneſſe of perſon haue reſembled rather * high towers than mortall men, although their poſterities are now conſumed, and their monſtruous races vtterlie worne out of knowledge. *Eſay. 30. verſ. 25.

I do not meane herein to diſpute, whether this name Gigas or Nephilim was giuen vnto them, rather for their tyrannie and oppreſſion of the people, than for their greatneſſe of bodie, or large ſteps, as Goropius would haue it (for he denieth that euer men were greater than at this preſent) or bicauſe their parents were not knowne, for ſuch in old time were called *Terræ filij*; or whether the word Gigas doth onlie ſignifie *Indigenas*, or homelings, borne in the land or not; neither whether all men were of like quantitie in ſtature, and farre more greater in old time, than now they be: and yet abſolutelie I denie neither of theſe, ſith verie probable reaſons may be brought for ech of them, but eſpeciallie the laſt rehearſed, whoſe confirmation dependeth vpon the authorities of ſundrie ancient writers, who make diuers of noble race, equall to the giants in ſtrength and manhod, and yet do not giue the ſame name vnto them, bicauſe their quarels were iuſt, and commonlie taken in hand for defenſe of the oppreſſed. Examples hereof we may take of Hercules and Antheus, whoſe wreſtling declareth that they were equall in ſtature & ſtomach. Such alſo was the courage of Antheus, that being often ouercome, and as it were vtterlie vanquiſhed by the ſaid Hercules, yet if he did eftſoones returne againe into his kingdome, he forthwith recouered his force, returned and held Hercules tacke, till he gat at the laſt betweene him and home, ſo cutting off the farther hope of the reſtitution of his armie, and killing finallie his aduerſarie in the field, of which victorie Politian writeth thus: Antheus. Lucane lib. 4. in fine.

Incaluere animis dura certare paleſtra,
Neptuni quondam filius atque Iouis:
Non certamen erant operoſo ex ere lebetes,
Sed qui vel vitam vel ferat interitum:
Occidit Antæus Ioue natum viuere fas eſt,
Eſtq; magiſtra Pales Græcia, non Lybia.

The like do our hiſtories report of Corineus and Gomagot, peraduenture king of this Ile, who fought a combat hand to hand, till one of them was ſlaine, and yet for all this no man reputeth Hercules or Corineus for giants, albeit that Hanuile in his Architrenion make the later to be 12. cubits in height, which is full 18. foot, if poeticall licence do not take place in his report and aſſertion. But ſith (I ſay againe) it is not my purpoſe to ſtand vpon theſe points, I paſſe ouer to ſpeake any more of them. And whereas alſo I might haue proceeded in ſuch order, that I ſhould firſt ſet downe by manie circumſtances, whether any giants were, then whether they were of ſuch huge and incredible ſtature as the authours do remember, and finallie whether any of them haue beene in this our Iland or not, I proteſt plainlie, that my mind is not here bent to deale in any ſuch maner, but rather generallie to confirme and by ſufficient authoritie, that there haue beene ſuch mightie men of ſtature, and ſome of them alſo in Britaine, which I will ſet downe onelie by ſundrie examples, whereby it ſhall fall out, that neither our Iland, nor any part of the maine, haue at one time or other been altogither without them. Firſt of all therfore, & to begin with the ſcriptures, the moſt ſure & certeine ground of all knowledge: you ſhall haue out of them Corineus. Gomagot.

ſuch notable examples ſet downe, as I haue obſerued in reading the ſame, which vnto the godlie may ſuffice for ſufficient proofe of my poſition. Neuertheleſſe, after the ſcriptures I will reſort to the writings of our learned Diuines, and finallie of the infidell and pagane authors, whereby nothing ſhall ſeeme to want that may confute Goropius, and all his cauillations.

Cap. 6. verſ. 5. Moſes the prophet of the Lord, writing of the eſtate of things before the floud, hath theſe words in his booke of generations. In theſe daies ſaith he, there were giants vpon the earth. Beroſus alſo the Chalde writeth, Anti. li. 1. that néere vnto Libanus there was a citie called Oenon (which I take to be Hanoch, builded ſometime by Cham) wherein giants did inhabit, who truſting to the ſtrength and hugeneſſe of their bodies, did verie great oppreſſion and miſchéefe in the world. The Hebrues called them generallie Enach, of Hanach the Chebronite, father to Achimam, Scheſchai and Talma, although their firſt originall was deriued from Henoch the ſonne of Caine, of whome that peſtilent race deſcended, as I read. The Moabits named them Emims, and the Ammonites Zamſummims, and it ſhould ſeeme by the ſecond of Deut. cap. 19, 20. that Ammon and Moab were greatlie repleniſhed with ſuch men, when Moſes wrote that treatiſe. For of theſe monſters ſome families remained of greater ſtature than other vnto Nu. cap. 13. verſe. 33, & 34. his daies, in compariſon of whome the children of Iſraell confeſſed themſelues to be but graſhoppers. Which is one noble teſtimonie that the word Gigas or Enach is ſo well taken for a man of huge ſtature, as for an homeborne child, wicked tyrant, or oppreſſour of the people.

Deut. 3. verſ 11. Og of Baſan. Furthermore, there is mention made alſo in the ſcriptures of Og, ſometime king of Baſan, who was the laſt of the race of the giants, that was left in the land of promiſe to be ouercome by the Iſraelits, & whoſe iron bed was afterward ſhewed for a wonder at Rabbath (a citie of the Ammonites) conteining 9. cubits in length, and 4. in breadth, which cubits I take not to be geometricall, (that is, each one ſo great as ſix of the ſmaller, as thoſe were wherof the Arke was made, as our Diuines affirme, eſpeciallie Auguſtine: whereas Origen, *hom. 2. in Gen.* out of whom he ſeemeth to borrow it, appeareth to haue no ſuch meaning directlie) but rather of the arme of a meane man, which oftentimes doth varie & differ from the ſtandard. Dh how Goropius dalieth about the hiſtorie of this Og, of the breaking of his pate againſt the beds head, & of hurting his ribs againſt the ſides, and all to proue, that Og was not bigger than other men, and ſo he leaueth the matter as ſufficientlie anſwered with a French countenance of truth. But ſée Auguſt. *de ciuit. lib. 15. cap. 25. & ad Fauſtum Manich. lib.* 12. Ambroſ. *&c.* and Iohannes Buteo that excellent geometrician, who hath written of purpoſe of the capacitie of the Arke.

Cap 17. ver. 4, 5, 6. Goliah. In the firſt of Samuel you ſhall read of Goliah a Philiſtine, the weight of whoſe brigandine or ſhirt of maile was of 5000. ſicles, or 1250. ounces of braſſe, which amounteth to 104. pound of Troie weight after 4. common ſicles to the ounce. The head of his ſpeare came vnto ten pound Engliſh or 600. ſicles of that metall. His height alſo was meaſured at ſix cubits and an hand breath. All which do import that he was a notable giant, and a man of great ſtature & ſtrength to weare ſuch an armour, and beweld ſo heaute a lance. But Goropius thinking himſelfe ſtill to haue Og in hand, and indeuouring to extenuate the fulneſſe of the letter to his vttermoſt power, doth neuertheleſſe earneſtlie affirme, that he was not aboue three foot more than the common ſort of men, or two foot higher than Saule: and ſo he leaueth it as determined.

Cap. 21. ver. 16, 17, &c. In the ſecond of Samuel, I find report of foure giants borne in Geth; of which Iſhbenob the firſt, that would haue killed Dauid, had a ſpeare, whoſe head weighed the iuſt halfe of that of Goliah: the ſecond called Siphai, Sippai or Saph, 1. *Par.* 20. was nothing inferiour to the firſt: the third hight alſo Goliah, the ſtaffe of whoſe ſpeare was like vnto the beame of a weauers loome, neuertheleſſe he was ſlaine in the ſecond battell in Gob by Elhanan, as the firſt was by Abiſai Ioabs brother, and the ſecond by Elhanan. The fourth brother (for they were all brethren) was ſlaine at Gath by Ionathan nephew to Dauid, and he was not onlie huge of perſonage, but alſo of diſfigured forme, for he had 24. fingers and toes. Wherby it is euident, that the generation of giants was not extinguiſhed in Paleſtine, vntill the time of Dauid, which was 2890. after the floud, nor vtterlie conſumed in Og, as ſome of our expoſitors would haue it.

Now to come vnto our chriſtian writers. For though the authorities alreadie alleged out of the word, are ſufficient to confirme my purpoſe at the full; yet will I not let to ſet downe ſuch other notes as experience hath reuealed, onelie to the end that the reader ſhall not thinke the name of giants, with their quantities, and other circumſtances, mentioned in the ſcriptures, rather to haue ſome myſticall interpretation depending vpon them, than that the ſenſe of the text in this behalfe is to be taken ſimplie as it ſpeaketh. And firſt of all to omit that which Tertullian *Lib. 2. de reſurrect.* ſaith; De ciuitate Dei lib. 15. cap. 9. S. Auguſtine noteth, how he with other ſaw the tooth of a man, wherof he tooke good aduiſement, and pronounced in the end that it would haue made 100. of his owne, or ante other mans that liued in his time. The like hereof alſo doth Iohn Boccace ſet downe, in the 68. chapter of his 4. booke, ſaieng that in the caue of a mountaine, not far from Drepanum (a towne of Sicilia called Eryx as he geſſeth) the bodie of an exceeding high giant was diſcouered, three of whoſe teeth did weigh 100. ounces, which being conuerted into Engliſh poiſe, doth yeeld eight pound and foure ounces, after twelue ounces to the pound, that is 33. ounces euerie tooth. Iohannes Boccacius.

He addeth farther, that the forepart of his ſcull was able to conteine manie buſhels of wheat, and by the proportion of the bone of his thigh, the Symmetricians iudged his bodie to be aboue 200. cubits. Whoſe teeth, ſcull, and bones, were (and as I thinke yet are, for ought I know to the contrarie) to be ſeene in the church of Drepanum in perpetuall memorie of his greatneſſe, whoſe bodie was found vpon this occaſion. As ſome digged in the earth to laie the foundation of an houſe, the miners happened vpon a great vault, not farre from Drepanum: whereinto when they were entred, they ſaw the huge bodie of a man ſitting in the caue, of whoſe greatneſſe they were ſo afraid, that they ranne awaie, and made an outcrie in the citie, how there ſat a man in ſuch a place, ſo great as an hill: the people hearing the newes, ran out with clubs and weapons, as if they ſhould haue gone vnto a foughten field, and 300. of them entring into the caue, they forthwith ſaw that he was dead, and yet ſat as if he had béen aliue, hauing a ſtaffe in his hand, compared by mine author vnto the maſt of a tall ſhip, which being touched fell by and by to duſt, ſauing the nether end betweene his hand and the ground, whoſe hollowneſſe was filled with 1500. pound weight of lead, to beare vp his arme that it ſhould not fall in péeces: neuertheleſſe, his bodie alſo being touched fell likewiſe into duſt, ſauing three of his aforeſaid teeth, the forepart of his ſcull, and one of his thigh bones, which are reſerued to be ſéene of ſuch as will hardlie beléeue theſe reports. A carcaſe diſcouered of 200. cubits.

In the hiſtories of Brabant I read of a giant found, whoſe bones were 17. or 18. cubits in length, but Goropius, as his maner is, denieth them to be the bones of a man, affirming rather that they were the bones of an elephant, becauſe they ſomwhat reſembled thoſe of two ſuch beaſts which were found at the making of the famous ditch betweene Bruſels and Machlin. As though there

there were anie preciſe reſemblance betweene the bones of a man and of an elephant, or that there had euer beene anie elephant of 27. foot in length. But ſee his demeanour. In the end he granteth that another bodie was found vpon the ſhore of Rhodanus, of thirtie foot in length. Which ſomewhat ſtaieth his iudgement, but not altogither remoueth his error.

Mat. Weſtmon. The bodie of Pallas was found in Italie, in the yeare of Grace 1038. and being meaſured it conteined twentie foot in length, this Pallas was companion with Æneas.

Iohannes Leland. Maffeus, lib. 14. Trucr. Mat. Weſt. There was a carcaſe alſo laid bare 1170. in England vpon the ſhore (where the beating of the ſea had waſhed awaie the earth from the ſtone wherein it laie) and when it was taken vp, it conteined 50. foot in meaſure, as our hiſtories do report. The like was ſeene before in Wales, in the yeare 1087. of another of 14. foot.

In Perth moreouer a village in Scotland another was taken vp, which to this daie they ſhew in a church, vnder the name of little Iohn (*per Antiphraſin*) being alſo 14. foot in length, as diuerſe do affirme which haue beholden the ſame, and whereof Hector Boetius doth ſaie, that he did put his whole arme into one of the hanch bones: which is worthie to be remembred.

Hector Boet.

In the yeare of Grace 1475. the bodie of Tulliola the daughter of Cicero was taken vp, & found higher by not a few foot than the common ſort of women liuing in thoſe daies.

Geruaſius Tilberienſis. Geruaſius Tilberienſis, head Marſhall to the king of Arles writeth in his Chronicle dedicated to Otho 4. how that at Iſoretum, in the ſuburbes of Paris, he ſaw the bodie of a man that was twentie foot long, beſide the head and the necke, which was miſſing & not found, the owner hauing peraduenture beene beheaded for ſome notable treſpaſſe committed in times paſt, or (as he ſaith) killed by S. William.

The Greeke writers make mention of Andronicus their emperour, who liued 1183. of Grace, and was ten foot in height, that is, three foot higher than the Dutch man that ſhewed himſelfe in manie places of England, 1582. this man maried Anna daughter to Lewis of France (before affianced to Alexius, whome he ſtrangled, diſmembred and drowned in the ſea) the ladie not being aboue eleuen yeares of age, whereas he was an old dotard, and beſide hir he kept Marpaca a fine harlot, who ruled him as ſhe liſted.

Zonaras ſpeaketh of a woman that liued in the daies of Iuſtine, who being borne in Cilicia, and of verie comelie perſonage, was neuertheleſſe almoſt two foot taller than the talleſt woman of hir time.

Sir Thomas Elyot. A carcaſe was taken vp at Iuie church neere Saliſburie but of late yeares to ſpeake of, almoſt fourteene foot long. *in Dictionario Eliotæ.*

Leland in Cornbrit. In Gilleſland in Come Whitton paroche not far from the chappell of the Wood, ſix miles by eaſt from Carleill, a coffin of ſtone was found, and therein the bones of a man, of more than incredible greatnes. In like ſort Leland ſpeaketh of another found in the Ile called Alderney, whereof you ſhall read more in the chapiter of our Ilands.

Richard Grafton. Richard Grafton in his Manuell telleth of one whoſe ſhinbone conteined ſix foot, and thereto his ſcull ſo great that it was able to receiue fiue pecks of wheat. Wherefore by coniecturall ſymmetrie of theſe parts, his bodie muſt needs be of 24. foot, or rather more, if it were diligentlie meaſured. For the proportion of a comelie and well featured bodie, anſwereth 9. times to the length of the face, taken at large from the pitch of the crowne to the chin, as the whole length is from the ſame place vnto the ſole of the foot, meaſured by an imagined line, and ſeuered into ſo manie parts by like ouerthwart draughts, as Druretus in his lineall deſcription of mans bodie doth deliuer. Neuertheles, this ſymmetrie is not taken by other than the well proportioned face,

The Symmetrie or proportion of the bodie of a comelie man.

for *Recta, orbiculata* (or *fornicata*) *prona, reſupinata*, and *Lacunata* (or *repanda*) do ſo far degenerate from the true proportion as from the forme and beautie of the comelie. Herby alſo they make the face taken in ſtrict maner, to be the tenth part of the whole bodie, that is, frõ the higheſt part of the forehead to the pitch of the chin, ſo that in the vſe of the word face there is a difference, whereby the 9. part is taken (I ſay) from the crowne (called *Vertex*, becauſe the haire there turneth into a circle) ſo that if the ſpace by a rule were truelie taken, I meane from the crowne or higheſt part of the head to the pitch of the nether chap, and multiplied by nine, the length of the whole bodie would eaſilie appeare, & ſhew it ſelfe at the full. In like maner I find, that from the elbow to the top of the midle finger is the 4. part of the whole length, called a cubit: from the wriſt to the top of the ſame finger, a tenth part: the length of the ſhinbone to the ancle a fourth part (and all one with the cubit:) from the top of the finger to the third ioint, two third parts of the face from the top of the forehead. Which obſeruations I willinglie remember in this place, to the end that if anie ſuch carcaſes happen to be found hereafter, it ſhall not be hard by ſome of theſe bones here mentioned, to come by the ſtature of the whole bodie, in certeine & exact maner. As for the reſt of the bones, ioints, parts, &c: you may reſort to Druretus, Cardan, and other writers, ſith the farther deliuerie of them concerneth not my purpoſe. To proceed therefore with other examples, I read that the bodie of king Arthur being found in the yeare 1189. was two foot higher than anie man that came to behold the ſame. Finallie the carcaſe of William conqueror was ſeene not manie yeares ſince (to wit, 1542.) in the citie of Cane, twelue inches longer, by the iudgment of ſuch as ſaw it, than anie man which dwelled in the countrie. All which teſtimonies I note togither, becauſe they proceed from chriſtian writers, from whome nothing ſhould be farther or more diſtant, than of ſet purpoſe to lie, and feed the world with fables.

Sylueſter Giraldus. Conſtans fama Gallorum.

In our times alſo, and whileſt Francis the firſt reigned ouer France, there was a man ſeene in Aquiteine, whome the king being in thoſe parties made of his gard, whoſe height was ſuch, that a man of common height might eaſilie go vnder his twiſt without ſtooping, a ſtature incredible. Moreouer Caſanion, a writer of our time, telleth of the bones of Briat a giant found of late in Delphinois, of 15. cubits, the diameter of whoſe ſcull was two cubits, and the breadth of his ſhoulders foure, as he himſelfe beheld in the late ſecond wars of France, & whereunto the report of Ioan Marius made in his bookes *De Galliarum illuſtrationibus*, where he writeth of the carcaſe of the ſame giant found not farre from the Rhodanus, which was 22. foot long, from the ſcull to the ſole of the foot, doth yeeld ſufficient teſtimonie. Alſo Calameus in his commentaries *De Biturigibus*, confirmeth no leſſe, adding that he was found 1556. & ſo doth Baptiſta Fulgoſus, *lib. 1. cap. 6.* ſaieng farther, that his graue was ſeene not farre from Valentia, and diſcouered by the violence and current of the Rhodanus. The ſaid Caſanion in like ſort ſpeaketh of the bones of a man which he beheld, one of whoſe teeth was a foot long, and eight pound in weight. Alſo of the ſepulchre of another neere vnto Charmes caſtell, which was nine paces in length, things incredible to vs, if eieſight did not confirme it in our owne times, and theſe carcaſes were not reſerued by the verie prouidence of God, to the end we might behold his works, and by theſe reliques vnderſtand, that ſuch men were in old time in deed, of whoſe ſtatures we now begin to doubt. Now to ſay ſomwhat alſo of mine owne knowledge, there is the thighbone of a man to be ſeene in the church of S. Laurence neere Guildhall in London, which in time paſt was 26. inches in length, but now it beginneth to decaie, ſo that it is ſhorter by foure inches than it was in the time of king Edward. Another alſo

is

is to be ſeene in Aldermarie burie, of ſome called Aldermanburie, of 32. inches and rather more, whereof the ſymmetrie hath beene taken by ſome skilfull in that practiſe, and an image made according to that proportion, which is ſet in the eaſt end of the cloiſter of the ſame church, not farre from the ſaid bone, and ſheweth the perſon of a man full ten or eleuen foot high, which as ſome ſay was found in the cloiſter of Poules, that was neere to the librarie, at ſuch time as the Duke of Somerſet did pull it downe to the verie foundation, and carried the ſtones thereof to the Strand, where he did build his houſe. Theſe two bones haue I ſeene, beſide other, whereof at the beholding I toke no great heed, becauſe I minded not as then to haue had any ſuch vſe of their proportions, and therefore I will ſpeake no more of them: this is ſufficient for my purpoſe that is deliuered out of the chriſtian authors.

Now it reſteth furthermore that I ſet downe, what I haue read therof in Pagane writers, who had alwaies great regard of their credit, and ſo ought all men that dedicate any thing vnto poſteritie, leaſt in going about otherwiſe to reape renowme and praiſe, they do procure vnto themſelues in the end nothing elſe but meere contempt and infamie. For my part I will touch rare things, and ſuch as to my ſelfe do ſeeme almoſt incredible: howbeit as I find them, ſo I note them, requiring your Honour in reading hereof, to let euerie Author beare his owne burden, and euerie ore his bundle.

In vita Sertorij de Antheo. Plutarch telleth how Sertorius being in Lybia, neere to the ſtreicts of Maroco, to wit, at Tingi (or Tanger in Mauritania, as it is now called) cauſed the ſepulchre of Antheus, afore remembred to be opened: for hearing by common report that the ſaid giant laie buried there, whoſe corps was fiftie cubits long at the leaſt, he was ſo far off from crediting the ſame, that he would not beleeue it, vntill he ſaw the coffin open wherein the bones of the aforeſaid prince did reſt. To be ſhort therefore, he cauſed his ſouldiers to caſt downe the hill made ſometime ouer the tombe, and finding the bodie in the bottome coffined in ſtone, after the meaſure therof taken, he ſaw it manifeſtlie to be 60. cubits in length, which were ten more than the people made accompt of, which Strabo alſo confirmeth.

Pauſanias reporteth out of one Miſo, that when the bodie of Aiax was found, the whirlebone of his knee was adiudged ſo broad as a platie diſh: alſo that the bodie of Aſterius ſomtime king of Creta was ten cubits long, and that of Hyllus or Gerion no leſſe maruelous than the reſt, all which Goropius ſtill condemneth to be the bones of monſters of the ſea notwithſtanding the manifeſt formes of their bones, epitaphes, and inſcriptions found ingrauen in braſſe and lead with them in their ſepulchres) ſo far is he from being perſuaded and led from his opinion.

Philoſtrate. Philoſtrate *in Heroicis* ſaith, how he ſaw the bodie of a giant thirtie cubits in length, alſo the carcaſe of another of two and twentie, and the third of twelue.

Liuie in the ſeauenth of his firſt decade, ſpeaketh of an huge perſon which made a challenge as he ſtood at the end of the Anien bridge, againſt any Romane that would come out and fight with him, whoſe ſtature was not much inferiour to that of Golias, of Artaches (of whome Herodot ſpeaketh in the hiſtorie of Xerxes) who was ſixe common cubits of ſtature, which make but fiue of the kings ſtandard, becauſe this is longer by three fingers than the other. Of Puſio, Secundilla, & Cabaras, of which the firſt two liuing vnder Auguſtus were aboue ten foot, and the later vnder Claudius of full nine, and all remembred by Plinie; of Eleazar a Iew, of whome Ioſephus ſaith, that he was ſent to Tiberius, and a perſon of height fiue cubits; of another of whom Nicephorus maketh mention *lib.* 12. *cap.* 13. *Hiſt. eccleſ.* of fiue cubits and an handfull, I ſay nothing, becauſe Caſanion of Putterell hath alredie ſufficientlie diſcourſed vpon theſe examples in his *De gigantibus*, which as I geſſe he hath written of ſet purpoſe againſt Goropius, who in his *Gigantomachia*, ſuppoſeth himſelfe to haue killed all the giants in the world, and like a new Iupiter *Alterum carcaſſe Herculem*, as the ſaid Caſanion doth merilie charge and vpbraid him.

Plinie telleth of an earthquake at Creta, which diſcouered the bodie of a giant, that was 46. cubits in length after the Romane ſtandard, and by diuerſe ſuppoſed to be the bodie of Orion or Ætion. Neuertheleſſe I read, that Lucius Flaccus and Metellus did ſweare *Per ſua capita*, that it was either the carcaſe of ſome monſter of the ſea, or a forged deuiſe to bleare the peoples eies withall, wherein it is wonderfull to ſee, how they pleaſe Goropius as one that firſt deriued his fantaſticall imagination from their aſſeueration & oth. The ſaid Plinie alſo addeth that the bodie of Oreſtes was ſeuen cubits in length, one Gabbara of Arabia nine foot nine inches, and two reſerued *In conditorio Salluſtianorum* halfe a foot longer than Gabbara was, for which I neuer read that anie man was driuen to ſweare. Lib. 7.

Trallianus writeth how the Athenienſes digging on a time in the ground, to laie the foundation of a new wall to be made in a certeine Iland in the daies of an emperour, did find the bones of Macroſyris in a coffin of hard ſtone, of 100. cubits in length after the accompt of the Romane cubit, which was then either a foot and a halfe, or not much in difference from halfe a yard of our meaſure now in England. Theſe verſes alſo, as they are now tranſlated out of Greeke were found withall, Trallianus.

Sepultus ego Macroſyris in longa inſula
Vitæ peractis annis mille quinquies: which amounteth to 81. yeares foure moneths, after the Aegyptian reckoning.

In the time of Hadrian the emperour, the bodie of the giant Ida was taken vp at Meſſana, conteining 20. foot in length, and hauing a double row of teeth, yet ſtanding whole in his chaps. Eumachus alſo in *Perigeſi*, telleth that when the Carthaginenſes went about to dich in their prouince, they found two bodies in ſeuerall coffins of ſtone, the one was 23. the other 24. cubits in length, ſuch another was found in Boſphoro Cymmerio after an earthquake, but the inhabitants did caſt thoſe bones into the Meotidan marris. In Dalmatia, manie graues were ſhaken open with an earthquake, in diuers of which certeine carcaſes were found, whoſe ribs conteined 16. els, after the Romane meaſure, whereby the whole bodies were iudged to be 64. ſith the longeſt rib is commonlie about the fourth part of a man, as ſome rouing ſymmetricians affirme.

Arrhianus ſaith, that in the time of Alexander the bodies of the Aſianes were generallie of huge ſtature, and commonlie of fiue cubits, and ſuch was the height of Porus of Inde, whom the ſaid Alexander vanquiſhed and ouerthrew in battell.

Suidas ſpeaketh of Ganges, killed alſo by the ſaid prince, who farre exceeded Porus; for he was ten cubits long. What ſhould I ſpeake of Artaceas a capitaine in the hoſt of Xerxes, afore remembred, whoſe height was within 4. fingers breadth of fiue cubits, & the talleſt man in the armie except the king himſelfe. Herod. *lib.* 7. Of Athanatus whom Plinie remembreth I ſaie nothing. But of all theſe, this one example ſhall paſſe, which I do read of in Trallianus, and he ſetteth downe in forme and manner following.

In the daies of Tiberius th'emperor ſaith he, a corps was left bare or laid open after an earthquake, of which ech teeth (taken one with another) conteined 12. inches ouer at the leaſt. Now forſomuch as in ſuch as be full mouthed, ech chap hath commonlie 16. teeth at the leaſt, which amount vnto 32. in the whole, needs muſt the wideneſſe of this mans chaps be welneere of 16. foot, and the opening of his lips fiue at the leaſt. A large mouth

A mouth of fifteene foot wide.

mouth in mine opinion, and not to eat peaſon with Ladies of my time, bicauſe that if occaſion ſerued, it was able to receiue the whole bodies of mo than one of the greateſt men, I meane of ſuch as we be in our daies. When this carcaſe was thus found, euerie man marueiled at it, & good cauſe why. A meſſenger was ſent to Tiberius the emperour alſo to know his pleaſure, whether he would haue the ſame brought ouer vnto Rome or not, but he forbad them, willing his Legate not to remoue the dead out of his reſting place, but rather ſomewhat to ſatiſfie his phantaſie to ſend him a toth out of his head, which being done, he gaue it to a cunning workeman, commanding him to ſhape a carcaſe of light matter, after the proportion of the toth, that at the leaſt by ſuch means he might ſatiſfie his curious mind, and the fantaſies of ſuch as are delited with nouelties. To be ſhort, when the image was once made and ſet vp on end, it appeered rather an huge coloſſe than the true carcaſe of a man, and when it had ſtood in Rome vntill the people were wearie & throughlie ſatiſfied with the ſight thereof, he cauſed it to be broken all to peeces, and the toth ſent againe to the carcaſe frō whence it came, willing them moreouer to couer it diligentlie, and in anie wiſe not to diſmember the corps, nor from thenceforth to be ſo hardie as to open the ſepulchre anie more. Pauſan. *lib.* 8. telleth in like maner of Hiplodanus & his fellowes, who liued when Rhea was with child of Oſyris by Cham, and were called to hir aid at ſuch time as ſhe feared to be moleſted by Hammon hir firſt huſband, whileſt ſhe remained vpon the Thoumaſian hill, *In ipſo loco*, ſaith he, *ſpectantur oſſa maiora multo quàm vt humana exiſtimari poſſint, &c.* Of Protophanes who had but one great and broad bone in ſtead of all his ribs on ech ſide I ſaie nothing, ſith it concerneth not his ſtature.

A counterfect made of a monſtrous carcaſe by one toth taken out of the head.

This man was more fauorable to this monſter than our papiſts were to the bodies of the dead who tare them in peeces to make money of them.

Grandiáque effoſſis mirabitur oſſa ſepulchris.

I could rehearſe manie mo examples of the bodies of ſuch men, out of Solinus, Sabellicus, D. Cooper, and others. As of Octas and Ephialtes, who were ſaid to be nine orgies or paces in heigth, and foure in breadth, which are taken for ſo many cubits, bicauſe there is ſmall difference betweene a mans ordinarie pace and his cubit, and finallie of our Richard the firſt, who is noted to beare an axe in the wars, the iron of whoſe head onelie weighed twentie pound after our greateſt weight, and whereof an old writer that I haue ſeene, ſaith thus:

This king Richard I vnderſtand,
Yer he went out of England,
Let make an axe for the nones,
Therewith to cleaue the Saracens bones,
The head in ſooth was wrought full weele,
Thereon were twentie pound of ſteele,
And when he came in Cyprus land,
That ilkon axe he tooke in hand, &c.

I could ſpeake alſo of Gerards ſtaffe or lance, yet to be ſeene in Gerards hall at London in Baſing lane, which is ſo great and long that no man can beweld it, neither go to the top thereof without a ladder, which of ſet purpoſe and for greater countenance of the wonder is fixed by the ſame. I haue ſeene a man my ſelfe of ſeuen foot in heigth, but lame of his legs. The chronicles alſo of Cogſhall ſpeake of one in Wales, who was halfe a foot higher, but through infirmitie and wounds not able to beweld himſelfe. I might (if I thought good) ſpeake alſo of another of no leſſe heigth than either of theſe and liuing of late yeares, but theſe here remembred ſhall ſuffice to proue my purpoſe withall. I might tell you in like ſort of the marke ſtone which Turnus threw at Æneas, and was ſuch as that twelue choſen and picked men (ſaith Virgil,

(*Qualia nunc hominum producit corpora tellus*)

Vis vnita fortior eſt ea-dem diſperſa.

were not able ſo ſtur and remoue out of the place: but I paſſe it ouer, and diuerſe of the like, concluding that theſe huge blocks were ordeined and created by God: firſt for a teſtimonie vnto vs of his power and might; and ſecondlie for a confirmation, that hugenes of bodie is not to be accompted of as a part of our felicitie, ſith they which poſſeſſed the ſame, were not onelie tyrants, doltiſh, & euill men, but alſo oftentimes ouercome euen by the weake & feble. Finallie they were ſuch indeed as in whom the Lord delited not, according to the ſaieng of the prophet Baruch; *Ibi fuerunt gigantes nominati, illi qui ab initio fuerunt ſtatura magna, ſcientes bellum, hos non elegit* Cap. 3. 36. *Dominus, neque illis viam diſciplinæ dedit, propterea perierunt, & quoniam non habuerunt ſapientiam, interierunt propter ſuam inſipientiam, &c.* that is, Where were the giants famous from the beginning, that were of great ſtature and expert in warre, thoſe did not the Lord chooſe, neither gaue he the waie of knowledge vnto them, but they were deſtroied, becauſe they had no wiſedome, and periſhed through their owne fooliſhneſſe. That the bodies of men alſo do dailie decaie in ſtature, beſide Plinie *lib.* 7. Eſdras likewiſe confeſſeth *lib.* 4. *cap.* 5. whoſe authoritie 4. Eſd. cap 5. is ſo good herein as that of Homer or Plinie, who do affirme ſo much, whereas Goropius ſtill continuing his wonted pertinacitie alſo in this behalfe, maketh his proportion firſt by the old Romane foot, and then by his owne, & thereupon concludeth that men in theſe daies be fullie ſo great as euer they were, whereby as in the former dealing he thinketh it nothing to conclude againſt the ſcriptures, choſen writers and teſtimonies of the oldeſt pagans. But ſee how he would ſalue all at laſt in the end of his Gigantomachia, where he ſaith, I denie not but that od huge perſonages haue bene ſeene, as a woman of ten, and a man of nine foot long, which I my ſelfe alſo haue beholden, but as now ſo in old time the common ſort did ſo much wonder at the like as we do at theſe, becauſe they were ſeldome ſeene, and not commonlie to be heard of.

Of the languages ſpoken in this Iland. Cap. 6.

Britiſh.

WHat language came firſt with Samothes and afterward with Albion, and the giants of his companie, it is hard for me to determine, ſith nothing of ſound credit remaineth in writing, which may reſolue vs in the truth hereof. Yet of ſo much are we certeine, that the ſpeach of the ancient Britons, and of the Celts, had great affinitie one with another, ſo that they were either all one, or at leaſtwiſe ſuch as either nation with ſmall helpe of interpretors might vnderſtand other, and readilie diſcerne what the ſpeaker meant. Some are of the opinion that the Celts ſpake Greeke, and how the Britiſh tong reſembled the ſame, which was ſpoken in Grecia before Homer did reforme it: but I ſee that theſe men do ſpeake without authoritie and therefore I reiect them, for if the Celts which were properlie called Galles did ſpeake Greeke, why did Ceſar in his letters ſent to Rome vſe that language, becauſe that if they ſhould be intercepted they might not vnderſtand them, or why did he not vnderſtand the Galles, he being ſo skilfull in the language without an interpretor? Yet I denie not but that the Celtiſh and Britiſh ſpeaches might haue great affinitie one with another, and the Britiſh aboue all other with the Greeke, for both do appeere by certeine words, as firſt in tri for three, march for an horſſe, & trimarchia, whereof Pauſanias ſpeaketh, for both. Atheneus alſo writeth of Bathanaſius a capitaine of the Galles, whoſe name is meere Britiſh, compounded of Bath & Ynad, & ſignifieth a noble or conclie iudge. And whereas he ſaith that the reliques of the Galles tooke vp their firſt dwelling about Iſther, and afterward diuided themſelues in ſuch wiſe, that they which went and dwelled in Hungarie were called Sordſai, and the other that inha-

Small difference betweene the Britiſh and Celtike languages.

inhabited within the dominion of Tyrroll) Brenni, whoſe ſeate was on the mount Brenhere parcell of the Alpes, what elſe ſignifieth the word Iſcaredich in Britiſh, from whence the word Scordiſci commeth, but to be diuided? Hereby then, and ſundrie other the like teſtimonies, I gather that the Britiſh and the Celtiſh ſpeaches had great affinitie one with another, as I ſaid, which Ceſar (ſpeaking of the ſimilitude or likeneſſe of religion in both nations) doth alſo auerre, & Tacitus *in vita* Agricolæ, in like ſort plainlie affirmeth, or elſe it muſt needs be that the Galles which inuaded Italie and Græce were mere Britons, of whoſe likenes of ſpeech with the Græke tong I need not make anie triall, ſith no man (I hope) will readilie denie it. Appianus talking of the Brenni calleth them Cymbres, and by this I gather alſo that the Celts and the Britons were indifferentlie called Cymbri in their owne language, or elſe that the Britons were the right Cymbri, who vnto this daie do not refuſe to be called by that name. Bodinus writing of the meanes by which the originall of euerie kingdome and nation is to be had and diſcerned, ſetteth downe three waies whereby the knowledge thereof is to be found, one is (ſaith he) the infallible teſtimonie of the ſound writers, the other the deſcription and ſite of the region, the third the relikes of the ancient ſpeech remaining in the ſame. Which later if it be of any force, then I muſt conclude, that the ſpeech of the Britons and Celts was ſometime either all one or verie like one to another, or elſe it muſt follow that the Britons ouerflowed the continent vnder the name of Cymbres, being peraduenture aſſociat in this voiage, or mixed by inuaſion with the Danes, and Norwegiens, who are called Cymbri and Cymmerij, as moſt writers do remember. This alſo is euident (as Plutarch likewiſe confeſſeth *In vita Marij*) that no man knew from whence the Cymbres came in his daies, and therfore I beleeue that they came out of Britaine, for all the maine was well knowne vnto them, I meane euen to the vttermoſt part of the north, as may appeare furthermore by the ſlaues which were dailie brought from thence vnto them, whom of their countries they called Dani for Daci, Getæ for Gothes, &c: for of their conqueſts I need not make rehearſall, ſith they are commonlie knowne and remembred by the writers, both of the Greekes and Latines.

Britiſh corrupted by the Latine and Saxon ſpeeches.

The Britiſh tong called Camberaec doth yet remaine in that part of the Iland, which is now called Wales, whither the Britons were driuen after the Saxons had made a full conqueſt of the other, which we now call England, although the priſtinate integritie thereof be not a little diminiſhed by mixture of the Latine and Saxon ſpeaches withall. Howbeit, manie poeſies and writings (in making whereof that nation hath euermore delited) are yet extant in my time, whereby ſome difference betweene the ancient and preſent language may eaſilie be diſcerned, notwithſtanding that among all theſe there is nothing to be found, which can ſet downe anie ſound and full teſtimonie of their owne originall, in remembrance whereof, their Bards and cunning men haue beene moſt ſlacke and negligent. Giraldus in praiſing the Britons affirmeth that there is not one word in all their language, that is not either Græke or Latine. Which being rightly vnderſtanded and conferred with the likeneſſe that was in old time betweene the Celts & the Britiſh tongs, will not a little helpe thoſe that thinke the old Celtiſh to haue ſome ſauour of the Græke. But how ſoeuer that matter ſtandeth, after the Britiſh ſpeach came once ouer into this Iland, ſure it is, that it could neuer be extinguiſhed for all the attempts that the Romans, Saxons, Normans, and Engliſhmen could make againſt that nation, in anie maner of wiſe.

The Britons diligent in petigrees.

Petigrées and genealogies alſo the Welſh Britons haue plentie in their owne tong, inſomuch that manie of them can readilie deriue the ſame, either from Brute or ſome of his band, euen vnto Æneas and other of the Troians, and ſo forth vnto Noah without anie maner of ſtop. But as I know not what credit is to be giuen vnto them in this behalfe, although I muſt néeds confeſſe that their ancient Bards were verie diligent in there collection, and had alſo publike allowance or ſalarie for the ſame; ſo I dare not abſolutelie impugne their aſſertions, ſith that in times paſt all nations (learning it no doubt of the Hebrues) did verie ſolemnelie preſerue the catalogs of their deſcents, thereby either to ſhew themſelues of ancient and noble race, or elſe to be deſcended from ſome one of the gods. But

Stemmata quid faciunt? quid prodeſt Pontice longo
Sanguine cenſeri? aut quid auorum ducere turmas? &c.

Latine.

Next vnto the Britiſh ſpeach, the Latine tong was brought in by the Romans, and in maner generallie planted through the whole region, as the French was after by the Normans. Of this tong I will not ſay much, becauſe there are few which be not skilfull in the ſame. Howbeit, as the ſpeach it ſelfe is eaſie and delectable, ſo hath it peruerted the names of the ancient riuers, regions, & cities of Britaine in ſuch wiſe, that in theſe our daies their old Britiſh denominations are quite growne out of memorie, and yet thoſe of the new Latine left as moſt vncertaine. This remaineth alſo vnto my time, borrowed from the Romans, that all our déeds, euidences, charters, & writings of record, are ſet downe in the Latine tong, though now verie barbarous, and therevnto the copies and court-rolles, and proceſſes of courts and léets regiſtred in the ſame.

The Saxon toong.

The third language apparantlie knowne is the Scythian or high Dutch, induced at the firſt by the Saxons (which the Britons call Sayſonaec, as they do the ſpeakers Sayſon) an hard and rough kind of ſpeach, God wot, when our nation was brought firſt into acquaintance withall, but now changed with vs into a farre more fine and eaſie kind of vtterance, and ſo poliſhed and helped with new and milder words, that it is to be auouched how there is no one ſpeach vnder the ſunne ſpoken in our time, that hath or can haue more varietie of words, copie of phraſes, or figures and floures of eloquence, than hath our Engliſh tong, although ſome haue affirmed vs rather to barke as dogs, than talke like men, becauſe the moſt of our words (as they do indéed) incline vnto one ſyllable. This alſo is to be noted as a teſtimonie remaining ſtill of our language, deriued from the Saxons, that the generall name for the moſt part of euerie ſkilfull artificer in his trade endeth in Here with vs, albeit the H be left out, and er onlie inſerted, as Scriuenhere, writehere, ſhiphere, &c: for ſcriuener, writer, and ſhipper, &c: beſide manie other relikes of that ſpéech, neuer to be aboliſhed.

The French toong.

After the Saxon tong, came the Norman or French language ouer into our countrie, and therein were our lawes written for a long time. Our children alſo were by an eſpeciall decrée taught firſt to ſpeake the ſame, and therevnto inforced to learne their conſtructions in the French, whenſoeuer they were ſet to the Grammar ſchoole. In like ſort few biſhops, abbats, or other clergie men, were admitted vnto anie eccleſiaſticall function here among vs, but ſuch as came out of religious houſes from beyond the ſeas, to the end they ſhould not vſe the Engliſh tong in their ſermons to the people. In the court alſo it grew into ſuch contempt, that moſt men thought it no ſmall diſhonor to ſpeake any Engliſh there. Which brauerie toke his hold at the laſt likewiſe in the countrie with euerie plowman, that euen the verie carters began to wax wearie of there mother tong, & laboured to ſpeake French, which as then was counted no ſmall token of gentilitie. And no maruell, for euerie French raſcall, when he came once hither, was taken for a gentleman, onelie becauſe he was proud, and could vſe his owne language, and all this (I ſay) to

exile

exile the Engliſh and Britiſh ſpeaches quite out of the countrie. But in vaine, for in the time of king Edward the firſt, to wit, toward the latter end of his reigne, the French it ſelfe ceaſed to be ſpoken generallie, but moſt of all and by law in the midſt of Edward the third, and then began the Engliſh to recouer and grow in more eſtimation than before; notwithſtanding that among our artificers, the moſt part of their implements, toles and words of art reteine ſtill their French denominations euen to theſe our daies, as the language it ſelfe is vſed likewiſe in ſundrie courts, bookes of record, and matters of law; whereof here is no place to make any particular rehearſall. Afterward alſo, by diligent trauell of Geffray Chaucer, and Iohn Gowre, in the time of Richard the ſecond, and after them of Iohn Scogan, and Iohn Lydgate monke of Berrie, our ſaid tong was brought to an excellent paſſe, notwithſtanding that it neuer came vnto the type of perfection, vntill the time of Quéene Elizabeth, wherein Iohn Iewell B. of Sarum, Iohn Fox, and ſundrie learned & excellent writers haue fullie accompliſhed the ornature of the ſame, to their great praiſe and immortall commendation; although not a few other do greatlie ſéeke to ſtaine the ſame, by fond affectation of forren and ſtrange words, preſuming that to be the beſt Engliſh, which is moſt corrupted with externall termes of eloquence, and ſound of manie ſyllables. But as this excellencie of the Engliſh tong is found in one, and the ſouth part of this Iland; ſo in Wales the greateſt number (as I ſaid) retaine ſtill their owne ancient language, that of the north part of the ſaid countrie being leſſe corrupted than the other, and therefore reputed for the better in their owne eſtimation and iudgement. This alſo is proper to vs Engliſhmen, that ſith ours is a meane language, and neither too rough nor too ſmooth in vtterance, we may with much facilitie learne any other language, beſide Hebrue, Greéke & Latine, and ſpeake it naturallie, as if we were home-borne in thoſe countries; & yet on the other ſide it falleth out, I wot not by what other meanes, that few forren nations can rightlie pronounce ours, without ſome and that great note of imperfection, eſpeciallie the French men, who alſo ſeldome write any thing that ſauoreth of Engliſh trulie. It is a paſtime to read how Natalis Comes in like maner, ſpeaking of our affaires, doth clip the names of our Engliſh lords. But this of all the reſt doth breed moſt admiration with me, that if any ſtranger do hit vpon ſome likelie pronuntiation of our tong, yet in age he ſwarueth ſo much from the ſame, that he is worſe therein than euer he was, and thereto peraduenture halteth not a litle alſo in his owne, as I haue ſéene by experience in Reginald Wolfe, and other, whereof I haue iuſtlie maruelled.

The helpers of our Engliſh toong.

The Corniſh toong.

The Corniſh and Deuonſhire men, whoſe countrie the Britons call Cerniw, haue a ſpeach in like ſort of their owne, and ſuch as hath in déed more affinitie with the Armoricane tong than I can well diſcuſſe of. Yet in mine opinion, they are both but a corrupted kind of Britiſh, albeit ſo far degenerating in theſe daies from the old, that if either of them do méete with a Welſhman, they are not able at the firſt to vnderſtand one an other, except here and there in ſome od words, without the helpe of interpretors. And no maruell (in mine opinion) that the Britiſh of Cornewall is thus corrupted, ſith the Welſh tong that is ſpoken in the north & ſouth part of Wales, doth differ ſo much in it ſelfe, as the Engliſh vſed in Scotland doth from that which is ſpoken among vs here in this ſide of the Iland, as I haue ſaid alreadie.

Engliſhmen apt to learne any forren toong.

Scottiſh engliſh.

The Scottiſh engliſh hath béene much broader and leſſe pleaſant in vtterance than ours, becauſe that nation hath not till of late indeuored to bring the ſame to any perfect order, and yet it was ſuch in maner, as Engliſhmen themſelues did ſpeake for the moſt part beyond the Trent, whither any great amendement of our language had not as then extended it ſelfe. Howbeit in our time the Scottiſh language endeuoreth to come néere, if not altogither to match our tong in fineneſſe of phraſe, and copie of words. And this may in part appeare by an hiſtorie of the Apocrypha tranſlated into Scottiſh verſe by Hudſon, dedicated to the king of that countrie, and conteining fiue bookes, except my memorie do faile me.

Thus we ſée how that vnder the dominion of the king of England, and in the ſouth parts of the realme, we haue three ſeuerall tongs, that is to ſaie, Engliſh, Britiſh, and Cornish, and euen ſo manie are in Scotland, if you accompt the Engliſh ſpeach for one: notwithſtanding that for bredth and quantitie of the region, I meane onelie of the ſoile of the maine Iland, it be ſomewhat leſſe to ſee to than the other. For in the north part of the region, where the wild Scots, otherwiſe called the Redſhanks, or rough ſooted Scots (becauſe they go bare ſooted and clad in mantels ouer their ſaffron ſhirts after the Iriſh maner) do inhabit, they ſpeake good Iriſh which they call Gachtlet, as they ſaie of one Gathelus, whereby they ſhew their originall to haue in times paſt béene fetched out of Ireland: as I noted alſo in the chapiter precedent, and whereunto Vincentius *cap. de inſulis Oceani* doth yéeld his aſſent, ſaieng that Ireland was in time paſt called Scotia; *Scotia eadem* (ſaith he) *& Hibernia, proxima Britanniæ inſula, ſpatio terrarum anguſtior, ſed ſitu fœcundior; Scotia autem à Scotorum gentibus traditur appellata, &c.* But of the 14. booke of Iſidorus intituled *Originum*, where he alſo addeth that it is called Hybernia, becauſe it bendeth toward Iberia. But I find elſewhere that it is ſo called by certeine Spaniards which came to ſeeke and plant their inhabitation in the ſame, whereof in my Chronologie I haue ſpoken more at large.

The wild Scots. Redſhanks. Rough footed Scots. Iriſh Scots. Iriſh ſpeech.

In the Iles of the Orchades, or Orkeney, as we now call them, & ſuch coaſts of Britaine as do abbut vpon the ſame, the Gottiſh or Daniſh ſpeach is altogither in vſe, and alſo in Shetland, by reaſon (as I take it) that the princes of Norwaie held thoſe Ilands ſo long vnder their ſubiection, albeit they were otherwiſe reputed as rather to belong to Ireland, becauſe that the verie ſoile of them is enimie to poiſon, as ſome write, although for my part I had neuer any ſound experience of the truth hereof. And thus much haue I thought good to ſpeake of our old ſpeaches, and thoſe fiue languages now vſuallie ſpoken within the limits of our Iland.

Into how manie kingdoms this Iland hath beene diuided. Cap. 7.

Britaine at the firſt one entire kingdome.

IT is not to be doubted, but that at the firſt, the whole Iland was ruled by one onelie prince, and ſo continued from time to time, vntill ciuill diſcord, grounded vpō ambitious deſire to reigne, cauſed the ſame to be gouerned by diuerſe. And this I meane ſo well of the time before the comming of Brute, as after the extinction of his whole race & poſteritie. Howbeit, as it is vncerteine into how manie regions it was ſeuered, after the firſt partition; ſo it is moſt ſure that this latter diſturbed eſtate of regiment, continued in the ſame, not onelie vntill the time of Cæſar, but alſo in maner vnto the daies of Lucius, with whome the whole race of the Britons had an end, and the Romans full poſſeſſion of this Iland, who gouerned it by Legats after the maner of a prounce. It ſhould ſéeme alſo that within a while after the time of Dunwallon (who rather brought thoſe foure princes that vſurped in his time to obedience, than extinguiſhed their titles, & ſuch partition as they had made of the Iland among themſelues

ſelues) each great citie had hir freedome and ſeuerall kind of regiment, proper vnto hir ſelfe, beſide a large circuit of the countrie appertinent vnto the ſame, wherein were ſundrie other cities alſo of leſſe name, which owght homage and all ſubiection vnto the greater ſort. And to ſaie truth, hereof it came to paſſe, that each of theſe regions, whereinto this Iland was then diuided, toke his name of ſome one of theſe cities; although *Ciuitas* after Cæſar doth ſometime ſignifie an whole continent or kingdome, whereby there were in old time *Tot ciuitates quot regna*, and contrariwiſe as may appeare by that of the Trinobantes, which was ſo called of Trinobantum the chiefe citie of that portion, whoſe territories conteined all Eſſex, Middleſex, and part of Hertfordſhire, euen as the iuriſdiction of the biſhop of London is now extended, for the ouerſight of ſuch things as belong vnto the church. Ech of the gouernors alſo of theſe regions, called themſelues kings, and therevnto either of them dailie made warre vpon other, for the inlarging of their limits. But for ſomuch as I am not able to ſaie how manie did challenge this authoritie at once, and how long they reigned ouer their ſeuerall portions, I will paſſe ouer theſe ancient times, and come nearer vnto our owne, I meane the 600. yeare of Chriſt, whereof we haue more certeine notice, & at which ſeaſon there is euident proofe, that there were twelue or thirteene kings reigning in this Iland.

Wales diuided into three kingdomes.

We find therefore for the firſt, how that Wales had hir three ſeuerall kingdomes, which being accompted togither conteined (as Giraldus ſaith) 49. cantreds or cantons (whereof three were in his time poſſeſſed by the French and Engliſh) although that whole portion of the Iland extended in thoſe daies no farder than about 200. miles in length, and one hundred in breadth, and was cut from Lhoegres by the riuers Sauerne and Dée, of which two ſtreames this doth fall into the Iriſh ſea at Weſtchetter, the other into the maine Ocean, betwixt Somerſetſhire and Southwales, as their ſeuerall courſes ſhall witneſſe more at large.

Gwinhed.

In the begining it was diuided into two kingdoms onelie, that is to ſaie, Venedotia or Gwynhedh (otherwiſe called Deheubarth) and Demetia, for which we now vſe moſt cõmonlie the names of South & Northwales. But in a ſhort proceſſe of time a third ſprung vp in the verie middeſt betweene them both, which from thence-forth was called Powiſy, as ſhalbe ſhewed hereafter. For Roderijc the great, who flouriſhed 850. of Chriſt, and was king of all Wales (which then conteined onlie ſix regions) leauing three ſons behind him, by his laſt will & teſtament diuided the countrie into three portions, according to the number of his children, of which he aſſigned one vnto either of them, whereby Morwing or Morwinner had Gwynhedh or Northwales, Cadelh Demetia or Southwales, and Anaralt Powiſy, as Giraldus and other do remember. Howbeit it came to paſſe that after this diuiſion, Cadelh ſuruiued all his brethren, and thereby became lord of both their portions, and his ſucceſſors after him vntill the time of Teuther or Theodor (all is one) after which they were contented to keepe themſelues within the compaſſe of Demetia, which (as I ſaid) conteined 29. of thoſe 49. cantreds before mentioned, as Powiſy did ſir, and Gwinhedh foureteene, except my memorie do faile me.

Venedotia.

The firſt of theſe three, being called as (I ſaid) Northwales or Venedotia (or as Paulus Iouius ſaith Malfabrene, for he diuideth Wales alſo into three regions, of which he calleth the firſt Dumbera, the ſecond Berfrona, and the third Malfabrene) lieth directlie ouer againſt the Ile of Angleſet, the chiefe citie whereof ſtood in the Ile of Angleſet and was called Aberfraw. It conteineth 4. regions, of which the ſaid Iland is the firſt, and whereof in the chapter inſuing I will intreate more at large.

Angleſet.

Arfon.

Merioneth.

The ſecond is called Arfon, and ſituate betweene two riuers, the Segwy and the Conwy. The third is Merioneth, and as it is ſeuered from Arfon by the Conwy, ſo is it ſeparated from Tegenia (otherwiſe called Stradeluyd and Igenia the fourth region) by the riuer Cluda. Finallie, the limits of this latter are extended alſo euen vnto the Dée it ſelfe, and of theſe foure regions conſiſteth the kingdome of Venedotia, whereof in times paſt the region of the Canges was not the ſmalleſt portion.

Stradeluyd or Tegenia.

Powiſy.

The kingdome of Powiſy, laſt of all erected, as I ſaid, hath on the north ſide Gwinhedh, on the eaſt (from Cheſter to Hereford, or rather to Deane forreſt) England, on the ſouth and weſt the riuer Wy and verie high hilles, whereby it is notablie ſeuered from Southwales, the chiefe citie thereof being at the firſt Salopſburg, in old time Pengwerne, and Pnwithig, but now Shrowesburie, a citie or towne raiſed out of the ruines of Vricouium, which (ſtanding 4. miles from thence, and by the Saxons called Wrekenceſter and Wrokeceſter, before they ouerthrew it) is now inhabited with meere Engliſh, and where in old time the kings of Powiſy did dwell and hold their palaces, till Engliſhmen draue them from thence to Watrauall in the ſame prouince, where they from thenceforth abod. Vpon the limits of this kingdome, and not far from Holt caſtell, vpon ech ſide of the riuer, as the chanell now runneth, ſtood ſometime the famous monaſterie of Bangor, whileſt the abated glorie of the Britons yet remained vnextinguiſhed, and herein were 2100. monkes, of which, the learned ſort did preach the Goſpell, and the vnlearned labored with their hands, thereby to mainteine themſelues, and to ſuſtaine their preachers. This region was in like ſort diuided afterward in twaine, of which, the one was called Mailor or Mailroſſe, the other reteined ſtill hir old denomination, and of theſe the firſt laie by ſouth, & the latter by north of the Sauerne.

Bangor.

Mailroſſe.

As touching Mailroſſe, I read moreouer in the geſts of Fowkes de Warren, how that one William ſonne to a certeine ladie ſiſter to Paine Peuerell, the firſt lord of Whittington, after the conqueſt did win a part of the ſame, and the hundred of Elleſmore from the Welſhmen, in which enterpriſe he was ſo deſperatlie wounded, that no man hight him life; yet at the laſt by eating of the ſhield of a wild bore, he got an appetite and recouered his health. This William had iſſue two daughters, to wit, Helene maried to the heire of the Alans, and Mellent which refuſed mariage with anie man, except he were firſt tried to be a knight of proweſſe. Herevpon hir father made proclamation, that againſt ſuch a daie & at ſuch a place, whatſoeuer Gentleman could ſhew himſelfe moſt valiant in the field, ſhould marrie Mellent his daughter, & haue with hir his caſtell of Whittington with ſufficient liuelihood to mainteine their eſtates for euer. This report being ſpred, Fowkes de Warren came thither all in red, with a ſhield of ſiluer and pecocke for his creſt, whereof he was called the red knight, and there ouercomming the kings ſonne of Scotland, and a Baron of Burgundie, he maried the maid, and by hir had iſſue as in the treatiſe appeareth. There is yet great mention of the red knight in the countrie there about; and much like vnto this Mellent was the daughter ſometime of one of the lord Roſſes, called Kudall, who bare ſuch good will to Fitz-Henrie clarke of hir fathers kitchen, that ſhe made him carie hir awaie on horſſeback behind him, onlie for his manhood ſake, which preſentlie was tried. For being purſued & ouer taken, ſhe made him light, & held his cloke whileſt he killed and draue hir fathers men to flight: and then awaie they go, till hir father conceiuing a good opinion of Fitz-Henrie for this act, receiued him to his fauour, whereby that familie came vp. And thus much (by the waie) of Mailroſſe, whereof this may ſuffice, ſith mine intent is not as now to make anie preciſe deſcription of the particulars of Wales; but onelie to ſhew how thoſe regions laie,

Fowkes de Warren.

Helene.

Mellent.

The original of Fitz-Henries.

which ſometime were knowne to be gouerned in that
Demetia. countrie. The third kingdome is Demetia, or Southwales, ſometime knowne for the region of the Sylures, whereunto I alſo am perſuaded, that the Ordolukes late in the eaſt part thereof, and extended their region euen vnto the Sauerne: but howſoeuer that matter falleth out, Demetia hath the Sauerne on hir ſouth, the Iriſh ſea on hir weſt parts, on the eaſt the Sauerne onelie, and by north the land of Powiſy, whereof I ſpake of late.

Caermardē. Of this region alſo Caermarden, which the old writers call Maridunum, was the cheefe citie and palace belonging to the kings of Southwales, vntill at the laſt through forren and ciuill inuaſions of enimies, the princes thereof were conſtrained to remoue their courts to Dinefar (which is in Cantermawr, and ſituate neuertheleſſe vpon the ſame riuer Tewy, whereon Caermarden ſtandeth) in which place it is far better defended with high hils, thicke woods, craggie rocks, and deepe mariſes. In this region alſo lieth Pembroke *alias* Penmoroc ſhire, whoſe fawcons haue beene in old time very much regarded, and therein likewiſe is Milford hauen, whereof the Welſh wiſards do yet dreame ſtrange toies, which they beleeue ſhall one daie come to paſſe. For they are a nation much giuen to fortelling of things to come, but more to beleeue ſuch blind propheſies as haue beene made of old time, and no man is accompted for learned in Wales that is not ſuppoſed to haue the ſpirit of propheſie.

Pictland. Scotland. Picts. Scots. That Scotland had in thoſe daies two kingdoms, (beſides that of the Orchades) whereof the one conſiſted of the Picts, and was called Pightland or Pictland, the other of the Iriſh race, and named Scotland: I hope no wiſe man will readilie denie. The whole region or portion of the Ile beyond the Scotiſh ſea alſo was ſo diuided, that the Picts laie on the eaſt ſide, and the Scots on the weſt, ech of them being ſeuered from other, either by huge hils or great lakes and riuers, that ran out of the ſouth into the north betweene them. It ſeemeth alſo that at the firſt theſe two kingdoms were diuided from the reſt of thoſe of the Britons by the riuers Cluda and Forth, till both of them deſirous to inlarge their dominions, draue the Britons ouer the Solue and the Twede, which then became march betweene both the nations. Wherefore the caſe being ſo plaine, I will ſaie no more of theſe two, but proceed in order with the reherſall of the reſt of the particular kingdoms of this our ſouth part of the Ile, limiting out the ſame by ſhires as they now lie, ſo neere as I can, for otherwiſe it ſhall be vnpoſſible for me to leaue certaine notice of the likelieſt quantities of theſe their ſeuerall portions.

Kent Henghiſt. The firſt of theſe kingdoms therefore was begunne in Kent by Henghiſt in the 456. of Chriſt, and thereof called the kingdome of Kent or Cantwarland, and as the limits thereof extended it ſelfe no farther than the ſaid countie (the cheefe citie whereof was Dorobernia or Cantwarbyry now Canturburie) ſo it indured well neere by the ſpace of 400. yeares, before it was made an earledome or Heretochie, and vnited by Inas vnto that of the Weſt Saxons, Athelſtane his ſonne, being the firſt Earle or Heretoch of the ſame. Maiſter Lambert in his hiſtorie of Kent doth gather, by verie probable coniectures, that this part of the Iland was firſt inhabited by Samothes, and afterward by Albion. But howſoeuer that caſe ſtandeth, ſure it is that it hath been the onelie doore, whereby the Romans and Saxons made their entrie vnto the conqueſt of the region, but firſt of all Cæſar, who entred into this Iland vpon the eightéenth Cal. or 14. of September, which was foure daies before the full of the moone, as he himſelfe confeſſeth, and then fell out about the 17. or 18. of that moneth, twelue daies before the equinoctiall (apparant) ſo that he did not tarrie at that time aboue eight or ten daies in Britaine. And as this platforme cannot be denied for his entrance, ſo the ſaid region and eaſt part of Kent, was the onelie place by which the knowledge of Chriſt was firſt brought ouer vnto vs, whereby we became partakers of ſaluation, and from the darkeneſſe of miſtie errour, true conuerts vnto the light and bright beames of the ſhining truth, to our eternall benefit and euerlaſting comforts.

Saxon. Eſſa. The ſecond kingdome conteined onelie Suſſex, and a part of (or as ſome ſaie all) Surrie, which Ella the Saxon firſt held: who alſo erected his cheefe palace at Chicheſter, when he had deſtroied Andredſwald in the 492. of Chriſt. And after it had continued by the ſpace of 232. yeares, it ceaſed, being the verie leaſt kingdome of all the reſt, which were founded in this Ile after the comming of the Saxons (for to ſaie truth, it conteined little aboue 7000. families, & within a while after the erection of the kingdome of the Gewiſſes or Weſtſaxons, notwithſtanding that before the kings of Suſſex pretended and made claime to all that which laie weſt of Kent, and ſouth of the Thames, vnto the point of Cornwall, as I haue often read.

Eaſtſax. Erkenwin. The third regiment was of the Eaſt Saxons, or Trinobantes. This kingdome began vnder Erkenwin, whoſe cheefe ſeat was in London (or rather Colcheſter) and conteined whole Eſſex, Middleſex, and part of Herfordſhire. It indured alſo much about the pricke of 303. yeares, and was diuided from that of the Eaſt Angles onlie by the riuer Stoure, as Houeden and others do report, & ſo it continueth ſeparated from Suffolke euen vnto our times, although the ſaid riuer be now growne verie ſmall, and not of ſuch greatneſſe as it hath beene in times paſt, by reaſon that our countriemen make ſmall accompt of riuers, thinking carriage made by horſſe and cart to be the leſſe chargeable waie. But yet in how far they are deceiued, I will elſe-where make manifeſt declaration.

Weſtſax. The fourth kingdome was of the Weſt Saxons, and ſo called, becauſe it laie in the weſt part of the realme, as that of Eſſex did in the eaſt, and of Suſſex in the ſouth. It began in the yeare of Grace 519. vnder Cerdic, and indured vntill the comming of the Cerdic. Normans, including at the laſt all Wiltſhire, Barkeſhire, Dorſet, Southampton, Somerſetſhire, Gloceſterſhire, ſome part of Deuonſhire (which the Britons occupied not) Cornewall, and the reſt of Surrie, as the beſt authors do ſet downe. At the firſt it conteined onelie Wiltſhire, Dorcetſhire, and Barkeſhire, but yer long the princes thereof conquered whatſoeuer the kings of Suſſex and the Britons held vnto the point of Cornewall, and then became firſt Dorcheſter (vntill the time of Kinigils) then Wincheſter the cheefe citie of that kingdome. For when Birinus the monke came into England, the ſaid Kinigils gaue him Dorcheſter, and all the land within ſeauen miles about, toward the maintenance of his cathedrall ſea, by meanes whereof he himſelfe remoued his palace to Wincheſter.

Brennicia, *alias* Northumberland. Ida. The fift kingdome began vnder Ida, in the 548. of Chriſt, and was called Northumberland, becauſe it laie by north of the riuer Humber. And from the comming of Henghiſt to this Ida, it was onlie gouerned by earls or Heretoches as an Heretochy, till the ſaid Ida conuerted it into a kingdome. It conteined all that region which (as it ſhould ſeeme) was in time paſt either wholie apperteining to the Brigants, or whereof the ſaid Brigants did poſſeſſe the greater part. The cheefe citie of the ſame in like maner was Yorke, as Beda, Capgraue, Leyland, and others do ſet downe, who ad thereto that it extended from the Humber vnto the Scotiſh ſea, vntill the ſlaughter of Egfride of the Northumbers, after which time the Picts gat hold of all, betweene the Forth and the Twede, which afterward deſcending to the Scots by meanes of the vtter deſtruction of the Picts, hath not beene ſithens vnited to the crowne

of

of England, nor in poſſeſſion of the mære Engliſh, as before time it had béene. Such was the crueltie of theſe Picts alſo in their recouerie of the ſame, that at a certeine houre they made a Sicilien euenſong, and ſlew euerie Engliſh man, woman and child, that they could late hold vpon within the aforeſaid region, but ſome eſcaped narrowlie, and ſaued themſelues by flight.

Deira. Ella. Afterward in the yeare of Grace 560. it was parted in twaine, vnder Adda, that yælded vp all his portion, which lay betwæne Humber and the Tine vnto his brother Ella (according to their fathers appointment) who called it Deira, or Southumberland, but reteining the reſt ſtill vnto his owne vſe, he diminiſhed not his title, but wrote himſelfe as before king of all Northumberland. Howbeit after 91. yeares, it was reunited againe, and ſo continued vntill Alfred annexed the whole to his kingdome, in the 331. after Ida, or 878. of the birth of Jeſus Chriſt our Sauiour.

Eaſtangles Oſſa, à quo Oſſingæ. The ſeauenth kingdome, called of the Eaſt-angles, began at Norwich in the 561. after Chriſt, vnder Oſa, of whom the people of that region were long time called Oſſings. This included all Norfolke, Suffolke, Cambridgeſhire, and Elie, and continuing 228. yeares, it flouriſhed onelie 35. yeares in perfect eſtate of liberte, the reſt being conſumed vnder the tribut and vaſſallage of the Mercians, who had the ſouereigntie thereof, and held it with great honour, till the Danes gat hold of it, who ſpoiled it verie ſore, ſo that it became more miſerable than any of the other, and ſo remained till the kings of the Weſt-ſaxons vnited it to their crownes. Some ſaie that Grantceſter, but now Cambridge (a towne erected out of hir ruines) was the chéefe citie of this kingdome, and not Norwich. Wherein I may well ſhew the diſcord of writers, but I cannot reſolue the ſcruple. Some take this region alſo to be all one with that of the Icenes, but as yet for my part I cannot yæld to their aſſertions, I meane it of Leland himſelfe, whoſe helpe I vſe chéefelie in theſe collections, albeit in this behalfe I am not reſolued that he doth iudge aright.

Mertia. Creodda. The 8. & laſt was that of Mertia, which indured 291. yeares, and for greatneſſe exceeded all the reſt. It toke the name either of Mearc the Saxon word, becauſe it was march to the reſt (and trulie, the limits of moſt of the other kingdomes abutted vpon the ſame) or elſe for that the lawes of Martia the Quæne were firſt vſed in that part of the Iland. But as this later is but a méere coniecture of ſome, ſo the ſaid kingdome began vnder Creodda, in the 585. of Chriſt, & indured well neere 300. yeares before it was vnited to that of the Weſt-ſaxons by Alfred, then reigning in this Ile. Before him the Danes had gotten hold thereof, and placed one Ceolulph an idiot in the ſame; but as he was ſone reiected for his follie, ſo it was not long after yer the ſaid Alfred (I ſaie) annexed it to his kingdome by his manhood. The limits of the Mertian dominions included Lincolne, Northampton, Cheſter, Darbie, Nottingham, Stafford, Huntington, Rutland, Oxford, Buckingham, Worceſter, Bedford ſhires, and the greateſt part of Shropſhire (which the Welſh occupied not) Lancaſter, Gloceſter, Hereford (*alias* Hurchford) Warwiſe and Hertford ſhires: the reſt of whoſe territories were holden by ſuch princes of other kingdomes through force as bordered vpon the ſame. Moreouer, this kingdome was at one time diuided into ſouth and north Mertia, whereof this late beyond and the other on this ſide of the Trent, which later alſo Oſwald of Northumberland did giue to Weada the ſonne of Penda for kindred ſake, though he not long inioied it. This alſo is worthie to be noted, that in theſe eight kingdomes of the Saxons, there were twelue princes reputed in the popiſh Catalog for ſaints or martyrs, of which Alcimund, Edwine, Oſwald, Oſwijn and Aldwold reigned in Northumberland; Sigebert, Ethelbert, Edmond, and another Sigebert among the Eſtangels; Kenelme and Wiſtan in Mertia; and Saint Edward the confeſſor, ouer all; but how worthilie, I referre me to the iudgement of the learned. Thus much haue I thought good to leaue in memorie of the aforeſaid kingdomes: and now will I ſpeake ſomewhat of the diuiſion of this Iland alſo into prouinces, as the Romanes ſeuered it whiles they remained in theſe parts. Which being done, I hope that I haue diſcharged whatſoeuer is promiſed in the title of this chapter.

Limits of Mertia.

The Romans therefore hauing obteined the poſſeſſion of this Iland, diuided the ſame at the laſt into fiue prouinces, as Vibius Sequeſter ſaith. The firſt whereof was named Britannia prima, and conteined the eaſt part of England (as ſome do gather) from the Trent vnto the Twede. The ſecond was called Valentia or Valentiana, and included the weſt ſide, as they note it, from Lirpoole vnto Cokermouth. The third hight Britannia ſecunda, and was that portion of the Ile which laie ſouthwards, betwéene the Trent and the Thames. The fourth was ſurnamed Flauia Cæſarienſis, and conteined all the countrie which remained betwæne Douer and the Sauerne, I meane byſouth of the Thames, and wherevnto (in like ſort) Cornewall and Wales were orderlie aſſigned. The fift and laſt part was then named Maxima Cæſarienſis, now Scotland, the moſt barren of all the reſt, and yet not vnſought out of the grædie Romanes, becauſe of the great plentie of fiſh and foule, fine alabaſter and hard marble that are ingendred and to be had in the ſame, for furniture of houſhold and curious building, wherein they much delited. More hereof in Sextus Rufus, who liued in the daies of Valentine, and wrote *Notitiam prouinciarum* now extant to be read.

Britannia prima. Valentia. Britannia ſecunda. Flauia Cæſarienſis. Maxima Cæſarienſis.

A Catalog of the kings and princes of this Iland, firſt from Samothes vnto the birth of our ſauiour Chriſt, or rather the comming of the Romans: ſecondlie of their Legates: thirdlie of the Saxon princes according to their ſeuerall kingdomes: fourthlie of the Danes, and laſtlie of the Normans and Engliſh princes, according to the truth conteined in our Hiſtories.

Of the kings of Britaine, from Samothes *to Brute.*

Samothes.
Magus.
Sarronius.
Druiyus.
Bardus.
Longho.
Bardus Iunior.
Lucus.
Celtes.
Albion.
Celtes after Albion ſlaine.

Galates.
Harbon.
Lugdus.
Beligius.
Iaſius.
Allobrox.
Romus.
Paris.
Lemanus.
Olbius.
Galates. 2.
Nannes.
Remis.
Francus.
Pictus.
After whom Brute entreth into the Iland, either neglected by the Celts, or otherwiſe by conqueſt, and reigned therein with his poſteritie by the ſpace of 636. yeares, in ſuch order as followeth.

Brute.
Locrinus.
Gwendolena his widow.
Madan.
Mempricius.
Ebracus.
Brutus Iunior.
Leil.
Rudibras.
Bladunus
Leir.
Cordeil his daughter.

Cunedach and Morgan.
Riuallon.
Gurguſtius.
Siſillus.
Iago.
Kimmachus.
Gorbodug.
Ferres and Porrex.
These 2. being ſlaine, the princes of the land ſtraue for the ſuperiozitie and regiment of the ſame, by the ſpace of 50. yéeres (after the race of Brute was decaied) vntill Dunwallon king of Cornwall ſubdued them all, & brought the whole to his ſubiection, notwithſtanding

ding that the aforeſaid number of kings remained ſtill, which were but as vaſſals & inferiours to him, he being their cheefe and oneli ſouereigne.

Dunwallon reigneth.
Belinus his ſonne, in whoſe time Brennus vſurpeth.
Gurgwinbatrus.
Guittellinus.
Seiſill.
Kymarus.
Owan *aliàs* Ellan.
Morwich *aliàs* Morindus.
Grandobodian *aliàs* Gorbonian.
Arcigallon.
Elidurus *aliàs* Heſidor.
Arcigallon againe.
Elidurus againe.
Vigen *aliàs* Higanius, & Petitur *aliàs* Periduruus.
Elidurus the third time.
Gorbodia *aliàs* Gorbonian.
Morgan.
Meriones *aliàs* Eighuans.
Idouallon.
Rhimo Rohugo.
Geruntius Voghen.
Catellus.
Coellus.
Pyrrho *aliàs* Porrex.
Cherinus.
Fulganius *aliàs* Sulgenis.
Eldadus.
Androgius.
Vrian.
Hellindus.
Dedantius Eldagan.
Clotenis Claten.
Gurguintus.
Merian.
Bledunus Bledagh.
Cophenis.
Owinus *aliàs* Oghwen.
Siſillus or Sieſilius.
Blegabridus.
Arcimalus Archiuall.
Eldadus.
Ruthenis three monethes.
Rodingarus *aliàs* Rodericus.
Samulius Penyſell.
Pyrrho 2.
Carporis *aliàs* Capporis.
Dynellus *aliàs* Dygnellus.
Hellindus a few monethes.
Lhoid.
Caſibellane.
Theomantius.
Cynobellinus.
Aruiragus.
Marius.
Coellus.
Lucius.

Hitherto I haue ſet forth the catalog of the kings of Britaine, in ſuch ſort as it is to be collected out of the moſt ancient hiſtories, monuments and records of the land. Now I will ſet forth the order and ſucceſſion of the Romane legates or deputies, as I haue borowed them firſt out of Tacitus, then Dion, and others: howbeit I cannot warrant the iuſt courſe of them from Iulius Agricola forward, becauſe there is no man that reherſeth them orderlie. yet by this my doing herein, I hope ſome better table may be framed hereafter by other, whereof I would be glad to vnderſtand when ſoeuer it ſhall pleaſe God that it may come to paſſe.

Aulus Plautius.
Oſtorius Scapula.
Didius Gallus.
Auitus.
Veranius a few monethes.
Petronius Turpilianus.
Trebellius Maximus.
Vectius Volanus.
Petilius Cerealis.
Iulius Frontinus.
Iulius Agricola.

Hitherto Cornelius Tacitus reherſeth theſe vicegerents or deputies in order.

Saluſtius Lucullus.
Cneius Trebellius.
Suetonius Paulinus.
Calphurnius Agricola.
Publius Trebellius.
Pertinax Helrius.
Vlpius Marcellus.
Clodius Albinas.
Heraclius.
Carus Tyrannus.
Iunius Seuerus, *alias* Iulius Seuerus.
Liuius Gallus.
Lollius Vrbicus.
Maximus.
Octauius.
Traherus.
Maximinianus.
Gratianus.
Actius.

Other Legates whoſe names are taken out of the Scotiſh hiſtorie but in incertein order.

Fronto ſub Antonino.
Publius Trebellius.
Aulus Victorinus.
Lucius Antinoris.
Quintus Baſſianus.

Wales.

1.

¶ The Romans not regarding the gouernance of this Iland, the Britons ordeine a king in the 447. after the incarnation of Chriſt.

VOrtiger.
Vortimer.
Aurelius Ambroſius.
Vther.
Arthur.
Conſtantine.
Aurelius Conanus.
Vortiporius.
Maglocunus.
Caretius.
Cadwan.
Cadwallon.
Cadwallader.

¶ The kingdome of Wales ceaſeth, and the gouernance of the countrie is tranſlated to the weſtſaxons by Inas, whoſe ſecond wife was Denwalline the daughter of Cadwallader: & with hir he not onlie obteined the principalitie of Wales but alſo of Cornwall & Armorica now called little Britaine, which then was a colonie of the Britons, and vnder the kingdome of Wales.

Kent.

2.

¶ Hengiſt in the 9. of the recouerie of Britaine proclaimeth himſelfe king of Kent, which is the 456. of the birth of our Lord & ſauior Jeſus Chriſt.

HEngiſt.
Oſrijc *aliàs* Oſca.
Oſca his brother.
Ermenricus.
Athelbert.
Eadbaldus.
Ercombert.
Ecbert.
Lother.
Edrijc.
The ſeat void.
Withredus.
Adelbert Iunior.
Eadbert.
Alrijc.
Eadbert.
Guthred.
Alred.

¶ As the kingdome of Wales was vnited vnto that of the weſtſaxons by Inas, ſo is the kingdom of Kent, at this preſent by Ecbert in the 827. of Chriſt, who putteth out Aldred and maketh Adelſtane his owne baſe ſonne Hertoch of the ſame, ſo that whereas it was before a kingdome, now it becometh an Hertochie or Dukedome, and ſo continueth for a long time after.

Southſex.

3.

¶ Ella in the 46. after Britaine giuen ouer by the Romanes erecteth a kingdom in Southſex, to wit, in the 492. of Chriſt whoſe race ſucceedeth in this order.

ELla.
Cyſſa.
Ceaulijn.
Celrijc.
Kilwulf.
Kinigils.
Kinwalch.
Ethelwold.
Berthun.
Aldwijn.

¶ This kingdome endured not verie long as ye may ſee, for it was vnited to that of the weſtſaxons by Inas, in the 4689. of the world, which was the 723. of Chriſt, according to the vſuall ſupputation of the church, and 232. after Ella had erected the ſame, as is aforeſaid.

Eſtſex.

4.

¶ Erkenwijn in the 527. after our ſauiour Chriſt beginneth to reigne ouer Eſtſex, and in the 81. after the returne of Britaine from the Romane obedience.

ERkenwijn.
Sledda.
Sebertus.
Sepredus and Sywardus.
Sigebert ſil. Syward.
Sigebert.
Swithelijn.
Sijgar and Sebba.
Sebba alone.
Sijgard.
Offa.
Selredus.
Ethelwold.
Albert.
Humbeanna.
Sinthredus.

¶ In the 303. after Erkenwijn, Ecbert of the weſtſaxons vnited the kingdome of Eſtſex vnto his owne, which was in the 828. after the birth of our ſauiour Chriſt. I cannot as yet find the exact peeres of the later princes of this realme, and therefore I am conſtrained to omit them altogither, as I haue done before in the kings of the Britons, vntill ſuch time as I may come by ſuch monuments as may reſtore the defect.

Weſtſex.

5.

¶ Cerdijc entreth the kingdome of the weſtſaxons, in the 519. of the birth of Chriſt, & 73. of the abiection of the Romaine ſeruitude.

CErdijc *aliàs* Cercic.
Cenrijc.
Ceaulijn.
Kilrijc *aliàs* Celrijc.
Kilwulf.
Kinigils.
Ceuwalch.
Sexburgh.
The ſeat void.
Centwinus.
Cadwallader.
Inas.
Ethelard.
Cuthredus.
Sigebert.
Kinwulf.
Brithrijc.
Ecbert.
Ethelwulf.
Ethebald.
Ethelbert.
Ethelfrid.
Alfrid.
Edward 1.
Adelſtane.
Edmund.
Eadred.
Edwijn.
Edgar.
Edward 2.
Eldred.
Edmund 2.
Canutus.
Harald.
Canutus 2.
Edward 3.
Harald 2.

¶ The ſaxons hauing reigned hitherto in this land, and brought the ſame into a perfect monarchie, are now diſpoſſeſſed by the Normans, & put out of their hold.

Bernicia.

6.

¶ Ida erecteth a kingdome in the North, which he extended from the Humber mouth to S. Johns towne in Scotland, & called it of the Northumbers. This was in the 547. after the birth of our ſauiour Chriſt.

IDa.
Adda.
Glappa.
Tidwaldus.
Fretwulfus.
Tidrijc.
Athelfrid.
Edwijn.
Kinfrid.
Oſwald.
Oſwy.
Egfrid.
Alfrid.
Oſred.
Kinred.
Oſrijc.
Kilwulf.
Edberr.
Offulfe.
Ethelwold.
Elred.
Ethelred.
Alſwold.
Oſred.

Ethelred.

Ethelred.
Oſbald.
Eardulf.
Aldeſwold.
Eandred.
Edelred.
Redwulf.
Edelred againe.
Oſbright.
Ecbert.
Riciſiuus a Dane.
Ecbert againe.
¶ Alfride king of the weſtſaxons ſubdueth this kingdome in the 878. after our ſauiour Chriſt, and 33. after Ida.

Deira.
7.

¶ Ella brother to Adda is ouer the ſouth Humbers, whoſe kingdome reched from Humber to the Theſe, in the 590. after the incarnation of Ieſus Chriſt our ſauiour.

Ella.
Edwijn.
Athelbright.
Edwijn againe,
Oſrijc.
Oſwald.
Oſwijn.
¶ Of all the kingdomes of the Saxons, this of Deira which grew by the diuiſion of the kingdome of the Northumbers betweene the ſons of Ida was of the ſmalleſt continuance, & it was united to the Northumbers (wherof it had bene I ſaie in time paſt a member) by Oſwijn in the 91. after Ella, when he had moſt traitorouſlie ſlaine his brother Oſwijn in the yeer of the world, 4618. (or 651. after the comming of Chriſt) and conteined that countrie which we now call the biſhoprike.

Eſtanglia.
8.

¶ Offa or Vffa erecteth a kingdome ouer the Eſtangles or Oſtings in the 561. after the natiuitie of Chriſt, and 114. after the deliuerie of Britaine.

Offa.
Titellius.
Redwaldus.
Corpenwaldus.
The ſeat void.
Sigebert.
Egricus.
Anna.
Adeler.
Ethelwold.
Adwulf.
Beorne.
Ethelred.
Ethelbert.
¶ Offa of Mercia killeth Ethelbert, and uniteth Eſtanglia vnto his owne kingdome, in the 793. of Chriſt, after it had continued in the poſteritie of Offa, by the ſpace of 228. yeers and yet of that ſhort ſpace, it enioyed onelie 35. in libertie, the reſt being vnder the tribute of the king of Mercia aforeſaid.

Mercia.
9.

¶ Creodda beginneth his kingdome of Mercia, in the 585. of our ſauiour Chriſt, and 138. after the captiuitie of Britaine ended.

Creodda.
Wibba.
Cherlus.
Penda.
Oſwy.
Weada.
Wulferus.
Ethelred.
Kinred or Kindred.
The ſeat void.
Kilred.
Ethebald.
Beorred.
Offa.
Egferth.
Kinwulf.
Kenelme.
Kilwulf.
Bernulf.
Ludicane.
Willaf.
Ecbert.
Willaf againe.
Bertulf.
Butred.
Kilwulf.
¶ Alfride uniteth the kingdome of Mercia, to that of the weſtſaxons, in the 291. after Creodda, before Alfred the Dane had gotten hold thereof, and placed one Cleolulphus therein, but he was ſone expelled, and the kingdome ioyned to the other afore rehearſed.

✠ The ſucceſſion of the kings of England from William baſtard, vnto the firſt of Queene ELIZABETH.

William the firſt.
William his ſonne.
Henrie 1.
Stephen.
Henrie 2.
Richard 1.
Iohn.
Henrie 3.
Edward 1. *aliàs* 4.
Edward 2.
Edward 3.
Richard 2.
Henrie 4.
Henrie 5.
Henrie 6.
Edward 4. *aliàs* 7.
Edward 5.
Richard 3.
Henrie 7.
Henrie 8.
Edward 6.
Marie his ſiſter.
Elizabeth.
¶ Thus haue I brought the Catalog of the Princes of Britaine vnto an end, & that in more plaine and certeine order than hath beene done hertofore by anie. For though in their regions ſince the conqueſt few men haue erred that haue vſed any diligence, yet in the times before the ſame, fewer haue gone any thing neere the truth, through great ouerſight & negligence. Their ſeuerall yeres alſo do appeere in my Chronologie inſuing.

Of the ancient religion vſed in Albion.
Cap. 9.

Samothes.

IT is not to be doubted, but at the firſt, and ſo long as the poſteritie of Iaphet onelie reigned in this Iland, that the true knowledge and forme of religion brought in by Samothes, and publiſhed with his lawes in the ſecond of his arriuall, was exerciſed among the Britans. And although peraduenture in proces of time, either through curioſitie, or negligence (the onelie corruptors of true pietie and godlineſſe) it might a little decaie, yet when it was at the worſt, it farre exceeded the beſt of that which afterward came in with Albion and his Chemminites, as may be gathered by view of the ſuperſtitious rites, which Cham and his ſucceſſours did plant in other countries, yet to be found in authors.

What other learning Magus the ſonne of Samothes taught after his fathers death, when he alſo came to the kingdome, beſide this which concerned the true honoring of God, I can not eaſilie ſay, but that it ſhould be naturall philoſophie, and aſtrologie (whereby his diſciples gathered a kind of foreknowledge of things to come) the verie vſe of the word Magus (or Maguſæus) among the Perſians doth yeeld no vncerteine teſtimonie.

Sarron.

In like maner, it ſhould ſeeme that Sarron ſonne vnto the ſaid Magus, diligentlie followed the ſteps of his father, and thereto beſide his owne practiſe of teaching, opened ſchooles of learning in ſundrie places, both among the Celts and Britans, whereby ſuch as were his auditors, grew to be called Sarronides, notwithſtanding, that as well the Sarronides as the Magi, and Druidydes, were generallie called Samothei, or Semnothei, of Samothes ſtill among the Grecians, as Ariſtotle in his *De magia* doth confeſſe; and furthermore calling them Galles, he addeth thereunto, that they firſt brought the knowledge of letters and good learning vnto the Greekes. Samothei. Semnothei.

Druiyus the ſon of Sarron (as a ſcholer of his fathers owne teaching) ſeemed to be exquiſit in all things, that perteined vnto the diuine and humane knowledge: and therefore I may ſafelie pronounce, that he excelled not onlie in the ſkill of philoſophie and the quadriuials, but alſo in the true Theologie, whereby the right ſeruice of God was kept and preſerued in puritie. He wrote moreouer ſundrie precepts and rules of religious doctrine, which among the Celts were reſerued verie religiouſlie, and had in great eſtimation of ſuch as ſought vnto them. Druiyus.

How and in what order this prince left the ſtate of religion, I meane touching publike orders in adminiſtration of particular rites and ceremonies, as yet I do not read: howbeit this is moſt certeine, that after he died, the puritie of his doctrine began ſomewhat to decaie. For ſuch is mans nature, that it will not ſuffer any good thing long to remaine as it is left, but (either by addition or ſubtraction of this or that, to or from the ſame) ſo to chop and change withall from time to time, that in the end there is nothing of more difficultie, for ſuch as do come after them, than to find out the puritie of the originall, and reſtore the ſame againe vnto the former perfection. Corruptors of religion.

In the beginning this Druiyus did preach vnto his hearers, that the ſoule of man is immortall, that God is omnipotent, mercifull as a father in ſhewing fauor vnto the godlie, and iuſt as an vpright iudge in puniſhing the wicked; that the ſecrets of mans hart are not vnknowne, and onelie knowne to him; and that as Cæſar.

the woꝛld and all that is therein had their beginning by him, at his owne will, ſo ſhall all things likewiſe haue an end, when he ſhall ſee his time. He taught them alſo with moꝛe facilitie, how to obſerue the courſes of the heauens and motions of the planets by arithmeticall induſtrie, to find out the true quantities of the celeſtiall bodies by geometricall demonſtration, and thereto the compaſſe of the earth, and hidden natures of things contained in the ſame by philoſophicall contemplation. But alas, this integritie continued not long among his ſucceſſoꝛs, foꝛ vnto the immoꝛtalitie of the ſoule, they added, that after death it went into another bodie, (of which tranſlation Ouid ſaith;

Morte carent animæ, ſempérque priore relicta
Sede, nouis domibus viuunt habitántque recepta.)

The ſecond oꝛ ſuccedent, being alwaies either moꝛe noble, oꝛ moꝛe vile than the foꝛmer, as the partie deſerued by his merits, whileſt he liued here vpon earth. And therefoꝛe it is ſaid by Plato and other, that Orpheus after his death had his ſoule thꝛuſt into the bodie of a ſwanne, that of Agamemnon conueied into an egle, of Aiax into a lion, of Atlas into a certeine wreſtler, of Therſites into an ape, of Deiphobus into Pythagoras, and Empedocles vieng a child, after ſundꝛie changes into a man, whereof he himſelfe ſaith;

Ipſe ego nánq; fui puer olim, deinde puella,
Arbuſtum & volucris, mutus quóq; in æquore piſcis.

Plinius. lib. 16. cap. vltimo.

For ſaid they (of whom Pythagoras alſo had, and taught this errour) if the ſoule apperteined at the firſt to a king, and he in this eſtate did not leade his life woꝛthie his calling, it ſhould after his deceaſe be ſhut vp in the bodie of a flaue, begger, cocke, owle, dog, ape, hoꝛſſe, aſſe, woꝛme, oꝛ monſter, there to remaine as in a place of purgation and puniſhment, foꝛ a certeine period of time. Beſide this, it ſhould peradventure ſuſteine often tranſlation from one bodie vnto another, accoꝛding to the quantitie and qualitie of his doings here on earth, till it ſhould finallie be purified, and reſtoꝛed againe to an other humane bodie, wherein if it behaued it ſelfe moꝛe oꝛderlie than at the firſt: after the next death, it ſhould be pꝛeferred, either to the bodie of a king againe, oꝛ other great eſtate. And thus they made a perpetuall circulation oꝛ reuolution of our ſoules, much like vnto the continuall motion of the heauens, which neuer ſtand ſtill, noꝛ long yeeld one repꝛeſentation and figure. Foꝛ this cauſe alſo, as Diodorus ſaith, they vſed to caſt certeine letters into the fire, wherein the dead were burned, to be deliuered vnto their deceaſed fꝛends, whereby they might vnderſtand of the eſtate of ſuch as trauelled here on earth in their purgations (as the Moſcouits doo write vnto S. Nicholas to be a ſpeach-man foꝛ him that is buried, in whoſe hand they bind a letter, and ſend him with a new paire of ſhoes on his feet into the graue) and to the end that after their next death they ſhould deale with them accordinglie, and as their merits required. They bꝛought in alſo the woꝛſhipping of manie gods, and their ſeuerall ſacrifices: they honoured likewiſe the oke, whereon the miſtle groweth, and dailie deuiſed infinit other toies (foꝛ errour is neuer aſſured of hir owne doings) whereof neither Samothes, noꝛ Sarron, Magus, noꝛ Druiyus did leaue them anie pꝛeſcꝛiption.

Oke honoꝛed whereon miſtle did gꝛow, and ſo doo our ſoꝛcerers euen to this date thinking ſome ſpirits to deale about ꝑ ſame, foꝛ hidden treaſure,

These things are partlie touched by Cicero, Strabo, Plinie, Sotion, Laertius, Theophraſt, Ariſtotle, and partlie alſo by Cæſar, Mela, Val. Max. *lib.* 2. and other authoꝛs of later time, who foꝛ the moſt part doo confeſſe, that the cheefe ſchoole of the Druiydes was holden here in Britaine, where that religion (ſaith Plinie) was ſo hotlie pꝛofeſſed and followed, *vt dediſſe Perſis videri poſſit, lib.* 30. *cap.* 1. and whither the Druiydes alſo themſelues, that dwelt among the Galles, would often reſoꝛt to come by the moꝛe ſkill, and ſure vnderſtanding of the myſteries of that doctrine. And as the Galles receiued their religion from the Britons, ſo we likewiſe had from them ſome vſe of Logike & Rhetoꝛike, ſuch as it was which our lawiers pꝛactiſed in their pleas and common cauſes. Foꝛ although the Gꝛeeks were not vnknowne vnto vs, noꝛ we to them, euen from the verie comming of Brute, yet by reaſon of diſtance betweene our countries, we had no great familiaritie and common acceſſe one vnto another, till the time of Gurguntius, after whoſe entrance manie of that nation trauelled hither in moꝛe ſecuritie, as diuers of our countriemen did vnto them without all danger, to be offered vp in ſacrifice to their gods. That we had the maner of our pleas alſo out of France, Iuuenal is a witneſſe, who ſaith;

Logike and Rhetoꝛike out of Gallia.

Gallia cauſidicos docuit facunda Britannos.

Howbeit as they taught vs Logike and Rhetoꝛike, ſo we had alſo ſome Sophiſtrie from them; but in the woꝛſt ſenſe: foꝛ from France is all kind of foꝛgerie, coꝛruption of maners, and craftie behauiour not ſo ſone as often tranſpoꝛted into England. And albeit the Druiydes were thus honoꝛed and of ſo great authoꝛitie in Britaine, yet were there great numbers of them alſo in the Iles of Wight, Angleſey, and the Oꝛchades, in which they held open ſchooles of their pꝛofeſſion, alofe as it were from the reſoꝛt of people, wherein they ſtudied and learned their ſongs by heart. Howbeit the cheefe college of all I ſay, remained ſtill in Albion, whither the Druiydes of other nations alſo (beſide the Galles) would of cuſtome repaire, when ſoeuer any controuerſie among them in matters of religion did happen to be moued. At ſuch times alſo the reſt were called out of the foꝛmer Iſlands, whereby it appeareth that in ſuch caſes they had their ſynods and publike meetings, and therevnto it grew finallie into cuſtome, and after that a pꝛouerbe, euen in variances falling out among the pꝛinces, great men, and common ſoꝛts of people liuing in theſe weaſt parts of Europe, to yeeld to be tried by Britaine and hir thꝛee Iſlands, bicauſe they honoured hir pꝛieſts (the Druiydes) as the Atheniens did their Areopagites.

Eſtimation of the Druiydes oꝛ Druiyſh pꝛieſts.

Furthermoꝛe, in Britaine, and among the Galles, and to ſay the truth, generallie in all places were the Druiyſh religion was frequented, ſuch was the eſtimation of the pꝛieſts of this pꝛofeſſion, that there was little oꝛ nothing done without their ſkilfull aduiſe, no not in ciuill cauſes, perteining to the regiment of the common-wealth and countrie. They had the charge alſo of all ſacrifices, publike and pꝛiuate, they interpꝛeted oracles, pꝛeached of religion, and were neuer without great numbers of yong men that heard them with diligence, as they taught from time to time.

Immunitie of the clergie greater vnder idolatrie than vnder the goſpell.

Touching their perſons alſo, they were exempt from all tempoꝛall ſeruices, impoſitions, tributes, and exerciſes of the wars: which immunitie cauſed the greater companies of ſcholers to flocke vnto them from all places, ꝛ to learne their trades. Of theſe likewiſe, ſome remained with them ſeuen, eight, ten, oꝛ twelue years, ſtill learning the ſecrets of thoſe vnwꝛitten myſteries by heart, which were to be had amongſt them, and commonlie pꝛonounced in verſe. And this policie, as I take it, they vſed onelie to pꝛeſerue their religion from contempt, whereinto it might eaſilie haue fallen, if any booke thereof had happened into the hands of the common ſoꝛt. It helped alſo not a little in the exerciſe of their memoꝛies, wherevnto bookes are vtter enimies, inſomuch as he that was ſkilfull in the Druiyſh religion, would not let readilie to rehearſe manie hundꝛeds of verſes togither, and not to faile in one tittle, in the whole pꝛoceſſe of this his laboꝛious repetition. But as they dealt in this oꝛder foꝛ matters of their religion, ſo in ciuill affairs, hiſtoꝛicall treatiſes, and ſetting downe of lawes, they vſed like oꝛder and letters almoſt with the Grecians. Whereby it is eaſie to be ſeene, that they reteined this kind of writting from Druiyus (the oꝛiginall founder of their religion) and that this Iland hath

not

not béene void of letters and learned men, euen ſith it was firſt inhabited. I would ad ſome thing in particular alſo of their apparell, but ſith the dealing withall is nothing profitable to the reader, I paſſe it ouer, ſignifieng neuertheleſſe, that it was diſtinguiſhed by ſundrie deuiſes from that of the common ſort, and of ſuch eſtimation among the people, that whoſoeuer ware the Druiyſh wæd, might walke where he would without any harme or annoiance. This honour was giuen alſo vnto the prælts in Rome, inſomuch that when Voluſius was exiled by the Triumuirate, and ſaw himſelfe in ſuch danger, as that he could not eſcape the hardeſt, he gat the wæd of a prælt vpon his backe, and begged his almes therein, euen in the high waies as he trauelled, and ſo eſcaped the danger and the furie of his aduerſaries: but to proceed with other things.

Bardus.

After the death of Druiyus, Bardus his ſonne, and fift king of the Celts, ſucceeded not onelie ouer the ſaid kingdome, but alſo in his fathers vertues, whereby it is verie likelie, that the winding and wrapping vp of the ſaid religion, after the afore remembred ſort into verſe, was firſt deuiſed by him, for he was an excellent poet, and no leſſe indued with a ſingular ſkill in the practiſe and ſpeculation of muſicke, of which two many ſuppoſe him to be the verie author and beginner, although vnluſtlie, ſith both poetrie and ſong were in vſe before the flood, as was alſo the harpe and pipe, which Iubal inuented, and could neuer be performed without great ſkill in muſicke. But to proceed, as the cheefe eſtimation of the Druiydes remained in the end among the Britons onelie, for their knowledge in religion, ſo did the fame of the Bardes (which were ſo called of this Bardus for their excellent ſkill in muſicke, poetrie, and the heroicall kind of ſong, which at the firſt conteined onelie the high myſteries and ſecret points of their religion. There was little difference alſo betweene them and the Druiydes, till they ſo farre degenerated from their firſt inſtitution, that they became to be minſtrels at feaſts, dronken meetings, and abhominable ſacrifices of the idols: where they ſang moſt commonlie no diuinitie as before, but the puiſſant acts of valiant princes, and fabulous narrations of the adulteries of the gods. Certes in my time this fond vſage, and thereto the verie name of the Bardes, are not yet extinguiſhed among the Britons of Wales, where they call their poets and Muſicians Barthes, as they do alſo in Ireland: which Sulpitius alſo writing to Lucane remembreth, where he ſaith that the word Bardus is mere Celtike, and ſignifieth a ſinger. Howbeit the Romans iudging all nations beſide themſelues to be but rude and barbarous, and thereto milliking vtterlie the rough muſicke of the Bardes, entred ſo farre into the contemptuous mockage of their melodie, that they aſcribed the word Bardus vnto their fooles and idiots, whereas contrariwiſe the Scythians and ſuch as dwell within the northweaſt part of Europe, did vſe the ſame word in verie honourable maner, calling their beſt poets and heroicall ſingers, Singebardos; their couragious ſingers and capiteins that delited in muſicke, Albardos, Dagobardos, Rodtbardos, & one lame muſician Lambard aboue all other, of whoſe ſkilfull ditties Germanie is not vnfurniſhed, as I heare vnto this daie. In Quizqueia or new Spaine, an Iland of the Indies, they call ſuch men Boitios, their rimes Arcitos, and in ſtæd of harps they ſing vnto timbrels made of ſhels ſuch ſonnets and ditties as either perteine vnto religion, prophane loue, commendation of anceſtrie, and inflammation of the mind vnto Mars, whereby there appeareth to be ſmall difference betweene their Boitios and our Bardes. Finallie of our ſort, Lucane in his firſt booke writeth thus, among other like ſaiengs well toward the latter end;

Gen. 4. 21.

The Bards degenerate.

Lucan. li. 1.

Vos quóq; qui fortes animas, belloq; peremptas
Laudibus in longum vates dimittitis ævum,
Plurima ſecuri fudiſtis carmina Bardi,
Et vos barbaricos ritus, morémque ſiniſtrum
Sacrorum Druiydæ, poſitis recepiſtis ab armis.
Solis noſſe Deos, & cœli numina vobis,
Aut ſolis neſcire datum: nemora alta remotis
Incolitis lucis. Vobis authoribus, umbræ
Non tacitas Erebi ſedes, Ditiſque profundi
Pallida regna petunt, regit idem ſpiritus artus
Orbe alio. Longæ canitis ſi cognita, vitæ
Mors media eſt, certe populi, quos deſpicit arctos,
Fœlices errore ſuo, quos ille timorum
Maximus haud urget leti metus: inde ruendi
In ferrum mens prona viris, animæque capaces
Mortis: & ignauum eſt redituræ parcere vitæ.

Thus we ſée as in a glaſſe the ſtate of religion, for a time, after the firſt inhabitation of this Iland: but how long it continued in ſuch ſoundneſſe, as the originall authors left it, in good ſooth I cannot ſay, yet this is moſt certeine, that after a time, when Albion arriued here, the religion earſt imbraced fell into great decaie. For whereas Iaphet & Samothes with their children taught nothing elſe than ſuch doctrine as they had learned of Noah: Cham the great grandfather of this our Albion, and his diſciples vtterlie renouncing to follow their ſteps, gaue their minds wholie to ſeduce and lead their hearers headlong vnto all error. Whereby his poſteritie not onelie corrupted this our Iland, with moſt filthie trades and practiſes; but alſo all mankind, generallie where they became, with vicious life, and moſt vngodlie conuerſation. For from Cham and his ſucceſſours proceeded at the firſt all ſorcerie, witchcraft, and the execution of vnlawfull luſt, without reſpect of ſex, age, conſanguinitie, or kind: as branches from an odious and abhominable root, or ſtreames deriued from a moſt filthie and horrible ſtinking puddle. Howbeit, & notwithſtanding all theſe his manifold lewdneſſes, ſuch was the follie of his Ægyptians (where he firſt reigned and taught) that whileſt he liued they alone had him in great eſtimation (whereas other nations contemned and abhorred him for his wickedneſſe, calling him Chemeſenua, that is, the impudent, infamous and wicked Cham) and not onelie builded a citie vnto him which they called Chem Min, but alſo after his death reputed him for a god, calling the higheſt of the ſeuen planets after his name, as they did the next beneath it after Oſyris his ſonne, whom they likewiſe honored vnder the name of Iupiter.

What doctrine Cham and his diſciples taught.

Chemeſenua.

Chem Min. Cham made a god.

Certes it was a cuſtome begonne in Ægypt of old time, and generallie in vſe almoſt in euerie place in proceſſe of time (when any of their famous worthie princes died) to aſcribe ſome forme or other of the ſtars vnto his perſon, to the end his name might neuer weare out of memorie. And this they called their tranſlation in heauen, ſo that he which had any ſtarres or forme of ſtarres dedicated vnto him, was properlie ſaid to haue a ſeat among the gods. A toie much like to the catalog of Romiſh ſaints, (although the one was written in the celeſtiall or immateriall orbes, the other in ſheeps ſkins, and verie brickle paper) but yet ſo eſtéemed, that euerie prince would oft hazard and attempt the vttermoſt aduentures, thereby to win ſuch fame in his life, that after his death he might by merit haue ſuch place in heauen, among the ſhining ſtarres. Howbeit, euerie of thoſe that were called gods, could not obteine that benefit, for then ſhould there not haue béene ſtars enow in heauen to haue ſerued all their turnes, wherfore another place was in time imagined, where they reigned that were of a ſecond calling, as the Semones who were gods by grace and fauour of the people. *Semones dici voluerunt* (ſaith Fulgentius *In vocibus antiquis*) *quos cœlo nec dignos aſcriberent, ob meriti paupertatem; ſicut Priapus Hyppo. Vortumnus, &c. nec terrenos eos deputare vellent per gratiæ venerationem*, as alſo a third place that is to ſay an earth, where thoſe gods dwelled which were noble men, officers,

Translation of mortall men into heauen how it began.

Cyril. aduerſus Iul. lib. 6. ſect. 8.

officers, good gouernours and lawgiuers to the people, and yet not thought worthie to be of the second or first companie, which was a follie diuision.

Thus we see in generall maner, how idolatrie, honoring of the starres, and brood of inferiour gods were hatched at the first, which follies in processe of time came also into Britaine, as did the names of Saturne & Iupiter, &c: as shall appeare hereafter. And here sith I haue alreadie somewhat digressed from my matter, I will go yet a little farder, and shew forth the originall vse of the word Saturne, Iupiter, Hercules, &c: whereby your Honor shall see a little more into the errours of the Gentils, and not onelie that, but one point also of the rot of all the confusion that is to be found among the ancient histories. Certes it was vsed for a few yéeres after the partition of the earth (which was made by Noah, in the 133. yeare after the floud) that the beginners of such kingdoms as were then erected should be called Saturni, whereby it came to passe that Nimbrote was the Saturne of Babylon: Cham of Ægypt: and so forth other of sundrie other countries. Their eldest sonnes also that succeded them, were called Ioues; and their nephewes or sonnes sonnes, which reigned in the third place Hercules, by which meanes it followed that euerie kingdome had a Saturne, Iupiter and Hercules of hir owne, and not from anie other.

Which were properlie called, Saturni, Ioues, Iunones, and Hercules.

In like sort they had such another order among their daughters, whom they married as yet commonlie vnto their brethren (God himselfe permitting the same vnto them for a time) as before the floud, to the end the earth might be thoroughlie replenished, and the soner furnished with inhabitants in euerie part thereof. The sister therefore and wife of euerie Saturne was called Rhea, but of Iupiter, Iuno, Isis, or Io. Beyond these also there was no latter Harold that would indeuour to deriue the pedigree of any prince, or potentate, but supposed his dutie to be sufficientlie performed, when he had brought it orderlie vnto some Saturne or other, wherat he might cease, and shut vp all his trauell. They had likewise this opinion grounded amongst them, that heauen & earth were onlie parents vnto Saturne and Rhea, not knowing out of doubt, what they themselues did meane, sith these denominations, Heauen, Ogyges, *the Sunne*, Pater Deorum, and such like, were onelie ascribed vnto Noah: as * Terra, (*the Earth*) Vesta, Aretia, *the Moone*, Mater deorum, and other the like were vnto Tydea his wife. So that hereby we see, how Saturne is reputed in euerie nation for their oldest god, or first prince, Iupiter for the next, and Hercules for the third. And therfore sith these names were dispersed in the beginning ouer all, it is no maruell that there is such confusion in ancient histories, and the doings of one of them so mixed with those of another, that it is now impossible to distinguish them in sunder. This haue I spoken, to the end that all men may see what gods the Pagans honored, & thereby what religion the posteritie of Cham did bring ouer into Britaine. For vntill their comming, it is not likelie that anie grosse idolatrie or superstition did enter in among vs, as deifieng of mortall men, honoring of the starres, and erection of huge images, beside sorcerie, witchcraft, and such like, whereof the Chemminites are worthilie called the authors. Neither were these errors anie thing amended, by the comming in of Brute, who no doubt added such deuises vnto the same, as he and his companie had learned before in Græcia, from whence also he brought Helenus the sonne of Priamus, (a man of exceeding age) & made him his priest and bishop thorough out the new conquest, that he had atchieued in Britaine.

Isis, Io, and Iuno all one.

Cœlum or Cœlus. Ogyges. Sol. Pater deorum. * Tydea. Vesta. Terra. Luna. Aretia. Deorum mater.

From whence Brute did learne his religion.

After Brute, idolatrie and superstition still increased more and more among vs, insomuch that beside the Druiysh and Bardike ceremonies, and those also that came in with Albion and Brute himselfe: our countriemen either brought hither from abroad, or dailie inuented at home new religion and rites, whereby it came to passe that in the stead of the onelie and immortall God (of whome Samothes and his posteritie did preach in times past) now they honored the said Samothes himselfe vnder the name of Dis and Saturne: also Iupiter, Mars, Minerua, Mercurie, Apollo, Diana; and finallie Hercules, vnto whome they dedicated the gates and porches of their temples, entrances into their regions, cities, townes and houses, with their limits and bounds (as the papists did the gates of their cities and ports vnto Botulph & Giles) bicause fortitude and wisedome are the cheefe vpholders and bearers vp of common-wealths and kingdoms, both which they ascribed to Hercules (forgetting God) and diuers other idols whose names I now remember not. In lieu moreouer of sheepe and oxen, they offred mankind also vnto some of them, killing their offendors, prisoners, and oft such strangers as came from farre vnto them, by shutting vp great numbers of them together in huge images made of wicker, reed, haie, or other light matter: and then setting all on fire together, they not onelie consumed the miserable creatures to ashes (sometimes adding other beasts vnto them) but also reputed it to be the most acceptable sacrifice that could be made vnto their idols. From whence they had this horrible custome, trulie I cannot tell, but that it was common to most nations, not onlie to consume their strangers, captiues, &c; but also their owne children with fire, in such maner of sacrifice: beside the text of the Bible, the prophane histories do generallie leaue it euident, as a thing either of custome or of particular necessitie, of which later Virgil saith;

Dis or Samothes made a god.

Mela. Diodorus. Strab. 4. Plin. Cæsar. 5.

Sanguine placastis ventos & virgine cæsa, &c.

As Silius doth of the first, where he telleth of the vsuall maner of the Carthaginenses, saieng after this maner;

Vrna reducebat miserandos annua casus, &c.

But to proceed with our owne gods and idols, more pertinent to my purpose than the rehersall of forreine demeanours: I find that huge temples in like sort were builded vnto them, so that in the time of Lucius, when the light of saluation began stronglie to shine in Britaine, thorough the preaching of the gospell, the christians discouered 25. Flamines or idol-churches, beside three Archflamines, whose préests were then as our Archbishops are now, in that they had superior charge of all the rest, the other being reputed as inferiours, and subiect to their iurisdiction in cases of religion, and superstitious ceremonies.

Ptol. Lucensis.

Of the quantities of their idols I speake not, sith it is inough to saie, that they were monstrous, and that each nation contended which should honour the greater blocks, and yet all pretending to haue the iust heigth of the god or goddesse whom they did represent. Apollo Capitolinus that stood at Rome, was thirtie cubits high at the least; Tarentinus Iupiter of 40.; the idoll of the sonne in the Rhodes, of 70. (whose toe few men could fadam;) Tuscanus Apollo that stood in the librarie of the temple of Augustus, of 50. foot; another made vnder Nero of 110. foot; but one in France passed all, which Zenoduris made vnto Mercurie at Aruernum in ten years space, of 400. foot. Wherby it appeareth, that as they were void of moderation in number of gods, so without measure were they also in their proportions, and happie was he which might haue the greatest idoll, and lay most cost thereon.

Monstrous proportions of idols.

Hitherto yee haue heard of the time, wherein idolatrie reigned and blinded the harts of such as dwelled in this Iland. Now let vs see the successe of the gospell, after the death and passion of Iesus Christ our sauiour. And euen here would I begin with an allegation of Theodoret, whereupon some repose great assurance (conceiuing yet more hope therein by the words of Sophronius) that Paule the Apostle should preach the word of saluation here, after his deliuerie out of captiuitie,

Theodoret. Sophronius.

uitie, which fell as I doo read in the 57. of Chriſt. But ſith I cannot verifie the ſame by the woords of Theodoret, to be ſpoken moze of Paule than Peter, oz the reſt, I will paſſe ouer this coniecture (ſo far as it is grounded vpon Theodoret) and deale with other authozities, whereof we haue moze certeintie. Firſt of all therfoze let vs ſee what Fortunatus hath written of Pauls comming into Britaine, and afterward what is to be found of other by-writers in other points of moze aſſurance. Certes foz the preſence of Paule I read thus much:

Quid facer ille ſimul Paulus tuba gentibus ampla,
Per mare per terras Chriſti præconia fundens,
Europam & Aſiam, Lybiam, ſale dogmata complens,
Arctos, meridies, hic plenus veſper & ortus,
Tranſit & Oceanum, vel qua facit inſula portum,
Quáſq; Britannus habet terras atque vltima Thule, &c.

That one Ioſephus preached here in England, in the time of the Apoſtles, his ſepulchre yet in Aualon, now called Gleſſenburg oz Glaſtenburie, an epitaph affixed therevnto is proſe ſufficient. Howbeit, ſith theſe things are not of competent force to perſuade all men, I will ad in few, what I haue read elſewhere of his arriuall here. Firſt of all therefoze you ſhall note that he came ouer into Britaine, about the 64. after Chriſt, when the perſecution began vnder Nero, at which time Philip and diuers of the godlie being in France (whether he came with other chriſtians, after they had ſowed the woord of God in Scythia, by the ſpace of 9. yeares) ſeuered themſelues in ſunder, to make the better ſhift foz their owne ſafegard, and yet not otherwiſe than by their flight, the goſpell might haue due furtherance. Hereby then it came to paſſe, that the ſaid Philip vpon good deliberation did ſend Ioſephus ouer, and with him Simon Zelotes to preach vnto the Britons, and miniſter the ſacraments there according to the rites of the churches of Aſia and Greece, from whence they came not long before vnto the countrie of the Galles. Which was ſaith Malmeſburie 103. before Faganus and Dinaw did ſet foorth the goſpell amongſt them. Of the cõming of Zelotes you may read moze in the ſecond booke of Niceph. Cal. where he writeth thereof in this maner: *Operæpretium etiam fuerit Simonem Cana Galileæ ortum, qui propter flagrantem in magiſtrum ſuum ardorem, ſummáq; euangelicæ rei per omnia curam Zelotes cognominatus eſt hic referre, accepit enim is cœlitùs adueniente ſpiritu ſancto, Aegyptium Cyrenem & Africam, deinde Mauritaniam & Lybiam omnem euangelium deprædicans percurrit, eandémque doctrinam etiam ad occidentalem Oceanum inſuláſque Britannicas perfert.* And this is the effect in a litle rome, of that which I haue read at large in ſundrie writers, beſide theſe two here alledged, although it may well be gathered that diuers Britains were conuerted to the faith, before this ſixtie foure of Chriſt. Howbeit, whereas ſome write that they liued, and dwelled in Britaine, it cannot as yet take any abſolute hold in my iudgement, but rather that they were baptiſed and remained, either in Rome, oz elſe-where. And of this ſoz I ſuppoſe Claudia Rufina the wife of Pudens to be one, who was a Britiſh ladie indeed, and not onelie excellentlie ſéene in the Greéke and Latine tongs, but alſo with hir husband highlie commended by S. Paule, as one hauing had converſation and conference with them at Rome, from whence he did write his ſecond epiſtle vnto Timothie, as I read. Of this ladie moreouer Martial ſpeaketh, in reioiſing that his poeſies were read alſo in Britaine, and onelie by hir meanes, who vſed to cull out the fineſt & honeſteſt of his epigrams and ſend them to hir frends foz tokens, ſaieng after this maner, as himſelfe doth ſet it downe:

Dicitur & noſtros cantare Britannia verſus.

Furthermoze making mention of hir and hir iſſue, he addeth theſe woords:

Claudia cæruleis cùm ſit Rufina Britannis
Edita, cur Latiæ pectora plebis habet?
Quale decus formæ? Romanam credere matres
Italides poſſunt, Atthides eſſe ſuam.
Dij bene, quod ſancto peperit fœcunda marito,
Quot ſperat, generos, quótque puella nurus.
Sic placeat ſuperis, vt coniuge gaudeat vno,
Et ſemper natis gaudeat illa tribus.

The names of hir three children were Pudentiana, Praxedes, both virgins, and Nouatus, who after the death of Pudens their father (which befell him in Cappadocia) dwelled with their mother in Vmbria, where they ceaſed not from time to time to miniſter vnto the ſaints. But to leaue this impertinent diſcourſe, and proceed with my purpoſe.

I find in the Chronicles of Burton (vnder the yeare of Grace 141. and time of Hadrian the emperour) that nine ſcholers oz clerkes of Grantha oz Granta (now Cambridge) were baptiſed in Britaine, and became preachers of the goſpell there, but whether Taurinus biſhop oz elder ouer the congregation at Yoorke (who as Vincentius ſaith, was executed about this time foz his faith) were one of them oz not, as yet I do not certeinlie find; but rather the contrarie, which is that he was no Britaine at all, but *Epiſcopus Ebroicenſis*, foz which ſuch as perceiue not the eaſie corruption of the woord, may ſome write *Eboracenſis*, as certeinlie mine author out of whom I alledge this authoritie hath done before me. Foz Vincentius ſaith flat otherwiſe, and therefoze the Chronologie if it ſpeake of ante Taurinus biſhop of Yoorke is to be reformed in that behalfe. Diuers other alſo imbraced the religion of Chriſt verie zealouſlie before theſe men. Howbeit, all this notwithſtanding, the glad tidings of the goſpell had neuer free and open paſſage here, vntill the time of Lucius, in which the verie enimies of the woord became the apparent meanes (contrarie to their owne minds) to haue it ſet forth amongſt vs. Foz when Antoninus the emperour had giuen out a decrée, that the Druiyſh religion ſhould euerie where be aboliſhed, Lucius the king (whoſe ſurname is now periſhed) toke aduiſe of his councell what was beſt to be done, & wrote in this behalfe. And this did Lucius, bicauſe he knew it * impoſſible foz man to liue long without any religion at all: finallie finding his Nobilitie & ſubiects vtter enimies to the Romane deuotiõ (foz that they made ſo many gods as they liſted, & ſome to haue the regiment euen of their dirt & dung) and therevnto being pricked forwards by ſuch chriſtians as were conuerſant about him, to chooſe the ſeruice of the true God that liueth foz euer, rather than the ſlauiſh ſeruitude of any pagan idoll: he fullie reſolued with himſelfe in the end, to receiue and imbrace the goſpell of Chriſt. He ſent alſo two of his beſt learned and greateſt philoſophers to Rome, vnto Eleutherus then biſhop there in the 177. of Chriſt, not to promiſe any ſubiection to his ſea, which then was not required, but to ſay with ſuch as were pricked in mind, Acts. 2. verſe. 37. *Quid faciemus viri fratres?* I meane that they were ſent to be perfectlie inſtructed, and with farther commiſſion, to make earneſt requeſt vnto him and the congregation there, that a competent number of preachers might be ſent ouer from thence, by whoſe diligent aduiſe and trauell, the foundation of the goſpell might ſurelie be laid ouer all the portion of the Ile, which conteined his kingdome, according to his mind.

When Eleutherus vnderſtood theſe things, he reioiced not a little foz the great goodneſſe, which the Lord had ſhewed vpon this our Ile and countrie. Afterwards calling the brethren togither, they agréed to ordeine, euen thoſe two foz biſhops, whom Lucius as you haue heard, had directed ouer vnto them. Finallie after they had thoroughlie catechized them, making generall prair vnto God and earneſt ſupplication foz the good ſucceſſe of theſe men, they ſent them home againe with no ſmall charge, that they ſhould be diligent in their function, and carefull ouer the flocke committed to their cuſto-

Ioſephus.

Philip. Freculphus To. 2. lib. 2. cap. 4. Nennius. Nicephorus lib. 2. cap. 40.

Iſidorus lib. de vita & obit. dict. patrum. W. Malmeſ. de antiq. Glaſconici monaſt.

Claudia Rufina a Britiſh ladie.

2. Tim. 4.

Li. 11. Epig. 54.

Lib. 10. cap. 17. Taurinus.

* This is contrarie to the common talke of our Atheiſts who ſay, Let vs liue here in wealth, credit and authoritie vpon earth, and let God take heauen and his religion to himſelfe to doo withall what he liſteth.

Lucius openeth his ears to good counſell, as one deſirous to ſerue God & not prefer the world.

The purpoſe of Lucius opened vnto the congregation at Rome by Eleutherus.

cuſtodie.

The firſt of theſe was called Eluanus Aualonius, a man borne in the Ile of Aualon, and brought vp there vnder thoſe godlie paſtours and their diſciples, whom Philip ſent ouer at the firſt for the conuerſion of the Britons. The other hight Medguinus, and was thereto ſurnamed Belga, becauſe he was of the towne of Welles, which then was called Belga. This man was trained vp alſo in one ſchoole with Eluanus, both of them being ornaments to their horie ages, and men of ſuch grauitie and godlineſſe, that Eleutherus ſuppoſed none more worthie to ſupport this charge, than they: after whoſe comming home alſo, it was not long yer Lucius and all his houſhold with diuers of the Nobilitie were baptiſed, beſide infinit numbers of the common people, which dailie reſorted vnto them, and voluntarilie renounced all their idolatrie and paganiſme.

A zealous prince maieth feruent ſubiects.

In the meane time, Eleutherus vnderſtanding the ſucceſſe of theſe learned doctours, and ſuppoſing with himſelfe, that they two onlie could not ſuffice to ſupport ſo great a charge as ſhould concerne the conuerſion of the whole Iland; he directed ouer vnto them in the yeare inſuing Faganus, Dinaw (or Dinauus) Aaron, and diuerſe other godlie preachers, as fellow-labourers to trauell with them in the vineyard of the Lord. Theſe men therefore after their comming hither, conſulted with the other, and forthwith wholie conſented to make a diuiſion of this Iland amongſt themſelues, appointing what parcell each preacher ſhould take, that with the more profit and eaſe of the people, and ſomewhat leſſe trauell alſo for themſelues, the doctrine of the Goſpell might be preached and receiued. In this diſtribution, they ordeined that there ſhould be one congregation at London, where they placed Theonus as chéefe elder and biſhop, for that preſent time, worthilie called Theonus. 1. for there was another of that name who fled into Wales with Thadiocus of Yorke, at the firſt comming of the Saxons; and alſo Guthelmus, who went (as I read) into Armorica, there to craue aid againſt the Scots and Vandals that plagued this Ile, from the Twede vnto the Humber. After this Theonus alſo Eluanus ſucceéded, who conuerted manie of the Druiydes, and builded the firſt libzarie neere vnto the biſhops palace. The ſaid Lucius alſo placed another at Yorke, whither they appointed Theodoſius: and the third at Caerlheon vpon the riuer Uſke, builded ſometimes by Belinus, and called Glamorgantia, but now Cheſter (in which three cities there had before time beene three Archflamines erected vnto Apollo, Mars, and Minerua, but now raced to the ground, and three other churches builded in their ſteeds by Lucius) to the end that the countries round about might haue indifferent acceſſe vnto thoſe places, and therewithall vnderſtand for certeintie, whither to reſort for reſolution, if after their conuerſion they ſhould happen to doubt of any thing. In like ſort alſo the reſt of the idoll-temples ſtanding in other places were either ouerthrowne, or conuerted into churches for chriſtian congregations to aſſemble in, as our writers do remember. In the report whereof giue me leaue gentle reader, of London my natiue citie to ſpeake a little: for although it may and doth ſeeme impertinent to my purpoſe, yet it ſhall not be much, and therefore I will ſone make an end. There is a controuerſie moued among our hiſtoriographers, whether the church that Lucius builded at London ſtood at Weſtminſter, or in Cornehill. For there is ſome cauſe, why the metropolitane church ſhould be thought to ſtand where S. Peters now doth, by the ſpace of 400. od yéeres before it was remoued to Canturburie by Auſtine the monke, if a man ſhould leane to one ſide without anie conference of the aſſeuerations of the other. But herin (as I take it) there lurketh ſome ſcruple, for beſide that S. Peters church ſtood in the eaſt end of the citie, and that of Apollo in the weſt, the word Cornehill (a denomination giuen of late to ſpeake of to one ſtreet) may eaſilie be miſtaken for Thorney. For as the word Thorney proceédeth from the Saxons, who called the weſt end of the citie by that name, where Weſtminſter now ſtandeth, becauſe of the wildneſſe and buſhineſſe of the ſoile; ſo I do not read of anie ſtréete in London called Cornehill before the conqueſt of the Normans. Wherfore I hold with them, which make Weſtminſter to be the place where Lucius builded his church vpon the ruines of that Flamine 264. yeeres, as Malmesburie ſaith, before the comming of the Saxons, and 411. before the arriuall of Auguſtine. Read alſo his appendix *in lib. 4. Pontif.* where he noteth the time of the Saxons, in the 449. of Grace, and of Auguſtine in the 596. of Chriſt; which is a manifeſt accompt, though ſome copies haue 499. for the one, but not without manifeſt corruption and error.

Faganus. Dinauus. Aaron.

Radulphus de la noir aliàs Niger.

3. Cheefe Biſhops in Britaine.

Theonus. Theodoſius London. Yorke. Caerlheon.

Thus became Britaine the firſt prouince that generallie receiued the faith, and where the goſpell was freélie preached without inhibition of hir prince. Howbeit, although that Lucius and his princes and great numbers of his people imbraced the word with greédineſſe, yet was not the ſucceſſe thereof either ſo vniuerſall, that all men beleeued at the firſt; the ſecuritie ſo great, as that no perſecution was to be feared from the Romane empire after his deceaſe; or the proceéding of the king ſo ſeuere, as that he inforced any man by publike authoritie to forſake and relinquiſh his paganiſme: but onelie this freédome was enioied, that who ſo would become a chriſtian in his time, might without feare of his lawes profeſſe the Goſpell, in whoſe teſtimonie, if néed had béene, I doubt not to affirme, but that he would haue ſhed alſo his bloud, as did his neece Emerita, who being conſtant aboue the common ſort of women, refuſed not after his deceaſe by fire, to yeeld hir ſelfe to death, as a ſweét ſmelling ſacrifice in the noſtrels of the Lord, beyond the ſea in France.

Britaine the firſt prouince that receiued the Goſpell generallie.

Emerita neece vnto Lucius.

The faith of Chriſt being thus planted in this Iland in the 177. after Chriſt, and Faganus and Dinaw with the reſt ſent ouer from Rome, in the 178. as you haue heard: it came to paſſe in the third yeare of the Goſpell receiued, that Lucius did ſend againe to Eleutherus the biſhop, requiring that he might haue ſome breefe epitome of the order of diſcipline then vſed in the church. For he well conſidered, that as it auaileth litle to plant a coſtlie vineyard, except it afterward be cherished, kept in good order, and ſuch things as annoie, dailie remoued from the ſame: ſo after baptiſme and entrance into religion, it profiteth little to beare the name of chriſtians, except we do walke in the ſpirit, and haue ſuch things as offend apparentlie, corrected by ſeuere diſcipline. For otherwiſe it will come to paſſe, that the weédes of vice, and vicious liuing, will ſo quicklie abound in vs, that they will in the end choke vp the good ſéed ſowne in our minds, and either inforce vs to returne vnto our former wickedneſſe with déeper ſecuritie than before, or elſe to become meere Atheiſts, which is a great deale worſe.

Lucius ſendeth againe to Rome.

Ro. 8. ver. 1

For this cauſe therefore did Lucius ſend to Rome, the ſecond time, for a copie of ſuch politike orders as were then vſed there, in their regiment of the church. But Eleutherus conſidering with himſelfe, how that all nations are not of like condition, and therefore thoſe conſtitutions that are beneficiall to one, may now and then be preiudiciall to another: and ſéeing alſo that beſide the word no rites and orders can long continue, or be ſo perfect in all points, but that as time ſerueth, they will require alteration: he thought it beſt not to laie any more vpon the necks of the new conuerts of Britaine as yet, than Chriſt and his apoſtles had alreadie ſet downe vnto all men. In returning therefore his meſſengers, he ſent letters by them vnto Lucius and his Nobilitie, dated in the conſulſhips of Commodus

The wiſedome of Eleutherus.

and

and Veſpronius, wherein he told them that Chriſt had left ſufficient order in the ſcriptures for the gouernment of his church alreadie in his word, and not for that onlie, but alſo for the regiment of his whole *kingdome, if he would ſubmit himſelfe, to yéeld and follow that rule. The epiſtle it ſelfe is partlie extant, and partlie perished, yet ſuch as it is, and as I haue faithfullie tranſlated it out of ſundrie verie ancient copies, I doo deliuer it here, to the end I will not defraud the reader of anie thing that may turne to the glorie of God, and his commoditie, in the hiſtorie of our nation.

*Though moſt writers cannot heare on that ſide.

Epiſtle of Eleutherus vnto Lucius.

You require of vs the Romane ordinances, and thereto the ſtatutes of the emperours to be ſent ouer vnto you, and which you deſire to practiſe and put in vre within your realme and kingdome. The Romane lawes and thoſe of emperours we may eaſilie remoue, but thoſe of God can neuer be found fault with all. You haue receiued of late through Gods mercie in the realme of Britaine the law and faith of Chriſt, you haue with you both volumes of the ſcriptures: out of them therefore by Gods grace, and the councell of your realme take you a law, and by that law through Gods ſufferance rule your kingdome, for you are Gods vicar in your owne realme, as the rotall prophet ſaith; The earth is the Lords and all that is therein, the compaſſe of the world, and they that dwell therein. Againe, Thou haſt loued truth and hated iniquitie, wherefore God, euen thy God hath annointed thee with oile of gladneſſe aboue thy fellowes. And againe, according to the ſaieng of the ſame prophet; Oh God giue thy iudgement vnto the king, & thy iuſtice vnto the kings ſonne. The kings ſons are the chriſtian people & flocke of the realme, which are vnder your gouernance, and liue & continue in peace within your kingdome. * The goſpell ſaith; As the hen gathereth hir chickens vnder hir wings, ſo doth the king his people. Such as dwell in the kingdome of Britaine are yours, whom if they be diuided, you ought to gather into concord and vnitie, to call them to the faith and law of Chriſt, and to his ſacred church: to chearith and mainteine, to rule alſo and gouerne them, defending each of them from ſuch as would doo them wrong, and keeping them from the malice of ſuch as be their enimies. * Wo vnto the nation whoſe king is a child, and whoſe princes riſe vp earlie to banket and feed, which is ſpoken not of a prince that is within age, but of a prince that is become a child, through follie, ſinne & vnſtedfaſtneſſe, of whom the prophet ſaith; The bloudthirſtie and deceitfull men ſhall not liue forth halfe their daies. * By feeding I vnderſtand glattonie; by glutonie, luſt; & by luſt all wickednelle & ſinne, according to the ſaieng of Salomon the king; Wiſedome entreth not into a wicked mind, nor dwelleth with a man that is ſubiect vnto ſinne. A king hath his name of ruling, and not of the poſſeſſion of his realme. You ſhalbe a king whileſt you rule well, but if you doo otherwiſe, the name of a king ſhall not remaine with you, but you ſhall vtterlie forgo it, which God forbid. The almightie God grant you ſo to rule the kingdome of Britaine, that you may reigne with him for euer, whoſe vicar (or vicegerent) you are within your aforeſaid kingdome. Who with the Sonne and the Holie-ghoſt, &c.

Pſal. 24.
Pſal. 45.
Pſal. 71.
Here wanteth.
Pſal. 55.

Hitherto out of the epiſtle that Eleutherus ſent vnto Lucius, wherein manie prætie obſeruations are to be collected, if time and place would ſerue to ſtand vpon them. After theſe daies alſo the number of ſuch as were ordeined to ſaluation, increaſed dailie more and more, whereby (as in other places of the world) the word of God had good ſucceſſe in Britaine, in time of peace; and in heat of perſecution, there were no ſmall number of martyrs that ſuffered for the ſame, of which Albane, Amphibalus, Iulius and Aaron, are reputed to be the chiefe, becauſe of their noble parentage, which is a great matter in the ſight of worldlie men.

Albane. Amphibalus. Iulius. Aaron.

There are which affirme our Lucius to renounce his kingdome, and afterward to become firſt a biſhop, then a preacher of the goſpell, and afterward a pope: but to the end ſuch as hold this opinion may once vnderſtand the botome of their errors, I will ſet downe the matter at large, whereby they ſhall ſée (if they liſt to looke) how far they haue béene deceiued.

I find that Chlorus had iſſue by his ſecond wife, two ſonnes, Dalmatius (who had a ſonne called alſo Dalmatius and ſlaine by the ſouldiors) Conſtantius father to Gallus, and Iulian the apoſtata; beſides foure other whoſe names as yet I find not. But being at the firſt matched with Helena, and before ſhe was put from him by the roiall power of Dioclesian, he had by hir three ſonnes (beſide one daughter named Emerita) of which the name of the firſt is perished, the ſecond was called Lucius, & the third Conſtantine, that afterward was emperour of Rome, by election of the armies in Britaine. Now it happened that Lucius, whome the French call Lucion, by means of a quarell growne betwéene him and his elder brother, did kill his ſaid brother, either by a traie or by ſome other meanes, whereupon his father exiled him out of Britaine, and appointed him from thenceforth to remaine in Aquitane in France. This Lucion brought thus into worldlie ſorow, had now good leaſure to meditate vpon heauen, who before in his proſperitie had peraduenture neuer regard of hell. Finallie he fell ſo far into the conſideration of his eſtate, that at the laſt he renounced his paganiſme, and firſt became a chriſtian, then an elder, and laſt of all a biſhop in the church of Chriſt. He erected alſo a place of praier wherein to ſerue the liuing God, which after ſundrie alterations came in proceſſe of time to be an Abbaie, and is ſtill called euen to our time after Lucion or Lucius: the firſt founder thereof, and the originall beginner of anie ſuch houſe in thoſe parts.

Chlorus had three ſons, & a daughter by Helena.

Lucion becommeth a chriſtian.

Lucion a biſhop.

In this alſo he and diuers other of his frends continued their times, in great contemplation and praier, and from hence were tranſlated as occaſion ſerued, vnto ſundrie eccleſiaſticall promotions in the time of Conſtant. his brother. So that euen by this ſhort narration it is now eaſie to ſée, that Lucius the king, and Lucius or Lucion the ſonne of Chlorus, were diſtinct perſons. Hereunto Hermannus Schedelius addeth alſo how he went into Rhetia with Emerita his ſiſter, and néere vnto the citie Auguſta conuerted the Curienſes vnto the faith of Chriſt, and there likewiſe (being put to death in Caſtro Martis) lieth buried in the ſame towne, where his feaſt is holden vpon the third date of December, as may readilie be confirmed, whereas the bones of our Lucius were to be ſéene at Gloceſter. That Schedelius erreth not herein alſo, the ancient monuments of the ſaid Abbaie, whereof he was the originall beginner, as I ſaid, doo yéeld ſufficient teſtimonie, beſide an hymne made in his commendation, intituled *Gaude Lucionum, &c.* But for more of this you may reſort vnto Boudet in his firſt booke, and fift chapter of the Annales of Aquitane, who neuertheles maketh the king of Britaine grandfather to this Lucion. The ſaid Schedelius furthermore ſetteth downe, that his ſiſter was martyred in Trinecaſtell, néere vnto the place where the ſaid Lucion dwelled, whereby it appéareth in like ſort, that ſhe was not ſiſter to Lucius king of Britaine, of which prince Alexander Necham in his moſt excellent treatiſe *De ſapientia diuina*, ſetteth downe this Diſtichon:

Hermannus Schedelius. Bruſchius cap. 3.

Feſtum Lucionis. Iohn Boudchet.

Emerita martyred in Rhetia.

Prima Britannorum fidei lux Lucius eſſe
Fertur, qui rexit mœnia Brute tua.

Neither could Lucion or Lucius be fellow and of kinred vnto Paule the apoſtle, as Auentine inferreth, except he meane it of ſome other Lucius, as of one whome he nameth Cyrinenſis. But then will not the hiſtorie agree with the conuerſion of the Rhetians and

Vinde-

Vindelicians, whereof Schedelius and other do make mention. But as each riuer the farder it runneth from the head, the more it is increased by small riuelets, and corrupted with filthie puddels, and stinking gutters, that descend into the same: so the puritie of the gospell, preached here in Britaine, in processe of time became first of all to be corrupted with a new order of religion, and most execrable heresie, both of them being brought in at once by Pelagius, of Wales, who hauing trauelled through France, Italie, Aegypt, Syria, & the easterlie regions of the world, was there at the last made an elder or bishop, by some of the monkes, vnto whose profession he had not long before wholie addicted himselfe. Finallie returning home againe with an augmentation of fame and countenance of greater holinesse than he bare out of the land with him, he did not onelie erect an house of his owne order at Bangor in Wales, vpon the riuer Dee, but also sowed the pestiferous seed of his hereticall prauities ouer all this Iland, whereby he seduced great numbers of Britons, teaching them to preferre their owne merits, before the free mercie of God, in Iesus Christ his sonne. By this means therefore he brought assurance of saluation into question, and taught all such as had a diligent respect vnto their workes to be doubtfull of the same, whereas to such as regard this latter, there can be no quietnesse of mind, but alwaies an vnstedfast opinion of themselues, whereby they cannot discerne, neither by prosperitie nor aduersitie of this life, whether they be worthie loue or hatred. Neuertheles it behoueth the godlie to repose their hope in that grace which is freelie granted through Iesu Christ, and to flee vnto the mercies of God which are offered vnto vs in with and by his son, to the end that we may at the last find the testimonie of his spirit working with ours, that we are his chosen children, whereby commeth peace of conscience to such as do beleeue.

Heresie and monasticall life brought into Britaine at one time by Pelagius.

Bangor.

Thus we see how new deuises or orders of religion and heresie came in together. I could shew also what Comets, and strange signes appeared in Britaine, much about the same time, the like of which with diuers other haue beene perceiued also from time to time, sithence the death of Pelagius, at the entrance of anie new kind of religion into this Ile of Britaine. But I passe them ouer, onelie for that I would not seeme in my tractation of antiquities, to trouble my reader with the rehersall of anie new inconuenences.

To proceed therefore with my purpose, after these, there followed in like sort sundrie other kinds of monasticall life, as Anachorites, Heremits, Cyrilline and Benedictine monkes, albeit that the heremeticall profession was onelie allowed of in Britaine, vntill the comming of Augustine the monke, who brought in the Benedictine sect, framed after the order of the house which Benedict surnamed Nursinus did first erect in *Monte Cassino*, about the 524. of Christ, & was finallie so well liked of all men, that we had few or (as I suppose) no blacke monkes in England that were not of his order. In processe of time how Benedict Biscop also our countrieman restored the said Benedictine profession greatlie decaied in England, our histories are verie plentifull, which Biscop went oft into Italie, and at one time for a spectall confirmation of his two monasteries which he had builded at other mens costs vnto Paule and Peter vpon the bankes of the Were, as Beda doth remember. So fast also did these and other like humane deuises prosper after his time, that at their suppression in England and Wales onelie, there were found 440. religious houses at the least, of which 373. might dispend 200. li. by the yeere at the least, as appeareth by the record of their suppression, which also noteth the totall summe of their reuenues to amount vnto 32000. pounds, their moueables 100000. li. and the number of religious men conteined in the same, to be

Anachorites. Heremites. Cyrillines. Benedictines.

Monkes and Heremites onelie allowed of in Britaine.

10000. which would make a prettie armie, wherevnto if you adde those 45. of late standing in Scotland, you shall sone see what numbers of these dens of spirituall robbers were mainteined here in Britaine. What number of saints also haue beene hatched in them I could easilie remember, and beside those 160. which Capgraue setteth down, & other likewise remembred in the golden Legend, and Legendarie of Excester, I might bring a rable out of Scotland able to furnish vp a calendar, though the yere were twise as long.

The number of religious houses in England at their dissolution.

As touching Pelagius the first heretike that euer was bred in this realme (notablie knowne) and parent of Monachisme, it is certeine, that before his corruption and fall, he was taken for a man of singular learning, deepe iudgement, and such a one, as vpon whome for his great gifts in teaching and strictnesse of life, no small peece of the hope and expectation of the people did depend. But what is wisedome of the flesh, without the feare and true knowledge of God: and what is learning except it be handmaid to veritie and sound iudgement: Wherefore euen of this man, we may see it verified, that one Roger Bakon pronounced long after of the corruption of his time, when all things were measured by wit and worldlie policie, rather than by the scriptures or guidance of the spirit; Better it is saith he, to heare a rude and simple idiot preach the truth, without apparance of skill and learned eloquence, than a profound clearke to set forth error, with great shew of learning, and boast of filed vtterance. Gerson in like sort hath said fullie asmuch. These follies of Pelagius were blased abroad about the 400. of Christ, and from thencefoorth how his number of monkes increased on the one side, and his doctrine on the other, there is almost no reader that is vnskilfull and ignorant.

Roger Bakon his laieng of the preachers of his time who were the best lawyers and the worst Diuines.

This also is certeine, that within the space of 200. yeares and odde, there were manie more than 2100. monkes gathered togither in his house, whose trades notwithstanding the errors of their founder, (who taught such an estimation of merits and bodilie exercise (as Paule calleth it) that therby he sought not onlie to impugne, but also preuent grace, which was in deed the originall occasion of the erection of his house) were yet farre better and more godlie than all those religious orders, that were inuented of later time, wherein the professours liued to themselues, their wombs and the licentious fruition of those parts, that are beneath the bellie. For these laboured continuallie for their owne liuings, at vacant times from praier (as did Serapions monkes, which were 10000. ouer whome he himselfe was Abbat) and likewise for the better maintenance of such learned men as were their appointed preachers. Their liues also were correspondent to their doctrine, so that herein onelie they seemed intollerable, in that they had confidence in their deeds, and no warrant out of the word for their succor & defense, but were such a plant as the heauenlie father had not planted, and therefore no maruell, though afterward they were raised by the roots.

More than 2100. monkes in the College or Abbaie of Bangor in whose territories the parish of Dissertion standeth.

Niceph. lib. 11. cap. 34.

But as Pelagius and his adherents had a time to infect the church of Christ in Britaine, so the liuing God hath had a season also to purge and cleanse the same, though not by a full reformation of doctrine, sith Germanus, Lupus, Palladius, Patricius, and such like leaning for the most part vnto the monasticall trades, did not so much condemne the generall errors of Pelagius one waie, as maintaine the same, or as euill opinions another. For as Patricke seemed to like well of the honoring of the dead, so Germanus being in Britaine repaired an old chapell to S. Albane, wherein Lupus also praied, as Palladius vpheld the strictnesse of life, in monasticall profession to the vttermost of his power. Wherfore God wrought this purgation of his house at the first, rather by taking awaie the wicked and pompous schoolemaisters of errour out of this life: hoping

Germanus, Lupus, Palladius, Patricius.

Seuerus Sulpitius in vita Patricij.

hoping that by ſuch meanes, his people would haue giuen eare to the godlie that remained. But in proceſſe of time, when this his merciſull dealing was forgotten and our countriemen returned to their former diſorders, he brought in the Saxons, who left no idoll vnhonored, no not their filthie Priapus, vnto whom the women builded temples, and made a beaſtlie image (*Cum pene intenſo*, and as if he had bæne circumciſed) whome they called Idypallus, Verpus, and as Goropius Atvatic. pag. 26. addeth, Ters: calling vpon him in maner at euerie word, yea at the verie fall of a knife out of their hands, and not counted anie ſhame vnto the moſt ancient and ſober matrone of them all. Howbeit when this proceeding of the Lord could alſo take no place, and the ſhéepe of his paſture would receiue no wholeſome fodder, it pleaſed his maieſtie, to let them run on headlong from one iniquitie to another, in ſomuch that after the doctrine of Pelagius, it receiued that of Rome alſo, brought in by Auguſtine and his monkes, whereby it was to be ſeene, how they fell from the truth into hereſie, and from one hereſie ſtill into another, till at the laſt they were drowned altogither in the pits of error digged vp by Antichriſt, wels in déed that hold no water, which notwithſtanding to their followers ſéemed to be moſt ſound doctrine, and ciſterns of liuing water to ſuch as imbraced the ſame.

Auguſtine the monke.

Auguſtine. This Auguſtine, after his arriuall, conuerted the Saxons in déed from paganiſme, but as the prouerbe ſaith, bringing them out of Gods bleſſing into the warme ſunne, he alſo imbued them with no leſſe hurtfull ſuperſtition, than they did know before: for beſide the onelie name of Chriſt, and externall contempt of their priſtinate idolatrie, he taught them nothing at all, but rather (I ſaie) made an exchange from groſſe to ſubtill treacherie, from open to ſecret idolatrie, & from the name of pagans, to the bare title of chriſtians, thinking this ſufficient for their ſoules health, and the ſtabliſhment of his monachiſme, of which kind of profeſſion, the holie ſcriptures of God can in no wiſe like or allow. But what cared he? ſith he got the great fiſh for which he did caſt his hoke, and ſo great was the fiſh that he caught in déed, that within the ſpace of 1000. yeares, and leſſe, it deuoured the fourth part & more of the beſt ſoile of the Iland, which was wholie beſtowed vpon his monkes, & other religious broodes that were hatched ſince his time, as may hereafter appéere in the booke following, where I intreate of cities, townes, &c.

Monks of Canturburie plagued. In the meane ſeaſon what ſucceſſe his monkes had at Canturburie, how oft they were ſpoiled by enimies, their houſes burned by caſualtie, and brethren conſumed with peſtilence, I refer me to Gotcellius, Houeden, Geruaſe, and the reſt of their owne hiſtoriographers. And ſo ſore did the peſtilence rage among them in the time of Celnothus (in whoſe daies the preeſts, clerks and monkes ſang their ſeruice togither in the quire, that (of I wote not how manie) there remained onelie fiue aliue, which was a notable token of the furie and wrath of God conceiued and executed againſt that malignant generation. It came alſo to paſſe at the laſt, that men vſed to praie for helpe at the ſaid Auguſtines tumbe (although afterward Thomas Becket a newer ſaint did not a little deface his glorie) among which king Athelſtane was one, whome Elnothus the abbat ſtaied ſo long in the place, when he came thither to praie, that his ſoldiours waiting for his comming, and ſuppoſing the monkes to haue murdered him, began to giue an aſſault and ſet fire vpon the houſe.

Meates. Picts. Caledoniens. Whileſt theſe things were thus in hand, in the ſouth part of Albion, the Meates, Picts, and Caledoniens, which lie beyond the Scotiſh ſea, receiued alſo the faith, by preaching of ſuch chriſtian elders as aduentured thither dailie, who trauelled not without great ſucceſſe and increaſe of perfect godlines in that part of the Ile. Certes this proſperous attempt paſſed all mens expectation, for that theſe nations were in thoſe daies reputed wild, ſauage, and more vnfaithfull and craftie than well-minded people (as the wild Iriſh are in my time) and ſuch were they (to ſaie the truth) in déed, as neither the ſugred courteſie, nor ſharpe ſwords of the Romans could mollifie or reſtraine from their naturall furie, or bring to anie good order. For this cauſe alſo in the end, the Romane emperours did vtterlie caſt them off as an vnprofitable, brutiſh, & vntameable nation, and by an huge wall hereafter to be deſcribed, ſeparated that rude companie from the more mild and ciuill portion.

Scotland conuerted to the faith of Chriſt. This conuerſion of the north parts fell out in the firſt yeare before the warres that Seuerus had in thoſe quarters, and 170. after the death of our ſauiour Jeſus Chriſt. From thenceforth alſo the chriſtian religion continued ſtill among them, by the diligent care of their paſtors and biſhops (after the vſe of the churches of the ſouth part of this Iland) till the Romane ſhéepheards ſought them out, and found the meanes to pull them vnto him in like ſort with his long ſtaffe as he had done our countriemen, whereby in the end he aboliſhed the rites of the churches of Aſia there alſo, as Auguſtine had done alreadie in England: and in ſtéed of the ſame did furniſh it vp with thoſe of his pontificall ſée, although there was great contention, and no leſſe bloodſhed made amongſt them, before it could be brought to paſſe, as by the hiſtories of both nations yet extant may be ſéene.

Paladius. In the time of Cœleſtine biſhop of Rome, who ſate in the 423. of Chriſt, one Paladius a Grecian borne (to whome Cyrill wrote his dialog *De adoratione in ſpiritu*) and ſometime diſciple to Iohn 24. biſhop of Jeruſalem, came ouer from Rome into Britaine, there to ſuppreſſe the Pelagian hereſie, which not a little moleſted the orthodores of that Iland. And hauing done much good in the extinguiſhing of the aforeſaid opinion there, he went at the laſt alſo into Scotland, ſuppoſing no leſſe, but after he had trauelled ſomwhat in confutation of the Pelagians in thoſe parts, he ſhould eaſilie perſuade that crooked nation to admit and receiue the rites of the church of Rome, as he would faine haue done beforehand in the ſouth. But as Faſtidius Priſcus archbiſhop of London, and his Suffragans reſiſted him here; ſo did the Scotiſh prelates withſtand him there alſo in this behalfe: howbeit, bicauſe of the authoritie of his commiſſion, grauitie of perſonage, and the great gift which he had in the veine of pleaſant perſuaſion (whereby he drew the people after him, as Orpheus did the ſtones with his harpe, and Hercules ſuch as heard him by his tong) they had him not onelie then in great admiration, but their ſucceſſors alſo from time to time, and euen now are contented (and the rather alſo for that he came from Rome) to take him for their chéefe apoſtle, reckoning from his comming as from the faith receiued, which was in the 431. yeare of Chriſt, as the truth of their hiſtorie doth verie well confirme.

The firſt attempt of the biſhop of Rome to bring Scotland vnder his obedience.

Faſtidius biſhop of London.

Paladius accompted for the apoſtle of the Scots

Thus we ſee what religion hath from time to time bæne receiued in this Iland, & how and when the faith of Chriſt came firſt into our countrie. Howbeit as in proceſſe of time it was ouerſhadowed, and corrupted with the dreames and fantaſticall imaginations of man, ſo it dailie wared worſe & worſe, till that it pleaſed God to reſtore the preaching of his goſpell in our daies, whereby the man of ſinne is now openlie reuealed, and the puritie of the word once againe brought to light, to the finall ouerthrow of the Romiſh ſathan, and his popiſh adherents that honour him daie and night to the vttermoſt of their power, yéelding vp their harts as temples for him to dwell in, which rather ought to be the temples of God and habitations of the Holy-ghoſt. But ſuch is their peruerſe ignorance (notwithſtanding that Paule hath giuen warning of him alreadie 2. Theſ. 2. calling him (as I ſaid) the man of ſinne, and ſaieng that he ſitteth as God in the temple of God, ſhewing himſelfe

himſelfe in his chalenge of power, as if he were God, vnder pretenſe of zeale vnto true religion) that they will not giue eare vnto the truth, but rather ſhut their eares and their eies from hearing and reading of the ſcriptures, becauſe they will not be drawne out of his ſnares and bondage.

Of the manifold conuerſions and alterations of the eſtate of the common-wealth of Britaine, ſithens the time of Samothes.

THere is a certeine period of kingdomes, of 430. yeares, in which commonlie they ſuffer ſome notable alteration. And as in the aforeſaid ſeaſon there is ſet a time of increaſe and decaie, ſo we find that before the execution of Gods purpoſe doth come to paſſe, in changing the eſtate of things, ſundrie tokens are ſent, whereby warning is giuen, that without repentance he will come and viſit our offenſes. This is partlie verified by Ioachimus Camerarius, who in his firſt booke *De oſtentis* intreating of the ſame argument, telleth of a ſtrange earthquake felt in Delus, which was neuer touched with any ſuch plague before or after the ouerthrow of the Perſians, giuen vnto them by the Grecians; alſo of the beard that ſuddenlie grew out of the face of the Pedacien prophetеſſe, ſo often as the citie was to be touched with any alteration and change. *Nam* (ſaith he) *deſcriptas eſſe diuinitùs ætates quibus idem humanarum rerum ſtatus duraret, quibus finitis, prædici prius quàm exiſteret nouationem in deterius euenturam rerum, quæque indies minùs ac minùs numini cordi eſſent. Emittuntur igitur cometæ diuinitus, & reuocantur dum ſupra nos conſpecti quamdiu placuit Deo inferuntur, &c.* Plato referreth ſuch changes as happen in common-wealths to a certeine diuine force that reſteth hidden in ſundrie od numbers, whereof their periods do conſiſt. True it is that God created all things in number, weight & meaſure, & that after an incomprehenſible maner vnto our fraile & humane capacitie. Nevertheleſſe, he appointed not theſe three to haue the rule of his works, wherefore we muſt not aſcribe theſe changes to the force of number with Plato, much leſſe then vnto deſtinie with the Peripatetiks, but vnto the diuine prouidence and appointment of God, which onelie may be called deſtinie as S. Auguſtine ſaith, for of other deſtinie it is impietie to dreame. Ariſtotle aſcribing all euents vnto manifeſt cauſes precedent, doth ſcoffe at Plato and his numbers in his booke of common-wealths, and bringeth in ſundrie cauſes of the alteration of the ſtate of things, which we may referre vnto principals, as iniurie, oppreſſion, ambition, treaſon, rebellion, contempt of religion and lawes, and therevnto abundance of wealth in few, and great neceſſitie and miſerie in manie. But whatſoeuer Ariſtotle geſſeth at theſe things by humane reaſon as at the firſt cauſes, yet we acknowledge other beyond them, as ſinne, which being ſuffered and come to the full, is cut downe by the iuſtice of the high God, the chiefe cauſe of all, who foreſeeing the wickednеſſe of ſuch as dwell on earth, doth conſtitute ſuch a reuolution of things in their beginnings, as beſt ſtandeth with the execution of his purpoſe, and correction of our errors. The cauſes therefore that Ariſtotle doth deliuer, are nothing elſe but the meanes which God vſeth to bring his purpoſes to paſſe; and yet they deſerue the name of cauſes, in that they preceed thoſe effects which follow them immediatlie. But in truth other than ſecondarie or third cauſes no man can iuſtlie call them. Bodinus in his hiſtoricall method, cap. 6. making a large diſcourſe of the conuerſions of commonwealths, doth ſeeme at the firſt to dente the force of number, but after a while he maruelleth that no Grecian or Latine Academike, hath hitherto made any diſcourſe of the excellencie of ſuch numbers as apperteine to the eſtate of empires and kingdomes by exemplification in any one citie or other. Hereby he ſheweth himſelfe vpon the ſudden to alter his iudgement, ſo that he ſetteth downe certeine numbers as fatall; to wit, ſixe vnto women, and ſeauen and nine vnto men, which (ſaith he) haue *Magnam in tota rerum natura poteſtatem*, meaning as well in common-wealths and kingdomes from their firſt erections, as in particular ages of bodies, for ſickeneſſe, health, change of habitation, wealth, and loſſe, &c: and for the confirmation of the ſame, he ſetteth downe ſundrie examples of apparant likelihood, either by multiplication of one by the other, or diuiſion of greater numbers by either of them, or their concurrence one with another, calling the aforeſaid three his criticall or iudiciall numbers, whereby he bringeth or rather reſtoreth an old kind of arithmancie (fathered on Pythagoras, yet neuer inuented by him) againe into the world. But we chriſtians, in reſpecting of cauſes, haue to looke vnto the originall and great cauſe of all, and therefore we haue not to leane vnto theſe points in any wiſe as cauſes: for we know and confeſſe that all things depend vpon his prouidence, who humbleth and exalteth whom it pleaſeth him. Nevertheleſſe, I hope we may without offenſe examine how theſe aſſertions hold, ſo long as we vſe them rather as *Indices* than *Cauſas mutationum*. And therefore haue I attempted to practiſe at this preſent the example of Bodinus, firſt in the alterations of our ciuill eſtate paſſed; and ſecondlie, of the like in caſes of religion; from the flood generallie, and then after the firſt comming in of Samothes into our Ile, thereby ſomewhat to ſatiſfie my ſelfe, and recreate the readers; but ſtill proteſting in the meane ſeaſon that I vtterlie denie them to be any cauſes, or of themſelues to worke any effect at all in theſe things, as Bodinus would ſeeme to vphold. As for thoſe of other countries, I referre you to Ariſtotles politikes, and the eight of the common-wealth which Plato hath left vnto vs, therby to be farther reſolued, if you be deſirous to looke on them. In beginning therefore with my purpoſe; Firſt becauſe the flood of Noah was generall, and therefore appertinent vnto all, it ſhall not be amiſſe to begin with that, which was in the yeare 1656. after the creation of Adam, ſo that if you diuide the ſame by nine, you ſhall find the quotient to fall out exactlie with the 184. reuolution of the ſame number. Secondlie, for ſo much as the confuſion of tongs was the originall cauſe of the diſperſion of the people ouer the face of the whole earth, it ſhall not be amiſſe alſo to examine the ſame. Certes it fell out in the 133. after the flood: if we diuide therefore the ſaid 133. by ſeauen, you ſhall find the quotient 19. without any ods remaining. From hence alſo vnto the comming of Samothes into Britaine, or rather his lawes giuen vnto the Celts, and with them vnto the Britons, in the ſecond of his arriuall in this land, we find by exact ſupputation 126. yeares, which being parted by nine or ſeauen ſheweth ſuch a concluſion as maketh much for this purpoſe. Doubtleſſe I am the more willing to touch the time of his lawes than his entrance, ſith alteration of ordinances is the cheefe and principall token of change in rule and regiment; although at this preſent the circumſtances hold not, ſith he diſpoſſeſſed none, neither incroched vpon any. From Samothes vnto the tyrannie of Albion, are 335. yeares complet, ſo that he arriued here in the 335. or 48. ſeptenarie, which alſo concurreth with the 590. after the flood. In like ſort the regiment of Albion continued but ſeauen yeares, and then was the ſouereingtie of this Ile reſtored againe by Hercules vnto the Celts. The next alteration of our eſtate openlie knowne, happened by Brute, betweene whoſe time and death of Albion there paſſed full 601. yeares (for he ſpent much time after his departure out of Grecia, before he came into Albion) ſo that if you accompt him to come hither in the 602. you ſhall haue 86. ſeptenaries exactlie. From Brute to the extinction of his poſteritie in Ferrex and Porrex, and pentarchie of Britaine,

Fatal numbers.

laine, are 630. yeares, or 70. nouenaries, than the which where ſhall a man find a more preciſe period after this method or preſcription, for manie and diuers conſiderations. The time of the pentarchie indured likewiſe 49. yeares, or ſeauen ſeptenaries, which being expired Dunwallo brought all the princes vnder his ſubiection, and ruled ouer them as monarch of this Ile. After the pentarchie ended, we find againe that in the 98. yeare, Brennus rebelled againſt Beline his brother, whereupon inſued cruell bloodſhed betweene them. So that here you haue 14. ſeptenaries, as you haue from thoſe warres ended, which indured a full yeare & more before Brennus was reconciled to his brother, to the comming of Cæſar into this Iland (whereat our ſeruitude and miſerable thraldome to the Romans may worthilie take his entrance) 48. or 336. yeares, than the which concurrences I know not how a man ſhould imagine a more exact.

After the comming of Cæſar we haue 54. or ſixe nouenaries to Chriſt, whoſe death and paſſion redoundeth generallie to all that by firme and ſure faith take hold of the ſame, and applie it vnto their comfort. From the birth of Chriſt to our countrie deliuered from the Romane yoke, are 446. yeares, at which time the Britains choſe them a king, and betooke themſelues to his obedience. But neither they nor their king being then able to hold out the Scots and Picts, which dailie made hauocke of their countrie; the ſaid Vortiger in the third yeare of his reigne (which was the 63. ſeptenarie after Chriſt) did ſend for the Saxons, who arriued here in the 449. and 450. yeares of Grace, in great companies, for our aid and ſuccour, although that in the end their entrances turned to our vtter decaie and ruine, in that they made a conqueſt of the whole Ile, and draue vs out of our liuings. Hereby we ſée therefore how the preparatiue began in the 449. but how it was finiſhed in the tenth nouenarie, the ſequele is too too plaine. In like ſort in the 43. nouenarie or 387. after the comming of the Saxons, the Danes entred, who miſerablie afflicted this Ile by the ſpace of 182. yeares or 46. ſeptenaries, which being expired, they eſtabliſhed themſelues in the kingdome by Canutus. But their time laſting not long, the Normans followed in the end of the 49. yeare, and thus you ſée how theſe numbers do hold exactlie vnto the conqueſt. The like alſo we find of the continuance of the Normans or ſucceſſion of the Conquerour, which indured but 89. yeares, being extinguiſhed in Stephen, and that of the Saxons reſtored in Henrie the ſecond, although it lacke one whole yeare of ten nouenaries, which is a ſmall thing, ſith vpon diuers occaſions the time of the execution of any accident may be preuented or prorogued, as in direction and progreſſion aſtronomicall is often times perceiued. From hence to the infamous excommunication of England in king Iohns daies, whereupon inſued the reſignation of his crownes and dominions to the pope, are eight ſeptenaries or 56. yeares. Thence againe to the depoſition of Richard. 2. and vſurpation of Henrie 4. are 77. yeares or 11. ſeptenaries. From hence to the conſpiracie made againſt Edward. 2. after which he was depoſed & murdered are 117. yeares, or 13. nouenaries. From hence to the beginning of the quarell betweene the houſes of Yorke and Lancaſter (wherein foure ſcore and od perſons of the blod roiall were ſlaine and made awaie firſt and laſt, and which warres begunne in the 1448. and the yeare after the death of the Duke of Glocester, whoſe murther ſéemed to make frée paſſage to the ſaid broile) are 72. yeares or eight nouenaries. From hence to the tranſlation of the crowne from the houſe of Lancaſter to that of Yorke, in Edward the 4. are 14. yeares or two ſeptenaries, and laſt of all to the vnion of the ſaid houſes in Henrie the eight, is an exact quadrat of ſeuen multiplied in it ſelfe, or 49. yeares, whereof I hope this may in part ſuffice.

Now as concerning religion, we haue from Chriſt to the faith firſt preached in Britaine (by Ioſephus ab Aramathia, and Simon Zelotes) as ſome write 70. yeares or 10. ſeptenaries. Thence alſo to the baptiſme of Lucius, and his nobilitie in the yeare after their conuerſion, 12. nouenaries or 108. yeares. After theſe the Saxons entred and changed the ſtate of religion for the moſt part into paganiſme, in the yeare 449. 39. nouenarie, and 273. yeare after Lucius had bene baptiſed, which is 39. ſeptenaries, if I be not deceiued. In the 147. or 21. ſeptenarie, Auguſtine came, who brought in poperie, which increaſed and continued till Wicklif with more boldneſſe than anie other began to preach the goſpell, which was Anno. 1361. or 765. yeares after the comming of Auguſtine, and yeld 85. nouenaries exactlie. From hence againe to the expulſion of the pope 175 yeares, or 25. ſeptenaries, thence to the receiuing of the pope and popiſh doctrine 21. yeares or 3. ſeptenaries, whereunto I would ad the time of reſtoring the goſpell by Queene Elizabeth, were it not that it wanteth one full yeare of 7. Whereby we may well gather, that if there be anie hidden myſterie or thing conteined in theſe numbers, yet the ſame extendeth not vnto the diuine diſpoſition of things, touching the gift of grace and free mercie vnto the penitent, vnto which neither number weight nor meaſure ſhall be able to aſpire.

Henrie. 8.
Marie.

Of ſuch Ilands as are to be ſeene vpon the coaſts of Britaine. Cap. 10.

THere are neere vnto, or not verie farre from the coaſts of Britaine many faire Ilands, whereof Ireland with hir neighbors (not here handled) ſéeme to be the cheefe. But of the reſt, ſome are much larger or leſſe than other, diuers in like ſort enuironed continuallie with the ſalt ſea (whereof I purpoſe onelie to intreat, although not a few of them be Ilands but at the floud) and other finallie be clipped partlie by the freſh and partlie by the ſalt water, or by the freſh alone, whereof I may ſpeake afterward.

Of theſe ſalt Ilands (for ſo I call them that are enuironed with the Ocean waues) ſome are fruitfull in wood, corne, wild foule, and paſture ground for cattell, albeit that manie of them be accounted barren, becauſe they are onelie repleniſhed with conies, and thoſe of ſundrie colours (cheriſhed of purpoſe by the owners, for their ſkins or carcaſes in their prouiſion of houſehold) without either man or woman otherwiſe inhabiting in them. Furthermore, the greateſt number of theſe Ilands haue townes and pariſh-churches, within their ſeuerall precincts, ſome mo, ſome leſſe: and beſide all this, are ſo inriched with commodities, that they haue pleaſant hauens, freſh ſprings, great ſtore of fiſh, and plentie of cattell, whereby the inhabitants do reape no ſmall aduantage. How manie they are in number I cannot as yet determine, becauſe mine informations are not ſo fullie ſet downe, as the promiſes of ſome on the one ſide, & mine expectation on the other did extend vnto. Howbeit, firſt of all that there are certeine which lie neere togither, as it were by heapes and cluſters, I hope none will readilie denie. Of theſe alſo thoſe called the Neſiadæ, Inſulæ Scylurum, Sileuſtræ, Syllanæ, now the Sorlings, and Iles of Silley, lieng beyond Cornwall are one, and conteineth in number one hundreth fourtie and ſeauen (each of them bearing graſſe) beſides ſhelfes and ſhallowes. In like ſort the companie of the Hebrides in old time ſubiect vnto Ireland are another, which are ſaid to be 43. ſituat vpon the weſt ſide of this Iland, betweene Ireland & Scotland, and of which there are ſome that repute Angleſei,

Neſiadæ. Inſulæ Scylurum. Sileuſtræ. Syllanæ. Sorlingæ. Sylley. Hebrides. Hebudes. Meuaniæ. Orchades.

Mona Cæſaris, and other lieng betweene them to be parcell, in their corrupted iudgement. The third cluſter or bunch conſiſteth of thoſe that are called the Orchades, and theſe lie vpon the northweſt point of Scotland, being 31. *alias* 28. in number, as for the reſt they lie ſcattered here and there, and yet not to be vntouched as their courſes ſhall come about. There are alſo the 18. Shetland Iles, and other yet farther diſtant from them, of which Iohn Frobuſer I doubt not touched vpon ſome in his voiage to *Meta Incognita:* but for ſomuch as I muſt ſpeake of the Shetlands hereafter, I dow not meane to ſpend anie time about them as yet.

There haue beene diuers that haue written of purpoſe, *De inſulis Britanniæ*, as Cæſar doth confeſſe. The like alſo may be ſeene by Plutarch, who nameth one Demetrius a Britaine, that ſhould ſet forth an exact treatiſe of each of them in order, and among other tell of certeine deſert Iles beyond Scotland dedicated to ſundrie gods and goddeſſes, but of one eſpeciallie, where Briareus ſhould hold Saturne and manie other ſpirits faſt bound with the chaines of an heauie ſléepe, as he heard, of which ſome die now and then, by meane whereof the aire becommeth maruellouſlie troubled, &c: as you may ſée in Plutarch *De ceſſatione oraculorum, &c.* But ſith thoſe bookes are now periſhed, and the moſt of the ſaid Ilands remaine vtterlie vnknowen, euen to our owne ſelues (for who is able in our time to ſay where is Glota, Hiuerion, Etta, Iduna, Armia, Æſarea, Barſa, Iſiandium, Icdelis, Xantiſma, Indelis, Siata, Ga. Andros or Edros, Siambis, Xanthos, Ricnea, Menapia, &c? whoſe names onelie are left in memorie by ancient writers, but I ſaie their places not ſo much as heard of in our daies) I meane (God willing) to ſet downe ſo manie of them with their commodities, as I dow either know by Leland, or am otherwiſe inſtructed of by ſuch as are of credit. Herein alſo I will touch at large thoſe that are moſt famous, and breeflie paſſe ouer ſuch as are obſcure and vnknowen, making mine entrance at the Thames mouth, and directing this imagined courſe (for I neuer ſailed it) by the ſouth part of the Iland into the weſt. From thence in like ſort I will proceed into the north, & come about againe by the eaſt ſide into the fall of the aforeſaid ſtreame, where I will ſtrike ſaile, and ſafelie be ſet a ſhore, that haue often in this voiage wanted water, but oftener béene ſet a ground, eſpeciallie on the Scotiſh ſide.

In beginning therefore, with ſuch as lie in the mouth of the aforeſaid riuer, I muſt néeds paſſe by the How, which is not an Iland, and therefore not within the compaſſe of my deſcription at this time, but almoſt an Iland, which parcels the Latins call Peninſulas, and I dow engliſh a Byland, vſing the word for ſuch as a man may go into drie-ſhod at the full ſea, or on horſeback at the low water without anie boat or veſſell: and ſuch a one almoſt is Rochford hundred in Eſſex alſo, yet not at this time to be ſpoken of, becauſe not the ſea onelie but the freſh water alſo doth in maner enuiron it, and is the cheefe occaſion wherfore it is called an Iland. This How lieth betweéen Cliffe (in old time called Clouesho, to wit, Cliffe in How or in the hundred of How) & the midwaie that goeth along by Rocheſter, of which hundred there goeth an old prouerbe in rime after this maner:

He that rideth into the hundred of How,
Beſide pilfering ſea-men ſhall find durt ynow.

Next vnto this we haue the Greane, wherein is a towne of the ſame denomination, an Ile ſuppoſed to be foure miles in length, and two in breadth. Then come we to Shepey, which Ptolomie calleth Connos, conteining ſeauen miles in length, and three in breadth, wherein is a caſtell called Quinborow, and a parke, beſide foure townes, of which one is named Minſter, another Eaſtchurch, the third Warden, and the fourth Leyden: the whole ſoile being throughlie fed with ſheepe, verie well wooded, and (as I heare) belongeth to the Lord Cheyney, as parcell of his inheritance. It lieth thirteéne miles by water from Rocheſter, but the caſtell is fifteéne, and by ſouth thereof are two ſmall Ilands, whereof the one is called Elmeſie, and the more eaſterlie Herteſie. In this alſo is a towne called Hertie, or Hartie, and all in the Lath of Scraie, notwithſtanding that Hartie lieth in the hundred of Feuerſham, and Shepey reteineth one eſpeciall Bailie of hir owne.

From hence we paſſe by the Reculuers (or territorie belonging in time paſt to one Raculphus, who erected an houſe of religion, or ſome ſuch thing there) vnto a little Iland in the Stoure mouth. Herevpon alſo the Thanet abutteth, which Ptolomie calleth Toliapis, other Athanatos, becauſe ſerpents are ſuppoſed not to liue in the ſame, howbeit ſith it is not enuironed with the ſea, it is not to be dealt withall as an Iland in this place, albeit I will not let to borow of my determination, and deſcribe it as I go, becauſe it is ſo fruitfull. Beda noteth it in times paſt to haue conteined 600. families, which are all one with Hidelands, *Ploughlands, Carrucates, or Temewares. He addeth alſo that it is diuided from our continent, by the riuer called Wantſume, which is about three furlongs broad, and to be paſſed ouer in two places onelie. But whereas Polydore ſaieth, the Thanet is nine miles in length & not much leſſe in breadth, it is now reckoned that it hath not much aboue ſeauen miles from Nordtmuth to Sandwich, and foure in breadth, from the Stoure to Margate, or from the ſouth to the north, the circuit of the whole being 17. or 18. as Leland alſo noteth. This Iland hath no wood growing in it except it be forced, and yet otherwiſe it is verie fruitfull, and beſide that it wanteth few other commodities, the fineſt chalke is ſaid to be found there. Herein alſo did Auguſtine the monke firſt arriue, when he came to conuert the Saxons, and afterward in proceſſe of time, ſundrie religious houſes were erected there, as in a ſoile much bettered (as the ſuperſticious ſuppoſed) by the ſteps of that holy man, & ſuch as came ouer with him. There are at this time 10. pariſh churches at the leaſt in the Ile of Thanet, as S. Nicholas, Birchington, S. Iohns, Wood or Wooddurch, S. Peters, S. Laurence, Mownton or Monkeron, Minſter, S. Gyles, and all Saincts, whereof M. Lambert hath written at large in his deſcription of Kent, and placed the ſame in the Lath of ſaint Auguſtine and hundred of Ringſlow, as may eaſilie be ſeéne to him that will peruſe it.

Sometime Rutupium or (as Beda calleth it) Reptaceſter, ſtood alſo in this Iland, but now thorough alteration of the chanell of the Dour, it is ſhut quite out, and annexed to the maine. It is called in theſe daies Richborow, and as it ſhould ſeeme builded vpon an indifferent ſoile or high ground. The large brickes alſo yet to be ſeene there, in the ruinous walles, declare either the Romane or the old Britiſh workemanſhip. But as time decaieth all things, ſo Rutupium named Ruptimuth is now become deſolate, and out of the duſt thereof Sandwich produced, which ſtandeth a full mile from the place where Reptaceſter ſtood. The old writers affirme, how Arthur & Mordred fought one notable battell here, wherin Gwallon or Gawan was ſlaine; at which time the ſaid rebell came againſt his ſouereigne with 70000. Picts, Scots, Iriſh, Norwegiens, &c: and with Ethelbert the firſt chriſtian king of Kent did hold his palace in this towne, and yet none of his coine hath hitherto béene found there, as is dailie that of the Romanes, whereof manie péeces of ſiluer and gold, ſo well as of braſſe, copper, and other mettall haue often béene ſhewed vnto me. It ſhould appéere in like ſort, that of this place, all the whole coaſt of Kent therabout was called Littus Rutupinum, which ſome dow not a little confirme by theſe words of Lucane, to be read in his firſt booke ſome after the beginning:

The laſt verſe of one couple and firſt of an other.

Elmeſie, Herteſie.

Sturcey. Thanet.

Scoleſey of Seles there taken.

* In Lincolnſhire the word Hide or hideland, was neuer in vſe in old time as in other places, but for Hide they vſed the word Carucate or cartware, or Teme, and theſe were of no leſſe compaſſe than an Hideland. *Ex Hugone le blanc Monacho Petroburgenſi.*

Thorne.

Haling.

Dort.

Rutupium.

Wight. Guidh.

ane.

pey.

Aut vaga cum Tethis, Rutupinâq; littora ſeruent,
Vnda Calidonios fallit turbata Britannos.

Or when the wandering ſeas
and Kentiſh coaſts doo worke,
And Calidons of Britiſh bloud,
the troubled waues beguile.

The ſaid port alone remaineth vnſtopped.

Meaning in like ſort by the latter, the coaſt néere Andredeſwald, which in time paſt was called Littus Calidonium of that wood or forreſt, as Leland alſo confirmeth. But as it is not my mind to deale anie thing curioullie in theſe by-matters, ſo in returning againe to my purpoſe, and taking my iourney toward the Wight, I muſt néeds paſſe by Seleſey, which ſometime (as it ſhould ſéeme) hath béene a noble Iland, but now in maner a Byland or Peninſula, wherin the chéefe ſée of the biſhop of Chicheſter was holden by the ſpace of thrée hundred twentie nine yeares, and vnder twentie biſhops.

Seleſey of Seles there taken.

Next vnto this, we come vnto thoſe that lie betweene the Wight and the maine land, of which the moſt eaſterlie is called Thorne, and to ſaie truth, the verie leaſt of all that are to be found in that knot. Being paſt the Thorne, we touched vpon the Haling, which is bigger than the Thorne, and wherein one towne is ſituat of the ſame denomination beſide another, whoſe name I remember not. By weſt alſo of the Haling lieth the Port (the greateſt of the thrée alreadie mentioned) and in this ſtandeth Portſmouth and Kingſtéed, whereof alſo our Leland, ſaieth thus: Port Ile is cut from the ſhore by an arme of the maine hauen, which breaketh out about thrée miles aboue Portſmouth, and goeth vp two miles or more by moriſh ground to a place called Portbridge, which is two miles from Portſmouth. Then breaketh there out another créeke from the maine ſea, about Auant hauen, which gulleth vp almoſt to Portbridge, and thence is the ground diſſeuered, ſo that Portſmouth ſtandeth in a corner of this Ile, which Iland is in length ſix miles, and thrée miles in breath, verie good for graſſe and corne, not without ſome wood, and here and there incloſure. Beſide this, there is alſo another Iland north northweſt of Port Ile, which is now ſo worne and waſhed awaie with the working of the ſea, that at the ſpring tides it is wholie couered with water, and thereby made vnprofitable. Finallie being paſt all theſe, and in compaſſing this gulfe, we come by an other, which lieth north of Hirſt caſtell, & ſouth-eaſt of Baie hauen, whereof I find nothing worthie to be noted, ſauing that it wanteth wood, as Ptolomie affirmeth in his Geographicall tables of all thoſe Ilands which enuiron our Albion.

Thorne.

Haling.

Port.

The Wight is called in Latine *Vectis*, but in the Britiſh ſpeach Guidh, that is to ſaie, Eaſie or eaſie to be ſéene, or (as D. Caius ſaith) ſeparate, bicauſe that by a breach of the ſea, it was once diuided from the maine, as Sicilia was alſo from Italie, Angleſei from Wales, Foulneſſe from Eſſex, & Quinborow from Kent. It lieth diſtant from the ſouth ſhore of Britaine (where it is fardeſt off) by fiue miles & a halfe, but where it commeth néereſt, not paſſing a thouſand paces, and this at the cut ouer betwéene Hirſt caſtell and a place called Whetwell chine, as the inhabitants doo report. It conteineth in length twentie miles, and in breath ten, it hath alſo the north pole eleuated by 50. degrées and 27. minutes, and is onelie 18. degrees in diſtance, and 50. od minuts from the weſt point, as experience hath confirmed, contrarie to the deſcription of Ptolomie, and ſuch as folow his aſſertions in the ſame. In forme, it repreſenteth almoſt an eg, and ſo well is it inhabited with méere Engliſh at this preſent, that there are thirtie ſix townes, villages and caſtels to be found therein, beſide 27. pariſh-churches, of which 15. or 16. haue their Parſons, the reſt either ſuch poore Vicars or Curats, as the liuings left are able to ſuſtaine. The names of the pariſhes in the Wight are theſe.

Wight, Guidh.

1	Newport, a chap.		15	Motteſton.	p.
2	Cairſhoſie.	v.	16	Yarmouth.	p.
3	Northwood.		17	Thorley.	v.
4	Arrun.	v.	18	Shalflete.	v.
5	Goddeſhill.	v.	19	Whippingham.	p.
6	Whitwell.		20	Wotton.	p.
7	S. Laurence.	p.	21	Chale.	p.
8	Nighton.	p.	22	Kingſton.	p.
9	Brading.	v.	23	Shorwell.	p.
10	Newchurch.	v.	24	Gatrombe.	p.
11	S. Helene.	v.	25	Broſie.	
12	Yauerland.	p.	26	Birſton.	p.
13	Calborne.	p.	27	Benſted.	p.
14	Bonechurch.	p.			

P. ſignifieth parſonages, V. vicarages.

It belongeth for temporall iuriſdiction to the countie of Hamſhire, but in ſpirituall cauſes it yeeldeth obedience to the ſée of Wincheſter, wherof it is a Deanerie. As for the ſoile of the whole Iland, it is verie fruitfull, for notwithſtanding the ſhore of it ſelfe be verie full of rocks and craggie cliffes, yet there wanteth no plentie of cattell, corne, paſture, meadow ground, wild foule, fiſh, freſh riuers, and pleaſant woods, whereby the inhabitants may liue in eaſe and welfare. It was firſt ruled by a ſeuerall king, and afterwards wonne from the Britons by Veſpaſian the legat, at ſuch time as he made a voiage into the weſt countrie. In proceſſe of time alſo it was gotten from the Romans by the kings of Suſſex, who held the ſouereignitie of the ſame, and kept the king thereof vnder tribute, till it was wonne alſo from them, in the time of Athelwold, the eight king of the ſaid ſouth region, by Ceadwalla, who killed Arualdthat reigned there, and reſerued the ſouereignitie of that Ile to himſelfe and his ſucceſſors for euermore. At this time alſo there were 1200. families in that Iland, whereof the ſaid Ceadwalla gaue 300 to Wilfride ſometime biſhop of Yorke, exhorting him to erect a church there, and preach the goſpell alſo to the inhabitants thereof, which he in like maner performed, but according to the preſcriptions of the church of Rome, whereunto he yéelded himſelfe vaſſall and ſeruarie: ſo that this Ile by Wilfride was firſt conuerted to the faith, though the laſt of all other that hearkened vnto the word. After Ceadwalla, Woolfride the parricide was the firſt Saxon prince that aduentured to flie into the Wight for his ſafegard, whither he was driuen by Kenwalch of the Weſtſaxons, who made great warres vpon him, and in the end compelled him to go into this place for ſuccour, as did alſo king Iohn, in the rebellious ſtir of his Barons, practiſed by the clergie: the ſaid Iland being as then in poſſeſſion of the Forts, as ſome doo write that haue handled it of purpoſe. The firſt Earle of this Iland that I doo read of, was one Baldwijne de Betoun, who married for his ſecond wife, the daughter of William le Groſſe Earle of Awmarle; but he dieng without iſſue by this ladie, ſhe was maried the ſecond time to Earle Maundeuile, and thirdlie to William de Fortes, who finiſhed Skipton caſtell, which his wiues father had begun about the time of king Richard the firſt. Hereby it came to paſſe alſo, that the Forts were Earls of Awmarle, Wight, and Deuonſhire a long time, till the ladie Elizabeth Fortes, ſole heire to all thoſe poſſeſſions came to age, with whom king Edward the third ſo preuailed through monie & faire words, that he got the poſſeſſion of the Wight wholie into his hands, & held it to himſelfe & his ſucceſſors, vntill Henrie the firſt, about the twentieth of his reigne, crowned Henrie Beauchamp ſonne to the lord Richard Earle of Warwike king thereof and of Iardeſey and Gardeſey with his owne hands, and therevnto gaue him a commendation of the Dutchie of Warwike with the titles of *Comes comitum Angliæ*, lord Spenſer of Aburgauenie, and of the caſtell of Baſſelow (which caſtell was ſometime taken from his anceſtors by king Iohn) albeit he did not long enioy

theſe great honors, ſith he died 1446. without iſſue, and ſeuen yeeres after his father.

After we be paſt the Wight, we go forward and come vnto Poole hauen, wherein is an Ile, called Brunt Keyſy, in which was ſometime a pariſh-church, and but a chapell at this preſent, as I heare. There are alſo two other Iles, but as yet I know not their names.

Brunt Keyſy.

We haue (after we are paſſed by theſe) another Ile, or rather Byland alſo vpon the coaſt named Portland not far from Waymouth or the Gowy, a prettie fertile peece though without wood, of ten miles in circuit, now well inhabited, but much better heretofore, and yet are there about foure ſcore houſholds in it. There is but one ſtreet of houſes therein, the reſt are diſperſed, howbeit they belong all to one pariſh-church, whereas in time paſt there were two within the compaſſe of the ſame. There is alſo a caſtell of the kings, who is lord of the Ile, although the biſhop of Wincheſter be patrone of the church, the parſonage whereof is the faireſt houſe in all the peece. The people there are no leſſe excellent ſlingers of ſtones than were the Baleares, who would neuer giue their children their dinners till they had gotten the ſame with their ſlings, and therefore their parents vſed to hang their meate verie high vpon ſome bough, to the end that he which ſtrake it downe might onlie haue it, whereas ſuch as miſſed were ſure to go without it, Florus lib. 3. cap. 8. Which feat the Portlands vſe for the defenſe of their Iland, and yet otherwiſe are verie couetous. And whereas in time paſt they liued onlie by fiſhing, now they fall to tillage. Their fire bote is brought out of the Wight, and other places, yet do they burne much cow dung dried in the ſunne, for there is I ſaie no wood in the Ile, except a few elmes that be about the church. There would ſome grow there, no doubt, if they were willing to plant it, although the ſoile lie verie bleake and open. It is not long ſince this was vnited to the maine, and likelie yer long to be cut off againe.

Portland.

Being paſt this we raiſe another, alſo in the mouth of the Gowy, betweene Collford and Lime, of which for the ſmalneſſe thereof I make no great account. Wherefore giuing ouer to intreat any farther of it, I caſt about to Jardſey, and Gardeſey, which Iles with their appurtenances apperteined in times paſt to the Dukes of Normandie, but now they remaine to our Queene, as parcell of Hamſhire and iuriſdiction of Wincheſter, & belonging to hir crowne, by meanes of a compoſition made betweene K. Iohn of England and the K. of France, when the dominions of the ſaid prince began ſo faſt to decreaſe, as Thomas Sulmo ſaith.

Jardſey. Gardeſey.

Of theſe two, Jardſey is the greateſt, an Iland hauing thirtie miles in compaſſe, as moſt men do coniecture. There are likewiſe in the ſame twelue pariſh-churches, with a colledge, which hath a Deane and Prebends. It is diſtant from Gardſey full 21. miles, or therabouts, and made notable, by meanes of a bloudie fact done there in Queene Maries daies, whereby a woman called Perotine Maſſie wife vnto an honeſt miniſter or preeſt, being great with childe by hir huſband, was burned to aſhes: through the exceeding cruelitie of the Deane and Chapiter, then contending manifeſtlie againſt God for the maintenance of their popiſh and antichriſtian kingdome. In this hir execution, and at ſuch time as the fire caught holde of hir wombe, hir bellie brake, and there iſſued a goodly manchilde from hir, with ſuch force that it fell vpon the cold ground quite beyond the heate and furie of the flame, which quicklie was taken vp and giuen from one tormentor and aduerſarie to an other to loke vpon, whoſe eies being after a while ſatiſfied with the beholding thereof, they threw it vnto the carcaſe of the mother which burned in the fire, whereby the poore innocent was conſumed to aſhes, whom that furious element would gladlie haue left vntouched, & wherevnto it miniſtred (as you heare) an hurtleſſe paſſage. In this latter alſo, there haue beene in times paſt, fiue religious houſes, and nine caſtels, howbeit in theſe daies there is but one pariſh-church left ſtanding in the ſame. There are alſo certeine other ſmall Ilands, which Henrie the ſecond in his donation calleth Inſulettas, beſide verie manie rocks, whereof one called S. Hilaries (wherein ſometime was a monaſterie) is faſt vpon Jardſey, another is named the Cornet, which hath a caſtel not paſſing an arrow ſhot from Gardſey. The Serke alſo is betweene both, which is ſix miles about, and hath another annexed to it by an Iſthmus or Stricland, wherein was a religious houſe, & therwithall great ſtore of conies.

Horrible murther.

Gardſey.

S. Hilaries. Cornet. Serke.

There is alſo the Brehoc, the Gytho, and the Herme, which latter is foure miles in compaſſe, and therein was ſometime a Canonrie, that afterward was conuerted into an houſe of Franciſcanes. There are two other likewiſe neere vnto that of S. Hilarie, of whoſe names I haue no notice. There is alſo the rockie Ile of Burhoo, but now the Ile of rats, ſo called of the huge plentie of rats that are found there, though otherwiſe it be repleniſhed with infinit ſtore of conies, betweene whome and the rats, as I coniecture, the ſame which we call Turkie conies, are oftentimes produced among thoſe few houſes that are to be ſeene in this Iland. Some are of the opinion that there hath beene more ſtore of building in this Ile than is at this preſent to be ſeene, & that it became abandoned through multitudes of rats, but hereof I find no perfect warrantiſe that I may ſafelie truſt vnto, yet in other places I read of the like thing to haue happened, as in Gyara of the Cyclades, where the rats increaſed ſo faſt that they draue away the people. Varro ſpeaketh of a towne in Spaine that was ouerthrowne by conies. The Abderits were driuen out of Thracia by the increaſe of mice & frogs; and ſo manie conies were there on a time in the Iles Maiorca and Minorca (now perteining to Spaine) that the people began to ſtarue for want of bread, and their cattell for lacke of graſſe. And becauſe the Ilanders were not able to ouercome them, Auguſtus was conſtreined to ſend an armie of men to deſtroie that needleſſe breed. Plin. *lib.* 8. *cap.* 55. A towne alſo in France ſometime became deſolate onelie by frogs and todes. Another in Africa by locuſtes and alſo by graſhoppers, as Amicla was by ſnakes and adders. Theophraſt telleth of an whole countrie conſumed by the palmer-worme, which is like vnto an huge caterpiller. Plinie writeth of a prouince vpon the borders of Æthiopia made void of people by ants and ſcorpions, and how the citizens of Megara in Grecia were faine to leaue that citie through multitudes of bées, as waſpes had almoſt driuen the Epheſians out of Epheſus. But this of all other (whereof Ælianus intreateth) is moſt wonderfull, that when the Cretenſes were chaſed out of a famous citie of their Iland by infinit numbers of bees, the ſaid bees conuerted their houſes into hiues, and made large combes in them which reached from wall to wall, wherein they reſerued their honie. Which things being dulie conſidered, I do not denie the poſſibilitie of the expulſion of the inhabitants out of the Ile of Burhoo by rats, although I ſay that I do not warrant the effect, becauſe I find it not ſet downe directlie in plaine words.

Burhoo, alias the Ile of rats.

Turkie conies.

Cauſes of the deſolation of ſundrie citties and townes.

Beſide this there is moreouer the Ile of Alderney a verie prettie plot, about ſeuen miles in compaſſe, wherin a preeſt not long ſince did find a coffin of ſtone, in which lay the bodie of an huge giant, whoſe fore teeth were ſo big as a mans fiſt, as Leland doth report. Certes this to me is no maruell at all, ſith I haue read of greater, and mentioned them alreadie in the beginning of this booke. Such a toth alſo haue they in Spaine wherevnto they go in pilgrimage as vnto S. Chriſtophers toth, but it was one of his eie teeth, if Ludouicus Viues ſay true, who went thither to offer vnto the ſame

Alderney.

Comment. Brit.

same. S. August. *de ciuit. lib.* 15. *cap.* 9. writeth in like sort, of such another found vpon the coast of Vtica, and thereby gathereth that all men in time past were not onlie far greater than they be now, but also the giants farre exceeding the huge stature and height of the highest of them all. Homer complaineth that men in his time were but dwarfes in comparison of such as liued in the wars of Troy. See his fift Iliad, where he speaketh of Diomedes, and how he threw a stone at Æneas, (which 14. men of his time were not able to stirre) and therewith did hit him on the thigh and ouerthrew him. Virgil also noteth no lesse in his owne deuise, but Iuuenal breefelie comprehendeth all this in his 15. Satyra, where he saith:

Iliad. 6.

Iliad 5. & 7.

Virgilius Aen. 12.

Saxa inclinatis per humum quæsita lacertis
Incipiunt torquere, domestica seditione
Tela, nec hunc lapidem, quali se Turnus, & Aiax,
Et quo Tytides percussit pondere coxam
Aeneæ: sed quem valeant emittere dextræ
Illis dissimiles, & nostro tempore nata.
Nam genus hoc viuo iam decrescebat Homero,
Terra malos homines nunc educat, atque pusillos,
Ergo Deus quicunque aspexit, ridet, & odit.

But to returne againe vnto the Ile of Alderney, from whence I haue digressed. Herein also is a prettie towne with a parish-church, great plentie of corne, cattell, conies, and wilde foule, whereby the inhabitants do reape much gaine and commoditie: onelie wood is their want, which they otherwise supplie. The language also of such as dwell in these Iles, is French; but the wearing of their haire long, & the attire of those that liued in Gardsey and Jardsey, vntill the time of king Henrie the eight, was all after the Irish guise. The Ile of Gardsey also was sore spoiled by the French 1371. and left so desolate, that onlie one castell remained therein vntouched.

Beyond this, and nearer vnto the coast of England (for these do lie about the verie middest of the British sea) we haue one Iland called the Bruch or the Bruchsey, lieng about two miles from Poole, whither men saile from the Fromouth, and wherein is nought else, but an old chapell, without any other housing.

Bruchsey.

Next to this also are certeine rocks, which some take for Iles, as Illeston rocke neere vnto Peritorie, Horsekan Ile a mile from Peritorie by south, Blacke rocke Ile southeast from Peritorie toward Teygnemouth, and also Chesker, otherwise called Plegimundham: but how (to saie truth) or where this latter lieth, I cannot make report as yet, neuertheless sith Leland noteth them togither, I thinke it not my part to make separation of them.

From hence the next Ile is called Mount Iland, otherwise Mowtland, situate ouer against Lough, about two miles from the shore, and well neere three miles in compasse. This Iland hath no inhabitants, but onelie the warrenner and his dog, who loketh vnto the conies there: notwithstanding that vpon the coast thereof in time of the yeere, great store of pilchards is taken, and carried from thence into manie places of our countrie. It hath also a fresh well comming out of the rocks, which is worthie to be noted in so small a compasse of ground. Moreouer in the mouth of the creeke that leadeth vnto Lough, or Low, as some call it, there is another little Iland of about eight acres of ground called S. Nicholas Ile, and midwaie betweene Falmouth and Dudman (a certeine promontorie) is such another named the Creeke, wherein is great store of gulles & sea foule. As for Inis Pryrin, it lieth within the Baie, about three miles from Lizards, and containeth not aboue two acres of ground, from which Newlyn is not far distant, and wherein is a poore fisher-towne and a faire wel-spring, wherof as yet no writer hath made mention. After these (omitting Pendinant in the point of Falmouth hauen) we came at last to saint Michaels mount, whereof I find this description readie to my hand in Leland.

Mount Iland.

S. Nicholas Iland.

Greeke.

Inis Pyrin.

S. Michaels mount.

The compasse of the foot of the mount of saint Michael is not much more than halfe a mile, and of this the south part is pasturable and breedeth conies, the residue high and rockie soile. In the north side thereof also is a garden, with certeine houses and shops for fishermen. Furthermore, the waie to the mountaine lieth at the north side, and is frequented from halfe eb to halfe floud, the entrance beginning at the foot of the hill, and so ascending by steps and greeces westward, first; and then eastward to the vtter ward of the church. Within the same ward also is a court stronglie walled, wherein on the south side is a chapell of S. Michael, and in the east side another of our ladie. Manie times a man may come to the hill on foot. On the north northwest side hereof also, is a Piere for botes and ships, and in the Baie betwixt the mount and Pensardz are seene at the lowe water marke, diuers roots and stubs of trees, beside hewen stone, sometimes of doores & windowes, which are perceiued in the inner part of the Baie, and import that there hath not onelie beene building, but also firme ground, whereas the salt water doth now rule and beare the maisterie. Beyond this is an other little Ile, called S. Clements Ile, of a chapell there dedicated to that saint. It hath a little from it also the Ile called Mowlhole, which is not touched in any Chard. As for Mowlhole it selfe, it is a towne of the maine, called in Cornish Port Enis, that is, *Portus insulæ*, whereof the said Ile taketh denomination, and in tin workes neere vnto the same there hath beene found of late, speare heds, battell axes, and swords of copper wrapped vp in linnen, and scarselie hurt with rust or other hinderance. Certes the sea hath won verie much in this corner of our Iland, but cheefelie betweene Mowlhole and Pensardz.

S. Clements Ile.

Hauing thus passed ouer verie neere all such Iles, as lie vpon the south coast of Britaine, and now being come vnto the west part of our countrie, a sudden Pirie catcheth hold of vs (as it did before, when we went to Jardsey) and carieth vs yet more westerlie among the flats of Sylley. Such force doth the southeast wind often shewe vpon poore trauellers in those parts, as the south and southwest doth vpon strangers against the British coast, that are not skilfull of our rodes and harborowes. Howbeit such was our successe in this voiage, that we feared no rocks, more than did king Athelstane, when he subdued them (and some after builded a colledge of preests at S. Burien, in performance of his vow made when he enterprised this voiage for his safe returne) nor anie tempest of weather in those parts that could annoie our passage. Perusing therefore the perils whereinto we were pitifullie plunged, we found the Syllane Ilands (places often robbed by the Frenchmen and Spaniards) to lie distant from the point of Cornewall, about three or foure hours sailing, or twentie English miles, as some men do account it. There are of these (as I said) to the number of one hundreth fortie seauen in sight, whereof each one is greater or lesse than other, and most of them sometime inhabited: howbeit, there are twentie of them, which for their greatnesse and commodities exceed all the rest. Thereto (if you respect their position) they are situat in maner of a circle or ring, hauing an huge lake or portion of the sea in the middest of them, which is not without perill to such as with small aduisement enter into the same. Certes it passeth my cunning, either to name or to describe all these one hundreth fourtie seauen, according to their estate; neither haue I had anie information of them, more than I haue gathered by Leland, or gotten out of a map of their description, which I had sometime of Reginald Woolfe: wherfore omitting as it were all the rags, and such as are not worthie to haue anie time spent about

Sylley Iles or Syl.

their

their particular deſcriptions, I will onelie touch the greateſt, and thoſe that lie togither (as I ſaid) in maner of a roundle.

S. Maries Ile. The firſt and greateſt of theſe therefore, called S. Maries Ile, is about fiue miles ouer, or nine miles in compaſſe. Therein alſo is a pariſh-church, and a poore towne belonging thereto, of threeſcore houſholds, beſide a caſtell, plentie of corne, conies, wild ſwans, puffens, gulles, cranes, & other kinds of foule, in great abundance. This fertile Iland being thus viewed, we ſailed ſouthwards by the Norman rocke, and S. Maries Agnus Ile. ſound vnto Agnus Ile, which is ſix miles ouer, and hath in like ſort one towne or pariſh within the ſame of fiue or ſix houſholds, beſide no ſmall ſtore of hogs & conies of ſundrie colours, verie profitable to their owners. It is not long ſince this Ile was left deſolate, for when the inhabitants thereof returned from a feaſt holden in S. Maries Ile, they were all drowned, and not one perſon left aliue. There are alſo two other ſmall Ilands, betweene this and the Annot, whereof I find nothing worthie relation: for as both of them ioind togither are Annot. not comparable to the ſaid Annot for greatneſſe and circuit, ſo they want both hogs and conies, wherof Annot hath great plentie. There is moreouer the Minwi- Minwiſand. ſand, from whence we paſſe by the Smithy ſound (leauing three little Ilands on the left hand, vnto the Suartigan Iland, then to Rouſuian, Rouſuiar, and the Cregwin, which ſeauen are (for the moſt part) repleniſhed with conies onelie, and wild garlike, but void of wood & other commodities, ſauing of a ſhort kind of graſſe, or here & there ſome firzes wheron their conies do feed.

Smithy ſound. Suartigan. Rouſuian. Rouſuiar. Cregwin.

Leauing therefore theſe deſert peeces, we incline a little toward the northweſt, where we ſtumble or run vpon Moncarthat, Inis Welſeck, & Suethiall. We came in like ſort vnto Rat Iland, wherein are ſo manie monſtrous rats, that if anie horſſes, or other beaſts, happen to come thither, or be left there by negligence but one night, they are ſure to be deuoured & eaten vp, without all hope of recouerie. There is moreouer the Anwall and the Brier, Ilands in like ſort void of all good furniture, conies onelie excepted, and the Brier (wherein is a village, caſtell, and pariſh-church) bringeth forth no leſſe ſtore of hogs, and wild foule, than Rat Iland doth of rats, whereof I greatlie maruell.

Moncarthat. Inis Welſeck. Suethiall. Rat Iland. Anwall. Brier.

By north of the Brier, lieth the Ruſco, which hath a Label or Byland ſtretching out toward the ſouthweſt, called Inis widdon. This Ruſco is verie neere ſo great as that of S. Maries. It hath moreouer an hold, and a pariſh within it, beſide great ſtore of conies and wild foule, whereof they make much gaine in due time of the yeare. Next vnto this we come to the Round Iland, which is about a mile ouer, then to S. Lides Iland, (wherein is a pariſh-church dedicated to that Saint, beſide conies, wood, and wild foule, of which two later there is ſome indifferent ſtore) the Notho, the Auing, (one of them being ſituat by ſouth of another, and the Auing halfe a mile ouer, which is a iuſt halfe leſſe than the Notho) and the Tyan, which later is a great Iland, furniſhed with a pariſh-church, and no ſmall plentie of conies as I heare. After the Tyan we come to S. Martines Ile, wherein is a faire towne, the Ile it ſelfe being next vnto the Ruſco for greatneſſe, and verie well furniſhed with conies & freſh ſprings. Alſo betwixt this and S. Maries, are ten other, ſmaller, which reach out of the northeaſt into the ſouthweſt, as Knolworth, Sniuilliuer, Menwetham, Vollis. 1. Surwihe, Vollis. 2. Arthurs Iland, Guiniliuer, Nenech and Gothrois, whoſe eſtates are diuers: howbeit as no one of theſe is to be accounted great in compariſon of the other, ſo they all yeeld a ſhort graſſe meet for ſheepe and conies, as do alſo the reſt. In the greater Iles likewiſe (whoſe names are commonlie ſuch as thoſe of the townes or churches ſtanding in the ſame) there are (as I here) ſundrie lakes, and thoſe neuer without great plentie of wild foule, ſo

Ruſco. Inis widdó. Round Iland. S. Lides. Notho. Auing. Tyan. S. Martines. Knolworth. Sniuilliuer. Menwethã. Vollis. 1. Surwihe. Vollis. 2. Arthurs Ile. Guiniliuer. Nenech. Gothrois.

that the Iles of Sylley, are ſuppoſed to be no leſſe beneficiall to their lords, than anie other whatſoeuer, within the compaſſe of our Ile, or neere vnto our coaſts. In ſome of them alſo are wild ſwine. And as theſe Iles are ſuppoſed to be a notable ſafegard to the coaſt of Cornewall, ſo in diuerſe of them great ſtore of tin is likewiſe to be found. There is in like maner ſuch plentie of fiſh taken among theſe ſame, that beſide the feeding of their ſwine withall, a man ſhall haue more there for a penie, than in London for ten grotes. Howbeit their cheefe commoditie is made by Reigh, which they drie, cut in peeces, and carie ouer into little Britaine, where they exchange it there, for ſalt, canuas, readie monie, or other merchandize which they do ſtand in need of. Alike trade haue ſome of them alſo, with Buckhorne or dried whiting, as I heare. But ſith the author of this report did not flatlie auouch it, I paſſe ouer that fiſh as not in ſeaſon at this time. Thus haue we viewed the richeſt and moſt wealthie Iles of Sylley, from whence we muſt direct our courſe eaſtwards, vnto the mouth of the Sauerne, and then go backe againe vnto the weſt point of Wales, continuing ſtill our votage along vpon the weſt coaſt of Britaine, till we come to the Soluey whereat the kingdomes part, & from which forth on we muſt touch ſuch Ilands as lie vpon the weſt and north ſhore, till we be come againe vnto the Scotiſh ſea, and to our owne dominions.

Wild ſwine in Sylley.

From the point of Cornewall therefore, or promontorie of Helenus (ſo called, as ſome thinke, becauſe Helenus the ſon of Priamus who arriued here with Brute lieth buried there, except the ſea haue waſhed awaie his ſepulchre) vntill we come vnto the mouth of Sauerne, we haue none Ilands at all that I do know or heare of, but one litle Byland, Cape or Peninſula, which is not to be counted of in this place. And yet ſith I haue ſpoken of it, you ſhall vnderſtand, that it is called Pendinas, and beſide that the compaſſe thereof is not aboue a mile, this is to be remembred farder thereof, how there ſtandeth a Pharos or light therein, for ſhips which ſaile by thoſe coaſts in the night. There is alſo at the verie point of the ſaid Pendinas, a chappell of ſaint Nicholas, beſide the church of ſaint Ia, an Iriſh woman ſaint. It belonged of late to the Lord Broke, but now (as I geſſe) the Lord Mountioy enioieth it. There is alſo a blockhouſe, and a peere in the eaſt ſide thereof, but the peere is ſore choked with ſand, as is the whole ſhore furthermore from S. Ies vnto S. Carantokes, inſomuch that the greateſt part of this Byland is now couered with ſands, which the ſea caſteth vp, and this calamitie hath indured little aboue fiftie yeares, as the inhabitants do affirme.

Helenus. Priamus. Pendinas.

There are alſo two rocks neere vnto Tredwy, and another not farre from Tintagell, all which many of the common ſort do repute and take for Iles: wherefore as one deſirous to note all, I thinke it not beſt that theſe ſhould be omitted: but to proceed. When we be come further, I meane vnto the Sauerne mouth, we meet the two Holmes, of which one is called Stepholme, and the other Flatholme, of their formes beeing in deed parcels of ground and low ſoiles fit for little elſe than to beare graſſe for cattell, whereof they take thoſe names. For Holme is an old Saxon word, applied to all ſuch places. Of theſe alſo Stepholme lieth ſouth of the Flatholme, about foure or fiue miles; the firſt alſo a mile and an halfe, the other two miles or thereabout in length; but neither of them a mile and an halfe in breadth, where they do ſeeme to be the broadeſt.

It ſhould ſeeme by ſome that they are not worthie to be placed among Ilands: yet otherſome are of opinion, that they are not altogither ſo baſe, as to be reputed amongſt flats or rocks: but whatſoeuer they be, this is ſure, that they oft annoie ſuch paſſengers and merchants as paſſe and repaſſe vpon that riuer. Neither

do

dw I read of any other Iles which lie by east of these, saue onlie the Barri, and Dunwen: the first of which is so called of one Barroc, a religious man (as Gyraldus saith) and is about a flight shot from the shore. Herin also is a rocke standing at the verie entrance of the cliffe, which hath a little rift or chine vpon the side, wherevnto if a man dw laie his eare, he shall heare a noise, as if smithes did worke at the forge, sometimes blowing with their bellowes, and sometimes striking and clinking with hammers, whereof manie men haue great wonder; and no maruell. It is about a mile in compasse, situat ouer against Aberbarry, and hath a chappell in it.

Barri.

Barri is a flight shot from the shore.

Dunwen is so called of a church (dedicated to a Welsh woman saint, called Dunwen) that standeth there. It lieth more than two miles from Henrosser, right against Neuen, and hath within it two faire mils, & great store of conies. Certes if the sand increase so fast hereafter as it hath done of late about it, it will be vnited to the maine within a short season. Beyond these and toward the coast of southwales lie two other Ilands, larger in quantitie than the Holmes, of which the one is called Caldee or Inis Pyr. It hath a parish church with a spire steeple, and a prettie towne belonging to the countie of Pembroke, and iurisdiction of one Dauid in Wales. Leland supposeth the ruines that are found therein to haue béene of an old priorie sometimes called Lille, which was a cell belonging to the monasterie of S. Dogmael, but of this I can saie nothing. The other hight Londy, wherein is also a village or towne, and of this Iland the parson of the said towne is not onelie the captaine, but hath thereto weise, distresse, and all other commodities belonging to the same. It is little aboue sixtæne miles from the coast of Wales, though it be thirtie from Caldée, and yet it serueth (as I am informed) lord and king in Deuonshire. Moreouer in this Iland is great plentie of shæpe, but more conies, and therewithall of verie fine and short grasse for their better food & pasturage; likewise much Sampere vpon the shore, which is carried from thence in barrels. And albeit that there be not scarlie fourtie houlholds in the whole, yet the inhabitants there with huge stones (alredie prouided) may kéepe off thousands of their enimies, bicause it is not possible for anie aduersaries to assaile them, but onelie at one place, and with a most dangerous entrance. In this voiage also we met with two other Ilands, one of them called Shepes Ile, the other Rat Ile; the first is but a little plot lieng at the point of the Baie, before we come at the Blockehouse which standeth north of the same, at the verie entrie into Milford hauen vpon the eastside. By north also of Shepes Ile, and betwéene it & Stacke rocke, which lieth in the verie middest of the hauen, at another point is Rat Ile yet smaller than the former, but what commodities are to be found in them as yet I cannot tell. Schalmey the greater and the lesse lie northwest of Milford hauen a good waie. They belong both to the crowne, but are not inhabited, bicause they be so often spoiled with pirates. Schoncold Ile ioineth vnto great Schalmey, and is bigger than it, onlie a passage for ships parteth them, whereby they are supposed to be one: Leland noteth them to lie in Milford hauen. Beside these also we found the Bateholme, Stockeholme, Midland, and Gresholme Iles, and then doubling the Wellock point, we came into a Baie, where we saw saint Brides Iland, and another in the Sound betwéene Ramsey and the point, of all which Iles and such rocks as are offensiue to mariners that passe by them, it may be my hap to speake more at large hereafter.

Caldee.

Londy.

Schalmey.

Schoncold.

Limen or Ramsey.

Limen (as Ptolomie calleth it) is situat ouer against S. Dauids in Wales (wherevnto we must néeds come, after we be past another little one, which some men dw call Gresholme) & lieth directlie west of Schalmey. In a late map I find this Limen to be called in English Ramsey: Leland also confirmeth the same, and I cannot learne more thereof, than that it is much greater than anie of the other last mentioned (sithens I described the Holmes) and for temporall iurisdiction a member of Penbrokeshire, as it is vnto S. Dauids for matters concerning the church. Leland in his commentaries of England *lib.* 8. saieth that it contained three Ilets, whereof the bishop of S. Dauids is owner of the greatest, but the chanter of S. Dauids claimeth the second, as the archdeacon of Cairmarden doth the third. And in these is verie excellent pasture for shæpe and horses, but not for other horned beasts which lacke their vpper téeth by nature (whose substance is conuerted into the nourishment of their hornes) and therefore cannot bite so low. Next vnto this Ile we came to Mawr, an Iland in the mouth of Mawr, scant a bow shot ouer, and enuironed at the low water with fresh, but at the high with salt, and here also is excellent catching of herings.

Mawr.

After this, proceeding on still with our course, we fetched a compasse, going out of the north toward the west, and then turning againe (as the coast of the countrie leadeth) vntill we sailed full south, leauing the shore still on our right hand, vntill we came vnto a couple of Iles, which dw lie vpon the mouth of the Soch, one of them being distant (as we gessed) a mile from the other, and neither of them of anie greatnesse almost worthie to be remembred. The first that we came vnto is called Tudfall, and therein is a church, but without anie parishioners, except they be shæpe and conies. The quantitie thereof also is not much aboue six acres of ground, measured by the pole. The next is Penthlin, Myrach, or Mereroſſe, situat in maner betwixt Tudfall or Tuidall and the shore, and herein is verie good pasture for horsses, wherof (as I take it) that name is giuen vnto it. Next vnto them, we come vnto Gwelyn, a little Ile which lieth southeast of the fall of Daron or Daren; a thing of small quantitie, and yet almost parted in the mids by water, and next of all vnto Wardsey an Iland lieng ouer against Pertuincle the southwest point or promontorie of Northwales (where Merlin Sylueſtris lieth buried) and whither the rest of the monks of Bangor did flie to saue themselues, when 2100. of their fellowes were slaine by the Saxon princes in the quarell of Augustine the monke, & the citie of Caerleon or Chester raced to the ground, and not since reedified againe to anie purpose. Ptolomie calleth this Iland Lymnos, the Britons Enlhi, and therein also is a parish-church, as the report goeth. From hence we cast about, gathering still toward the northest, till we came to Caer Ierienrhod, a notable rocke situat ouer against the mouth of the Leuenni, wherein standeth a strong hold or fortresse, or else some towne or village. Certes we could not well discerne whether of both it was, bicause the wind blew hard at southwest, the morning was misie, and our mariners doubting some flats to be couched not far from thence, hasted awaie vnto Anglesei, whither we went a pace with a readie wind euen at our owne desire.

Tudfall.

Penthlin.

Guelyn.

This Iland (which Tacitus mistaketh no doubt for Mona Cæsaris, and so doth Ptolomie as appeareth by his latitudes) is situat about two miles from the shore of Northwales. Paulus Iouius gesseth that it was in time past ioined to the continent, or maine of our Ile, and onelie cut off by working of the Ocean, as Sicilia peraduenture was from Italie by the violence of the Leuant or practise of some king that reigned there. Thereby also (as he saith) the inhabitants were constreind at the first to make a bridge ouer into the same, till the breach waxed so great, that no such passage could anie longer be mainteined. But as these things dw either not touch my purpose at all, or make smallie with the present description of this Ile: so (in comming to

Anglesei cut from Wales by working of the sea.

my

Angleſei. my matter) Angleſei is found to be full ſo great as the Wight, and nothing inferiour, but rather ſurmounting it, as that alſo which Cæſar calleth Mona in fruitfulneſſe of ſoile by manie an hundred fold. In old time it was reputed and taken for the common granarie to Wales, as Sicilia was to Rome and Italie for their prouiſion of corne. In like maner the Welſhmen themſelues called it the mother of their countrie, for giuing their minds wholie to paſturage, as the moſt eaſie and leſſe chargeable trade, they vtterlie neglected tillage, as men that leaned onelie to the fertilitie of this Iland for their corne, from whence they neuer failed to receiue continuall abundance. Gyraldus ſaith that the Ile of Angleſei was no leſſe ſufficient to miniſter graine for the ſuſtentation of all the men of Wales, than the mountaines called Ereri or Snowdoni in Northwales were to yeeld plentie of paſture for all the cattell whatſoeuer within the aforeſaid compaſſe, if they were brought togither and left vpon the ſame. It contained moreouer ſo manie townes welnére, as there be daies in a yeare, which ſome conuerting into Cantreds haue accompted but for thrée, as Gyraldus ſaith. Howbeit, as there haue béene I ſay 363. townes in Angleſei, ſo now a great part of that reckoning is vtterlie ſhronke, and ſo far gone to decaie, that the verie ruines of them are vnneath to be ſéene & diſcerned: and yet it ſéemeth to be méetlie well inhabited. Leland noting the ſmalneſſe of our hundreds in compariſon to that they were in time paſt, addeth (ſo far as I remember) that there are ſix of them in Angleſei, as Menay, Maltraith, Liuon, Talbellion, Torkalin, and Tindaithin: hereunto Lhoid ſaith alſo how it belonged in old time vnto the kingdome of Guinhed or Northwales, and that therein at a towne called Aberfraw, being on the ſouthweſtſide of the Ile, the kings of Gwinhed held euermore their palaces, whereby it came to paſſe, that the kings of Northwales were for a long time called kings of Aberfraw, as the Welſhmen named the kings of England kings of London, till better inſtruction did bring them farther knowledge.

There are in Angleſei many townes and villages, whoſe names as yet I cannot orderlie atteine vnto: wherefore I will content my ſelfe with the rehearſall of ſo many as we viewed in ſailing about the coaſts, and otherwiſe heard report of by ſuch as I haue talked withall. Beginning therefore at the mouth of the Gefni (which riſeth at northeaſt aboue Gefni or Geuenni, 20. miles at the leaſt into the land) we paſſed firſt by Hundwyn, then by Newborow, Port Hayton, Beaumarrais, Penmon, Elian, Almwoch, Burric (whereby runneth a rill into a creéke) Cornew, Holihed (ſtanding in the promontorie) Gwifen, Aberfraw, and Cair Cadwalader, of all which, the two latter ſtand as it were in a nuke betweene the Geuenni water, and the Fraw, whereupon Aberfraw is ſituate. Within the Iland we heard onlie of Gefni afore mentioned, of Griſtial ſtanding vpon the ſame water, of Tefri, of Lanerchimedh, Lachtenfarwy and Bodedrin, but of all theſe the cheefe is now Beaumarais, which was builded ſometime by king Edward the firſt, and therewithall a ſtrong caſtell about the yeare 1295. to keépe that land in quiet. There are alſo (as Leland ſaith) 31. pariſh churches beſide 69. chappels, that is, a hundreth in all. But héerof I can ſaie little, for lacke of iuſt inſtruction. In time paſt, the people of this Ile vſed not to ſeuerall their grounds, but now they dig ſtonie hillocks, and with the ſtones thereof they make rude walles, much like to thoſe of Deuonſhire, ſith they want hedgebote, fire bote, and houſe bote, or (to ſaie at one word) timber, buſhes and trees. As for wine, it is ſo plentifull and good cheape there moſt commonlie as in London, through the great recourſe of merchants from France, Spaine, and Italie vnto the aforeſaid Iland. The fleſh likewiſe of ſuch cattell as is bred there, wher- of we haue ſtore yearelie brought vnto Cole faire in Eſſex is moſt delicate, by reaſon of their excellent paſture, and ſo much was it eſtéemed by the Romans in time paſt, that Columella did not onelie commend and preferre them before thoſe of Liguria, but the emperours themſelues being nére hand alſo cauſed their prouiſion to be made for nete out of Angleſei, to feed vpon at their owne tables as the moſt excellent béefe. It taketh now the name of Angles and Ei, which is to meane the Ile of Engliſhmen, becauſe they wan it in the Conquerors time, vnder the leading of Hugh earle of Cheſter, and Hugh of Shrewesburie. Howbeit they recouered it againe in the time of William Rufus, when they ſpoiled the citie of Gloceſter, ranſacked Shrewesburie, and returned home with great bootie and pillage, in which voiage alſo they were holpen greatlie by the Iriſhmen, who after thrée yeares ioined with them againe, and ſlue the earle of Shrewesburie (which then liued) with great crueltie. The Welſhmen call it Tiremone and Mon, and herein likewiſe is a promontorie or Byland, called Holie head (which hath in time paſt béene named Cair kyby, of Kyby a monke that dwelled there) from whence the readieſt paſſage is commonlie had out of Northwales to get ouer into Ireland, of which Ile I will not ſpeake at this time, leaſt I ſhuld bereaue another of that trauell. Yet Plinie ſaith, *lib. 4. cap. 16.* that it lieth not farre off from and ouer againſt the Silures, which then dwelled vpon the weſt coaſt of our Iland, and euen ſo farre as Dunbritton, and beyond: but to our Cair kybi. The Britons named it Enylſnach, or holie Ile, of the number of carcaſes of holie men, which they affirme to haue béene buried there. But herein I maruell not a little, wherein women had offended, that they might not come thither, or at the leaſt wiſe returne from thence without ſome notable reproch or ſhame vnto their bodies. By ſouth alſo of Hilarie point, ſomewhat inclining toward the eaſt, lieth Inis Lygod, a ſmall thing (God wot) and therefore not worthie great remembrance: neuertheles not to be omitted, though nothing elſe inforced the memoriall thereof, but onelie the number and certeine tale of ſuch Iles as lie about our Iland. I might alſo ſpeake of the Ile Mail Ronyad, which lieth north weſt of Angleſei by fiue miles; but becauſe the true name hereof, as of manie riuers and ſtreames are to me vnknowne, I am the more willing to paſſe them ouer in ſilence, leaſt I ſhould be noted to be farther corrupter of ſuch words as I haue no ſkill to deliuer and exhibit in their kind. And now to conclude with the deſcription of the whole Iland, this I will adde moreouer vnto hir commodities, that as there are the beſt milſtones of white, red, blew, and gréene gréets, (eſpeciallie in Tindaithin) ſo there is great gaines to be gotten by fiſhing round about this Ile, if the people there could vſe the trade: but they want both cunning and diligence to take that matter in hand. And as for temporall regiment, it apperteineth to the countie of Cairnaruon, ſo in ſpirituall cauſes it belongeth to the biſhoprike of Bangor. This is finallie to be noted of Angleſei, that ſundrie earthen pots are often found there of dead mens bones conuerted into aſhes, ſet with the mouthes downeward contrarie to the vſe of other nations, which turned the brims vpwards, whereof let this ſuffice.

Hauing thus deſcribed Angleſei, it reſteth to report furthermore, how that in our circuit about the ſame, we met with other little Ilets, of which one lieth northweſt thereof almoſt ouer againſt Butricke mouth, or the fall of the water, that paſſeth by Butricke. The Britons called it Ynis Ader, that is to ſay, the Ile of birds in old time, but now it hight Ynis Moil, or Ynis Rhomaid, that is the Ile of porpaſſes. It hath to name likewiſe Yſteriſd, and Adros. Being paſt this, we came to the ſecond lieng by north eaſt, ouer againſt the Hilarie point

Enilſnach, holie Ile.

Ancient buriall.

Adar. Moil. Rhomaid. Yſteriſd. Adros.

Lygo

Seria Preſt

Credi

Hilber

Eubon Meuar

Lygod. point,called Ynis Ligod,that is to ſaie,the Ile of Mice, and of theſe two this latter is the ſmalleſt, neither of them both being of any greatneſſe to ſpeake of. Ynis Seriall or Preſtholme,lieth ouer againſt Penmon,or the point called the head of Mon, where I found a towne (as I told you)of the ſame denomination. Ptolomie nameth not this Iland,whereof I maruell. It is parcell of Flintſhire, and of the iuriſdiction of S. Aſaph, and in fertilitie of ſoile,and breed of cattell, nothing inferiour vnto Angleſei hir mother: although that for quantitie of ground it come infinitelie ſhort thereof, and be nothing comparable vnto it. The laſt Iland vpon the coſt of Wales,hauing now left Angleſei, is called Credine,and although it lie not properlie within the compaſſe of my deſcription, yet I will not let to touch it by the waie, ſith the cauſey thither from Denbighland,is commonlie ouerflowne. It is partlie made an Iland by the Conwey,and partlie by the ſea. But to proceed,when we had viewed this place, we paſſed forth to S. Antonies Ile, which is about two or three miles compaſſe or more,a ſandie ſoile, but yet verie batable for ſheepe and cattell, it is well repleniſhed alſo with freſh wels,great plentie of wild foule, conies and quarries of hard ruddie ſtone, which is oft brought thence to Weſtchester,where they make the foundations of their buildings withall. There are alſo two pariſh churches in the ſame,dedicated to S. Antonie and S. Iohn,but the people are verie poore, bicauſe they be ſo oft ſpoiled by pirats, although the lord of the ſame be verie wealthie thorough the exchange made with them of his victuals, for their wares, whereof they make good penniworths,as theeues commonlie do of ſuch preies as they get by like eſcheat, notwithſtanding their landing there is verie dangerous,and onlie at one place. Howbeit they are conſtreined to vſe it, and there to make their marts. From hence we went on, vntill we came to the cape of Ile Bree,or Hilberie,and point of Wyrale, from whence is a common paſſage into Ireland, of 18. or 20. houres ſailing, if the wether be not tedious. This Iland at the full ſea is a quarter of a mile from the land, and the ſtreame betweene foure fadams deepe,as ſhip-boies haue oft ſounded,but at a lowe water a man may go ouer thither on the ſand. The Ile of it ſelfe is verie ſandie a mile in compaſſe, and well ſtored with conies,thither alſo went a ſort of ſuperſticious folks in times paſt,in pilgrimage, to our ladie of Hilberie, by whoſe offerings a cell of monkes there, which belonged to Cheſter,was cheriſhed and mainteined.

Seriall. Preſtholme

Credine.

Hilberie.

The next Iland vpon the coaſt of England is Man or Mona Cæſaris, which ſome name Mana or Manim, but after Ptolomie, Monaoida,as ſome thinke, though other aſcribe that name to Angleſei, which the Welſhmen do commonlie call Môn,as they do this Manaw, It is ſuppoſed to be the firſt, as Hirtha is the laſt of the Hebrides. Hector Boetius noteth a difference betweene them of 300. miles. But Plinie ſaith that Mona is 200000. miles from Camaldunum, *lib.* 2. *cap.* 75. It lieth alſo vnder 53. degrees of latitude,and 30. minuts, and hath in longitude 16. degrees and 40. minuts, abutting on the north ſide vpon S. Ninians in Scotland, Furneſſels on the eaſt, Preſtholme and Angleſei on the ſouth, and Ulſther in Ireland on the weſt. It is greater than Angleſei by a third, and there are two riuers in the ſame, whoſe heads do ioine ſo neere, that they do ſeeme in maner to part the Ile in twaine. Some of the ancient writers,as Ethicus,&c: call it Eubonia, and other following Oroſius, Meuana or Mæuania, howbeit after Beda and the Scotiſh hiſtories, the Meuaniæ are all thoſe Iles aforeſaid called the Hebrides, Eubonides, or Hebudes (whereof William Malmeſburie, *lib.* 1. *de regibus* (beſide this our Mona) will haue Angleſei alſo to be one. Wherefore it ſeemeth hereby that a number of our late writers aſcribing the ſaid name vnto Mona onelie, haue not beene a little deceiued. Iornandes *lib. de Getis* ſpeaketh of a ſecond Meuania; *Habet & aliam Meuaniam* (ſaith he) *necnon & Orchadas*. But which ſhould be *prima*, as yet I do not read, except it ſhould be Angleſei; and then ſaith Malmesburie well. In like ſort Propertius ſpeaketh of a Meuania, which he called *Nebuloſa*, but he meaneth it euidentlie of a little towne in Umbria where he was borne, *lib.* 4. *eleg. De vrbe Rom.* Wherefore there needeth no vſe of his authoritie. This in the meane time is euident out of Oroſius, *lib.* 1. *capite* 2. that Scots dwelled ſomtime in this Ile, as alſo in Ireland, which Ethicus alſo affirmeth of his owne time, and finallie confirmeth that the Scots and Iriſh were ſometime one people. It hath in length 24. miles, and 8. in breedth, and is in maner of like diſtance from Galloway in Scotland, Ireland and Cumberland in England, as Buchanan reporteth.

Eubonia. Meuania.

In this Iland alſo were ſome time 1300. families, of which 960. were in the weſt halfe, and the reſt in the other. But now through ioining houſe to houſe & land to land (a common plague and canker, which will eat vp all, if prouiſion be not made in time to withſtand this miſchéefe) that number is halfe diminiſhed, and yet many of the rich inhabiters want roome, and wote not how and where to beſtowe themſelues, to their quiet contentations. Certes this impediment groweth not by reaſon that men were greater in bodie, than they haue béene in time paſt, but onelie for that their inſatiable deſire of inlarging their priuate poſſeſſions increaſeth ſtill vpon them, and will do more, except they be reſtrained: but to returne to our purpoſe. It was once ſpoiled by the Scots in the time of king Athelſtane, chéeflie by Anlafus in his flight from the bloudie battell, wherein Conſtantine king of Scotland was ouercome: ſecondlie by the Scots 1388. after it came to the poſſeſſion of the Engliſh, for in the beginning the kings of Scotland had this Iland vnder their dominion, almoſt from their firſt arriuall in this Iland, and as Beda ſaith till Edwine king of the Northumbers wan it from them, and vnited it to his kingdome. After the time of Edwine, the Scots gat the poſſeſſion thereof againe, and held it till the Danes & Norwaies wan it from them, who alſo kept it (but with much trouble) almoſt 370. yeares vnder the gouernance of their viceroies, whome the kings of Norwaie inueſted vnto that honor, till Alexander the third king of that name in Scotland recouered it from them, with all the reſt of thoſe Iles that lie vpon the weſt coaſt, called alſo Sodorenſes in the daies of Magnus king of Norwaie. And ſithens that time the Scotiſh princes haue not ceaſed to giue lawes to ſuch as dwelled there, but alſo from time to time appointed ſuch biſhops as ſhould exerciſe eccleſiaſticall iuriſdiction in the ſame, till it was won from them by our princes, and ſo vnited vnto the realme of England. Finallie, how after ſundrie ſales bargains and contracts of matrimonie (for I read that William Scrope the kings Vicechamberleine, did buy this Ile and crowne thereof of the lord William Montacute earle of Sarum) it came vnto the anceſtours of the earles of Darbie, who haue béene commonlie ſaid to be kings of Man, the diſcourſe following ſhall more at large declare. Giraldus noteth a contention betweene the kings of England & Ireland for the right of this Iland, but in the end, when by a compromiſe the triall of the matter was referred to the liues or deaths of ſuch venemous wormes as ſhould be brought into the ſame, and it was found that they died not at all, as the like do in Ireland, ſentence paſſed with the king of England, & ſo he reteined the Iland. But howſoeuer this matter ſtandeth, and whether anie ſuch thing was done at all or not, ſure it is that the people of the ſaid Ile were much giuen to witchcraft and ſorcerie (which they learned of the Scots a nation greatlie bent to that horrible practiſe) in ſomuch that their women would oftentimes ſell wind to the mariners,

Chronica Tinemuthi.

inclosed

incloſed vnder certeine knots of thred, with this iniunction, that they which bought the ſame, ſhould for a great gale vndo manie, and for the leſſe a fewer or ſmaller number. The ſtature of the men and alſo fertilitie of this Iland are much commended, and for the latter ſuppoſed verie neere to be equall with that of Angleſei, in all commodities. Tall men in Man.

There are alſo theſe townes therein, as they come now to my remembrance, Ruſhen, Dunglaſſe, Holme towne, S. Brids, Bala cury (the biſhops houſe) S. Mich. S. Andrew, kirk Chriſt, kirk Louel, S. Mathees, kirk S. Anne, Pala ſala, kirk S. Marie, kirk Concane, kirk Malu, and Home. But of all theſe Ruſhen with the caſtell is the ſtrongeſt. It is alſo in recompenſe of the common want of wood, indued with ſundrie prætie waters, as firſt of al the Burne riſing in the northſide of Marehill botoms, and branching out by ſouthweſt of kirk S. An, it ſeemeth to cut off a great part of the eaſtſide thereof, from the reſidue of that Iland. From thoſe hils alſo (but of the ſouth halfe) commeth the Holme and Holmey, by a towne of the ſame name, in the verie mouth whereof lieth the Pile afore mentioned. They haue alſo the Bala paſſing by Bala cury, on the weſtſide, and the Rame on the north, whoſe fall is named Rameſei hauen, as I do read in Chronicles. Rivers.

There are moreouer ſundrie great hils therein, as that whereupon S. Mathees ſtandeth, in the northeaſt part of the Ile, a parcell whereof commeth flat ſouth, betweene kirk Louell, and kirk Marie, yeelding out of their botoms the water Bala, whereof I ſpake before. Beſide theſe and well toward the ſouth part of the Ile, I find the Marehils, which are extended almoſt from the weſt coaſt ouerthwart vnto the Burne ſtreame. It hath alſo ſundrie hauens, as Ramſei hauen, by north Laxam hauen, by eaſt Port Iris, by ſouthweſt Port Home, and Port Michell, by weſt. In like ſort there are diuers Ilets annexed to the ſame, as the Calfe of man on the ſouth, the Pile on the weſt, and finallie S. Michels Ile in the gulfe called Ranoths waie in the eaſt. Moreouer the ſheepe of this countrie are exceeding huge, well woolled, and their tailes of ſuch greatneſſe as is almoſt incredible. In like ſort their hogs are in maner monſtrous. They haue furthermore great ſtore of barnacles breeding vpon their coaſts, but yet not ſo great ſtore as in Ireland, and thoſe (as there alſo) of old ſhips, ores, maſts, peces of rotten timber as they ſaie, and ſuch putrified pitched ſtuffe, as by wracke hath happened to corrupt vpon that ſhore. Howbeit neither the inhabitants of this Ile, nor yet of Ireland can readilie ſaie whether they be fiſh or fleſh, for although the religious there vſed to eat them as fiſh, yet elſewhere, ſome haue beene troubled, for eating of them in times prohibited for heretikes and lollards. Hilles. Hauens. Calfe of man. The pile. S. Michels Ile. Sheepe. Hogs. Barnacles. Barnacles neither fiſh nor fleſh.

For my part, I haue beene verie deſirous to vnderſtand the vttermoſt of the breeding of barnacis, & queſtioned with diuers perſons about the ſame. I haue red alſo whatſoeuer is written by foren authors touching the generation of that foule, & ſought out ſome places where I haue beene aſſured to ſee great numbers of them: but in vaine. Wherefore I vtterlie deſpaired to obteine my purpoſe, till this preſent yeare of Grace 1584. and moneth of Maie, wherein going to the court at Greenewich from London by bote, I ſaw ſundrie ſhips lieng in the Thames newlie come home, either from Barbarie or the Canarie Iles (for I do not well remember now from which of theſe places) on whoſe ſides I perceiued an infinit ſort of ſhels to hang ſo thicke as could be one by another. Drawing neere alſo, I toke off ten or twelue of the greateſt of them, & afterward hauing opened them, I ſaw the proportion of a foule in one of them more perfectlie than in all the reſt, ſauing that the head was not yet formed, becauſe the freſh water had killed them all (as I take it) and thereby hindered their perfection. Certeinelie the feathers of the taile hong out of the ſhell at leaſt two inches, the wings (almoſt perfect touching forme) were garded with two ſhels or ſheeldes proportioned like the ſelfe wings, and likewiſe the breſtbone had hir couerture alſo of like ſhellie ſubſtance, and altogither reſembling the figure which Lobell and Pena do giue forth in their deſcription of this foule: ſo that I am now fullie perſuaded that it is either the barnacle that is ingendred after one maner in theſe ſhels, or ſome other ſea-foule to vs as yet vnknowen. For by the feathers appearing and forme ſo apparant, it cannot be denied, but that ſome bird or other muſt proceed of this ſubſtance, which by falling from the ſides of the ſhips in long voiages, may come to ſome perfection. But now it is time for me to returne againe vnto my former purpoſe.

There hath ſometime beene, and yet is a biſhop of this Ile, who at the firſt was called Epiſcopus Sodorenſis, when the iuriſdiction of all the Hebrides belonged vnto him. Whereas now he that is biſhop there, is but a biſhops ſhadow, for albeit that he beare the name of biſhop of Man, yet haue the earles of Darbie, as it is ſuppoſed, the cheefe profit of his ſee (ſauing that they allow him a little ſomewhat for a flouriſh) notwithſtanding that they be his patrons, and haue his nomination vnto that liuing. The firſt biſhop of this Ile was called Wimundus or Raymundus, and ſurnamed Monachus Sauinenſis, who by reaſon of his extreame and tyrannicall crueltie toward the Ilanders, had firſt his ſight taken from him, & then was ſent into exile. After him ſucceeded another monke in king Stephens daies called Iohn, and after him one Marcus, &c: other after other in ſucceſſion, the ſee it ſelfe being now alſo ſubiect to the archbiſhop of Yorke for ſpirituall iuriſdiction. In time of Henrie the ſecond, this Iland alſo had a king, whoſe name was Cuthred, vnto whome Vinianus the cardinall came as legate 1177. and therin Houeden erreth not. In the yeare alſo 1228. one Reginald was viceroy or petie king of Man, afterward murthered by his ſubiects. Then Olauus, after him Hoſbach the ſonne of Oſmond Hacon, 1290. who being ſlaine, Olauus and Gotredus parted this kingdome of Sodora, in ſuch wiſe, that this had all the reſt of the Iles, the other onelie the Ile of Man at the firſt; but after the ſlaughter of Gotredus, Olauus held all, after whom Olauus his ſonne ſucceeded. Then Harald ſonne to Olauus, who being entered in Maie, and drowned vpon the coaſtes of Ireland, his brother Reginald reigned twentie and ſeuen daies, and then was killed the firſt of June, whereby Olauus *alias* Harald ſonne to Gotred ruled in the Ile one yeare. Next vnto him ſucceeded Magnus the ſecond ſonne of Olauus, and laſt of all Iuarus, who held it ſo long as the Norwaies were lords thereof. But being once come into the hands of the Scots, one Godred Mac Mares was made lieutenant, then Alane, thirdlie Maurice Okarefer, and fourthlie one of the kings chapleines, &c. I would gladlie haue ſet downe the whole catalog of all the viceroyes and lieutenants: but ſith I can neither come by their names nor ſucceſſions, I ſurceſſe to ſpeake any more of them, and alſo of the Ile it ſelfe, whereof this may ſuffice. Biſhop of Man. Patrone of Man. King of Man.

After we haue in this wiſe deſcribed the Ile of Man, with hir commodities, we returned eaſtwards backe againe vnto the point of Ramſhed, where we found to the number of ſix Ilets of one ſort and other, whereof the firſt greateſt and moſt ſouthweſterlie, is named the Wauay. It runneth out in length, as we geſſed, about fiue miles and more from the ſoutheaſt into the northweſt, betweene which and the maine land lie two little ones, whoſe names are Oldborrow and Fowlney. The fourth is called the Fouldra, and being ſituate ſoutheaſt of the firſt, it hath a prettie pile or blockhouſe therin, which the inhabitants name the pile of Fouldra. Wauay. Fouldra.

By

Fola. Roa.

By eaſt thereof in like ſort lie the Fola and the Roa, plots of no great compaſſe, and yet of all theſe ſix, the firſt and Fouldra are the faireſt and moſt fruitfull.

Rauenglaſſe.

From hence we went by Rauenglaſſe point, where lieth an Iland of the ſame denomination, as Reginald Wolfe hath noted in his great card, not yet finiſhed, nor likelie to be publiſhed. He noteth alſo two other Ilets, betweene the ſame and the maine land; but Leland ſpeaketh nothing of them (to my remembrance) neither any other card, as yet ſet forth of England: and thus much of the Ilands that lie vpon our ſhore in this part of my voiage.

Iles in Scotland.

Hauing ſo exactlie as to me is poſſible, ſet downe the names and poſitions of ſuch Iles, as are to be found vpon the coaſt of the Queenes Maieſties dominions, now it reſteth that we proceed orderlie with thoſe that are ſcene to lie vpon the coaſt of Scotland, that is to ſaie, in the Iriſh, the Deucalidonian & the Germans ſeas, which I will performe in ſuch order as I may, ſith I cannot do ſo much therin as I would. Some therefore doo comprehend and diuide all the Iles that lie about the north coaſt of this Ile now called Scotland into three parts, ſauing that they are either occidentals, the weſt Iles, *alias* the Orhades & Zelandine, or the Shetlands. They place the firſt betweene Ireland and the Orhades, ſo that they are extended from Man and the point of Cantire almoſt vnto the Orhades in the Deucalidonian ſea, and after ſome are called the Hebrides. In this part the old

Hemodes of ſome called Aemodes, ſee Plinie, *Mela*, *Martianus*, *Capella*. Plutarch. *de defect. orac.*

writers in deed placed the Hebrides or Hemodes, which diuers call the Hebudes and the Acmodes; albeit the writers varie in their numbers, ſome ſpeaking of 30 Hebudes, and ſeuen Hemodes; ſome of fiue Ebudes, as Solinus, and ſuch as follow his authoritie. Howbeit the late Scottiſh writers doo produce a ſumme of more than 300 of theſe Ilands in all, which ſometime belonged to the Scots, ſometime to the Norwegians, and ſometime to the Danes. The firſt of theſe is our Manaw, of which I haue before intreated: next vnto this is Aliſa a deſert Ile, yet replenished with conies, ſoland foule, and a fit harbor for fiſhermen that in time of the yeare lie vpon the coaſt thereof for herings. Next vnto this is the Arran, a verie hillie and craggie ſoile, yet verie plentifull of fiſh all about the coaſt, and wherein is a verie good hauen: ouer againſt the mouth whereof lieth the Moll, which is alſo no ſmall defenſe to ſuch ſeafaring men as ſeeke harbor in that part. Then came we by the Fladwa or Pladwa, no leſſe fruitfull and ſtored with conies than the Bota, Bura, or Botha, of eight miles long & foure miles broad, a low ground but yet verie batable, and wherein is good ſtore of ſhort and indifferent paſture: it hath alſo a towne there called Roſſe, and a caſtell named the Camps. There is alſo another called the Marnedh, an Iland of a mile in length, and halfe a mile in breadth, low ground alſo but yet verie fertile. In the mouth likewiſe of the Glot, lieth the more Cumber and the leſſe, not farre in ſunder one from another, and both fruitfull inough the one for corne, and the other for Platyceraton. The Auon another Iland lieth about a mile from Cantire, and is verie commodious to ſhips, wherof it is called Auon, that is to ſaie, *Portuoſa*, or full of harbor: and therefore the Danes had in time paſt great vſe of it. Then haue we the Raclind, the Kyntar, the Cray, the Gegaw ſix miles in length and a mile and a halfe in breadth; the Dera full of deere, and not otherwiſe vnfruitfull: and therefore ſome thinke that it was called the Ile of deere in old time. Scarba foure miles in length, and one in breadth, verie little inhabited, and thereinto the ſea betweene that and the Ile of deere is ſo ſwift and violent, that except it be at certeine times, it is not eaſilie nauigable. Being paſt theſe, we come to certeine Ilands of no great fame, which lie ſcattered here and there, as Bellach, Gyraſtell, Longaie, both the Fiolas, the three Yarues, Culbrenin, Duncomell, Lupar, Belnaua, Wiketua, Calfile, Luing, Sele Ile, Sound, of which the laſt three are fruitfull, and belong to the earle of Argile. Then haue we the Slate, ſo called of the tiles that are made therin. The Nagſey, Iſdalf, and the Sken (which later is alſo called Thian, of a wicked herbe growing there greatlie hurtfull, and in colour not much vnlike the lillie, ſauing that it is of a more wan and feeble colour) Vderga, kings Ile, Duffa or blacke Ile, Kirke Ile, and Triarach. There is alſo the Ile Ard, Humble Ile, Greene Ile, and Heth Ile, Arbor Ile, Gote Ile, Conies Ile *alias* idle Ile, Abrid Ile or bird Ile, and Liſmor, wherein the biſhop of Argill ſometime held his palace, being eight miles in length and two miles in breadth, and not without ſome mines alſo of good nettall. There is alſo the Ile Ouilia, Siuna, Treet, Shepey, Fladaw, Stone Ile, Greſſe, great Ile, Ardis, Muſadell, & Berner, ſometime called the holie ſanctuarie, Vghe Ile, Molochaſgyr, and Drinadha, now ouergrowne with buſhes, elders, and vtterlie ſpoiled by the ruines of ſuch great houſes as haue heretofore beene found therin. There is in like ſort the Wijc, the Ranſe, and the Caruer.

Slate Ile.

Ila.

In this tract alſo, there are yet three to intreat of, as Ila, Mula and Iona, of which the firſt is one of the moſt, that hath not beene leaſt accounted of. It is not much aboue 24 miles in length, and in breadth 16 reaching from the ſouth into the north, and yet it is an exceeding rich plot of ground verie plentious of corne, cattell, deere, and alſo lead, and other mettals, which were eaſie to be obteined, if either the people were induſtrious, or the ſoile yeeldable of wood to fine and trie out the ſame. In this Iland alſo there is a lake of ſweet water called the Laie, and alſo a baie wherein are ſundrie Ilands; and thereunto another lake of freſh water, wherein the Falangam Ile is ſituate, wherein the ſouereigne of all the Iles ſometime dwelled. Neere vnto this is the round Ile, ſo called of the conſultations there had: for there was a court ſometime holden, wherein 14 of the principall inhabitants did miniſter iuſtice vnto the reſt, and had the whole diſpoſition of things committed vnto them, which might rule vnto the benefit of thoſe Ilands. There is alſo the Stoneheape, an other Iland ſo called of the heape of ſtones that is therein. On the ſouth ſide alſo of Ila, we find moreouer the Colurne, Mulmor, Oſtin, Brigidan, Corkerke, Humble Ile, Imerſga, Bethy, Texa, Shepeie, Naoſig, Rinard, Cane, Tharſcher, Aknor, Gret Ile, Man Ile, S. Johns Ile, and Stackbed. On the weſt ſide thereof alſo lieth Ouerſey, whereby runneth a perilous ſea, and not nauigable, but at certeine houres, Merchant Ile, Vſabraſt, Tanask, Neff, Wauer Ile, Oruans, Hog Ile, and Colauanſo.

Round Ile.

Mula.

Mula is a right noble Ile, 24 miles in length and ſo manie in breath, rough of ſoile, yet fruitfull enough: & beſide woods, deere, & good harborough for ſhips, repleniſhed with diuers and ſundrie townes and caſtels. Ouer againſt Columkill alſo, it hath two riuers, which yeld verie great ſtore of ſalmons, and other riuellets now altogither vnfruitfull, beſide two lakes, in each of which is an Iland: and likewiſe in euerie of theſe Ilands a caſtell. The ſea beating vpon this Ile, maketh foure notable baies wherein great plentie and verie good herrings are taken. It hath alſo in the northweſt ſide Columbria, or the Ile of doues; on the ſoutheaſt, Era: both verie commodious for fiſhing, cattell, and corne. Moreouer, this is worth the noting in this Ile aboue all the reſt, that it hath a pleſant ſpring, ariſing two miles in diſtance from the ſhore, wherein are certeine little egs found, much like vnto indifferent pearles, both for colour and brightneſſe,

Scarba.

neſſe, and thereto full of thicke humour, which egs being carried by violence of the freſh water vnto the ſalt, are there within the ſpace of twelue houres conuerted into great ſhels, which I take to be mother pearle; except I be deceiued.

Iona. Iona was ſometime called Columkill, in fame and eſtimation nothing inferiour to anie of the other, although in length it exceed little aboue two miles, and in breadth one. Certes it is verie fruitfull of all ſuch commodities, as that climat wherein it ſtandeth doth yeld, and beareth the name of Columbus the abbat, of whome I haue ſpoken more at large in my Chronologie. There were ſomtimes alſo two monaſteries therein, one of monks builded by Fergus, another of nuns: and a pariſh church, beſide many chappels builded by the Scotiſh kings, and ſuch princes as gouerned in the Iles. And when the Engliſh had once gotten poſſeſſion of the Ile of Manaw, a biſhops ſee was erected in the old monaſterie of Columbus, whereby the iuriſdiction of thoſe Iles was ſtill mainteined and continued. Certes there remaine yet in this Iland the old burials apperteining to the moſt noble families that had dwelled in the weſt Iles; but three aboue other are accompted the moſt notable, which haue little houſes builded vpon them. That in the middeſt hath a ſtone, whereon is written, *Tumuli regum Scotiæ*, The burials of the kings of Scotland: for (as they ſaie) fourtie eight of them were there interred. Another is intituled with theſe words, The burials of the kings of Ireland, becauſe foure of them lie in that place. The third hath theſe words written thereon, The graues of the kings of Norwaie, for there eight of them were buried alſo: and all through a fond ſuſpicion conceiued of the merits of Columbus. Howbeit in proceſſe of time, when Malcolme Cammor had erected his abbeie at Donfermeling, he gaue occaſion to manie of his ſucceſſors to be interred there.

Regum tumuli.

About this Iland there lie ſix other Iles diſperſed, ſmall in quantitie, but not altogither barren, ſometimes giuen by the kings of Scotland and lords of the Iles vnto the abbeie of ſaint Columbus, of which the Soa, albeit that it yeld competent paſturage for ſheepe, yet is it more commodious, by ſuch egs as the great plentie of wildfoule there breeding do laie within the ſame. Then is there the Ile of Shrewes or of women; as the more ſober heads do call it. Alſo Rudan, & next vnto that, the Rering. There is alſo the Shen halfe a mile from Pula, whoſe bankes do ſwarme with conies: it hath alſo a pariſh church, but moſt of the inhabitants do liue and dwell in Pula. There is alſo the Eorſe or the Arſe, and all theſe belong vnto ſaint Columbus abbeie. Two miles from Arſe is the Olue, an Iland fiue miles in length, and ſufficientlie ſtored with corne and graſſe, & not without a good hauen for ſhips to lie and harbor in. There is alſo the Colſans, an Iland fruitfull inough, and full of cornell trees. There is not far off alſo the Gomater, Staſa, the two Berneburgs, and the Moſſe Ile, in the old Britiſh ſpech called Monad, that is to ſaie Moſſe. The ſoile of it is verie blacke, becauſe of the corruption & putrefaction of ſuch woods as haue rotted thereon: whereupon alſo no ſmall plentie of moſſe is bred and ingendered. The people in like maner make their fire of the ſaid earth, which is fullie ſo good as our Engliſh turffe. There is alſo the Long, & ſix miles further toward the weſt, Tirreie, which is eight miles in length and three in breadth, & of all other one of the moſt plentifull for all kinds of commodities: for it beareth corne, cattell, fiſh, and ſeafowle aboundantlie. It hath alſo a well of freſh water, a caſtell, and a verie good hauen for great veſſels to lie at ſafegard in. Two miles from this alſo is the Gun, and the Coll two miles alſo from the Gun. Then paſſed we by the Calfe, a verie woddie Iland, the foure greene Iles, the two glaſſe or Skie Ilands, the Ardan, the Ile of wolfes, & then the great Iland which reacheth from the eaſt into the weſt, is ſixteene miles in length, and ſix in breadth, full of mounteins and ſwelling woods: and for aſmuch as it is not much inhabited, the ſeafoules laie great plentie of egs there, whereof ſuch as will, may gather what number them liſteth. Upon the high cliffes and rocks alſo the Soland geeſe are taken verie plentifullie. Beyond this, about foure miles alſo is the Ile of horſſes: and a little from that the hog Iland, which is not altogither vnfruitfull. There is a falcon which of cuſtome breedeth there, and thereunto it is not without a conuenient hauen. Not farre off alſo is the Canna, and the Egga, little Iles, but the later full of Soland geeſe. Likewiſe the Sobratill, more apt to hunt in than meet for anie other commoditie that is to be reaped thereby.

Skie. After this we come to the Skie, the greateſt Ile about all Scotland: for it is two and fortie miles long; and ſomewhere eight, & in ſome places twelue miles broad: it is moreouer verie hillie, which hilles are thereunto loaden with great ſtore of wood, as the woods are with paſture, the fields with corne and cattell; and (beſides all other commodities) with no ſmall heards of mares, whereby they raiſe great aduantage and commoditie. It hath fiue riuers veris much abounding with ſalmons, and other freſh ſtreams not altogither void of that prouiſion. It is inuironed alſo with manie baies, wherein great plentie of herrings is taken in time of the yeere. It hath alſo a noble pole of freſh water; fiue caſtels and ſundrie townes; as Aie, S. Johns, Dunwegen, S. Nicholas, &c. The old Scots called it Skianacha, that is, Winged, but now named Skie. There lie certeine ſmall Ilands about this alſo, as Rauſa a batable ſoile for corne & gras; Conie Iland full of woods and conies; Paba a theuiſh Iland, in whoſe woods theeues do lurke to rob ſuch as paſſe by them. Scalpe Ile, which is full of deere; Crowling, wherein is verie good harbour for ſhips; Rarſa, full of beechen woods and ſtags, being in length ſeuen miles, and two in breadth. The Ron, a woodie Ile and full of heath: yet hath it a good hauen, which hath a little Iland called Gerloch on the mouth thereof, and therein lurke manie theeues. There is not farre off from this Ron, to wit about ſix miles alſo, the Flad, the Tiulmen, Oranſa, Buie the leſſe, and Buie the more, and fiue other little trifling Iles, of whoſe names I haue no notice.

The Ile of Shrewes.

After theſe we come vnto the Iſe, a prettie fertile Iland, to the Due, to the Aſkome, to the Lindill. And foure ſcore miles from the Skie towards the weſt, to the Ling, the Gigarmen, the Berner, the Nagle, the Pable, the Flad, the Scarpe, the Sander, the Vateras, which later hath a noble hauen for great ſhips, beſide ſundrie other commodities: and theſe nine laſt rehearſed are vnder the dominion of the biſhop of the Iles. After this we come to the Bar, an Iland ſeauen miles in length, not vnfruitfull for graſſe and corne, but the chiefe commoditie thereof lieth by taking of herrings, which are there to be had abundantlie. In one baie of this Iland there lieth an Iſlet, and therein ſtandeth a ſtrong caſtell. In the north part hereof alſo is an hill which beareth good graſſe from the foot to the top, and out of that riſeth a ſpring, which running to the ſea, doth carrie withall a kind of creature not yet perfectlie formed, which ſome do liken vnto cockels; and vpon the ſhore where the water falleth into the ſea, they take vp a kind of ſhelfiſh, when the water is gone, which they ſuppoſe to be ingendred or increaſed after this manner. Betweene the Barre and the Aiſſe lie alſo theſe

Moſſe Ile.

Bar.

theſe Ilands, Orbans, Oue, Hakerſet, Warlang, Flad, the two Baies, Haie, Helſaie, Gigaie, Lingaie, Fraie, Fudaie, and Friſkaie. The Ille is thirtie miles long and ſix miles broad; and therein are ſundrie freſh waters, but one eſpeciallie of three miles in length: neuertheleſſe, the ſea hath now of late found a waie into it, ſo that it cannot be kept off with a banke of three ſcore foot, but now and then it will flowe into the ſame, and leaue ſea-fiſh behind it in the lake. There is alſo a fiſh bred therein almoſt like vnto a ſalmon, ſauing that it hath a white bellie, a blacke backe, and is altogither without ſcales: it is likewiſe a great harbour for theeues and pirats.

Eight miles beyond this lieth the Helſcher, appertinent to the nuns of Iona: then haue we the Haſker, verie plentifullie benefited by ſeales, which are there taken in time of the yeere. Three ſcore miles from this alſo is the Hirth, whoſe inhabitants are rude in all good ſcience and religion; yet is the Iland verie fruitfull in all things, and bringeth forth ſheepe farre greater than are elſe-where to be found, for they are as big as our fallow deare, horned like bugles, and haue their tailes hanging to the ground. He that is owner of this Ile, ſendeth ouer his baiſſe into the ſame at midſummer, to gather in his duties, and with him a preeſt to ſaie maſſe, and to baptiſe all the children borne ſince that time of the yeere precedent: or if none will go ouer with him (becauſe the voiage is dangerous) then doth each father take paine to baptiſe his owne at home. Baptiſme without preeſts. Their rents are paid commonlie in dried ſeales and ſea foule. All the whole Ile is not aboue a mile euerie waie; and except three mounteines that lie vpon one part of the ſhore, ſuch as dwell in the other Iles can ſee no part thereof.

Being paſt the Ille, we came after to Walaie, the Soa, the Strome, to Pabaie, to Barner, Enſaie, Killiger, the two Sagas, the Hermodraie, Scarſe, Grie, Ling, Gilling, Heie, Hoie, Farlaie, great So, little So, Iſe, Sein the more, Sein the leſſe, Tarant, Slegan, Tuom, Scarpe, Hareie, and the ſeauen holie Ilands, which are deſert and bred nothing but a kind of wild ſheepe, which are often hunted, but ſeldome or neuer eaten. Wild ſheepe. For in ſtéed of fleſh they haue nothing but tallow; and if anie fleſh be, it is ſo vnſauorie, that few men care to eate of it, except great hunger compell them. I ſuppoſe, that theſe be the wild ſheepe which will not be tamed; and becauſe of the horrible grenning thereof, is taken for the baſtard tiger. Tigers. Their haire is betweene the woll of a ſheepe, and the haire of a goat, reſembling both, ſhacked, and yet abſolutelie like vnto neither of both: it maie be alſo the ſame beaſt which Capitolinus calleth Ouis fera, ſhewed in the time of Gordian the emperour; albeit that ſome take the ſame for the Camelopardalis: but hereof I make no warrantiſe.

There is alſo not farre off the Garuell, the Lambe, the Flad, the Kellas, the two Bernars, the Kirt, the two Buies, the Uiraie, the Pabaie, the two Sigrams, and the Ile of Pigmeies (which is ſo called vpon ſome probable coniecture) for manie little ſculs and bones are dailie there found deepe in the ground, perfectlie reſembling the bodies of children; & not anie of greater quantities, wherby their coniecture (in their opinion) is the more likelie to be true. Ile of Pigmeies. There is alſo the Fabill Ile, Adams Ile, the Ile of Lambes, Hulmes, Miccoll, Haueraie, Car, Era, Columbes Ile, Tor Ile, Iſkurd, Scalpe, Flad, and the Siwet; on whoſe eaſt ſide is a certeine vault or caue, arched ouer, a flight ſhot in length, wherevnto meane ſhips do vſe to runne for harbour with full ſaile when a tempeſt ouertaketh them, or the raging of the ſea, in thoſe parts do put them in danger of wrecke. Alſo we paſſed by the old caſtell Ile, which is a pretie and verie commodious plat for fiſh, foule, egges, corne and paſture. There is alſo the Ile Euſt or Eu, which is full of wood, and a notable harbour for theeues, as is alſo the Grimort; likewiſe the preeſts Ile, which is verie full of ſea foule and good paſture. The Afull, the two Herbrerts, to wit, the greater and the leſſer, and the Iles of Horſſes, and Pertaika: and theſe 8 lie ouer againſt the baie which is called the Lake Brian. After this, we go toward the north, and come to the Haraie, and the Lewis or the Leug, both which make (in truth) but one Iland of three ſcore miles in length, and ſixteene in breadth, being diſtinguiſhed by no water, but by huge woods, bounds, and limits of the two owners that do poſſeſſe thoſe parts. The ſouth part is called Haraie, and the whole ſituate in the Deucalidon ſea, ouer againſt the Roſſe, & called Thule by Tacitus, wherein are manie lakes, and verie pretie villages, as lake Erwin, lake Unſalſago: but of townes, S. Clements, Stoie, Nois, S. Columbane, Radmach, &c. In like ſort, there are two churches, whereof one is dedicated to ſaint Peter, an other to S. Clement, beſide a monaſterie called Roadill. The ſoile alſo of this Ile is indifferent fruitfull; but they reape more profit vnder the ground than aboue, by digging. There is neither woolfe, for, nor ſerpent ſeene in this Iland; yet are there great woods therein, which alſo ſeparate one part from the other. Likewiſe there be plentie of ſtags, but farre leſſe in quantitie than ours: and in the north part of the Iland alſo is a riuer which greatlie aboundeth with ſalmons. That part alſo called Lewiſa, which is the north halfe of the Ile is well inhabited toward the ſea coaſts, and hath riuers no leſſe plentifull for ſalmon than the other halfe. There is alſo great ſtore of herrings taken, whereof the fiſher men do raiſe great gaine and commoditie; and no leſſe plentie of ſheepe, which they do not ſheare, but plucke euerie yeere; yet is the ground of this part verie heathie, and full of moſſe, and the face thereof verie ſwart and blacke, for the ſpace of a foot in depth, through the corruption of ſuch woods as in time paſt haue rotted on the ſame. And therefore in time of the yeere they conuert it into turffe to burne, as neede ſhall ſerue; and in the yeere after, hauing well donged it in the meane time with ſlawke of the ſea, they ſowe barlete in the ſelfe places where the turffes grew, and reape verie good corne, wherewith they liue and feed. Lewis called Thule by Tacitus, with no better authoritie than the Angleſeie Mons. Such plentie of whales alſo are taken in this coaſt, that the verie tithe hath béene knowne, in ſome one yeere, to amount vnto ſeauen and twentie whales of one greatneſſe and other. Tithe whales. This is notable alſo in this part of the Ile, that there is a great caue two yards deepe of water when the ſea is gone, and not aboue foure when it is at the higheſt; ouer which great numbers do ſit of both ſexes and ages, with hooks and lines, and catch at all times an infinite deale of fiſh, wherewith they liue, and which maketh them alſo the more idle.

Being paſt this about fortie miles, we come vnto the Rona, or Ron, which ſome take for the laſt of the Hebrides, diſtant (as I ſaid) about fortie miles from the Orchades, and one hundreth and thirtie from the promontorie of Dungiſbe. The inhabitants of this Ile are verie rude and irreligious, the lord alſo of the ſoile doth limit their number of houſholds, & hauing aſſigned vnto them what numbers of the greater and ſmaller ſorts of cattell they ſhall ſpend and inioie for their owne proviſion, they ſend the ouerplus yeerlie vnto him to Lewis. Their cheefe paiments conſiſt of a great quantitie of meale, which is verie plentifull among them, ſowed vp in ſheepes ſkins. Alſo of mutton and ſea foule dried, that reſteth ouer and aboue, which they themſelues do ſpend. And if it happen

that there be more people in the Iland than the lords holde or rate doth come vnto, then they ſend alſo the ouerplus of them in like maner vnto him: by which meanes they liue alwaies in plentie. They receiue no vices from ſtrange countries, neither know or heare of anie things done elſe-where than in their owne Iland. Manie whales are taken alſo vpon their coaſts, which are likewiſe repleniſhed with ſeale, and porpaſſe, and thoſe which are either ſo tame, or ſo fierce, that they abaſh not at the ſight of ſuch as looke vpon them, neither make they anie haſt to flie out of their preſence.

Sulliſcraie. Beyond this Ile, about 16 miles weſtward, there is another called Sulliſcraie, of a mile length, void of graſſe, and without ſo much as heath growing vpon hir ſoile: yet are there manie cliffes and rocks therein, which are couered with blacke moſſe, whereon innumerable ſorts of foules do breed and laie their egs. Thither in like ſort manie do ſaile from Lewiſſa, to take them yong in time of the yeare, before they be able to flie, which they alſo kill and dreſſe in eight daies ſpace, and then returne home againe with them, and great plentie of feathers gathered in this voiage. One thing is verie ſtrange and to be noted in this Iland, of the Colke foule, which is little leſſe than a gooſe; and this kind commeth thither but once in the yeare, to wit, in the ſpring, to laie hir egs and bring vp hir yong, till they be able to ſhift for themſelues, & then they get them awaie togither to the ſea, and come no more vntill that time of the yeere which next inſueth. At the ſame ſeaſon alſo they caſt their feathers there, as it were anſwering tribute to nature for the vſe of hir moiſte ſoile: wherein it is wonderfull to ſee, that thoſe feathers haue no ſtalkes, neither anie thing that is hard in them, but are ſeene to couer their bodies as it were wooll or downe, till breeding time (I ſaie) wherein they be left ſtarke naked.

Colke foule.

Orchades. The Orchades (whoſe firſt inhabitants were the Scithians, which came from thoſe Iles where the Gothes did inhabit, as ſome ſparks yet remaining among them of that language do declare) lie partlie in the Germaine, and partlie in the Caledon ſeas, ouer againſt the point of Dunghiſbie (being in number eight and twentie, or as other ſaie thirtie & one, yet ſome ſaie thirtie three, as Oroſius, but Plinie ſaith fortie) and now belonging to the crowne of Scotland, as are the reſt whereof heretofore I haue made report, ſince we croſſed ouer the mouth of the Solueie ſtreame, to come into this countrie. Certes the people of theſe Ilands reteine much of their old ſparing diets, and thereunto they are of goodlie ſtature, tall, verie comelie, healthfull, of long life, great ſtrength, whitiſh colour, as men that feed moſt vpon fiſh; ſith the cold is ſo extreame in thoſe parts, that the ground bringeth forth but ſmall ſtore of wheate, and in maner verie little or no fuell at all, wherewith to warme them in the winter, and yet it ſeemeth that (in times paſt) ſome of theſe Ilands alſo haue beene well repleniſhed with wood, but now they are without either tree or ſhrub, in ſtead whereof they haue plentie of heath, which is ſuffered to grow among them, rather thorough their negligence, than that the ſoile of it ſelfe will not yeeld to bring forth trees & buſhes. For what ſtore of ſuch hath beene in times paſt, the roots yet found and digged out of the ground do yeeld ſufficient triall. Ores they haue verie plentifullie, but greater ſtore of barlie, wherof they make a nappie kind of drinke, and ſuch indeed, as will verie readilie cauſe a ſtranger to ouerſhot himſelfe. Howbeit this may be vnto vs in lieu of a miracle, that although their drinke be neuer ſo ſtrong, & they themſelues ſo immeaſurable drinkers (as none are more) yet it ſhall not eaſilie be ſeene (ſaith Hector) that there is anie drunkard among them, either frantike, or mad men, dolt, or naturall fole, meet to weare a cockeſcombe.

If he ſpeake all in truth.

This immeaſurable drinking of theirs is confeſſed alſo by Buchanan, who noteth, that whenſoeuer anie wine is brought vnto them from other ſoiles, they take their parts thereof aboundantlie. He addeth moreouer, how they haue an old bole (which they call S. Magnus bole, who firſt preached Chriſt vnto them) of faure greater quantitie than common boles are, and ſo great, that it may ſeeme to be reſerued ſince the Lapithane banket, onelie to quaffe and drinke in. And when anie biſhop commeth vnto them, they offer him this bole full of drinke, which if he be able to drinke vp quite at one draught; then they aſſure themſelues of good lucke, and plentie after it. Neuertheleſſe this exceſſe is not often found in the common ſort, whom penurie maketh to be more frugall; but in their prieſts, and ſuch as are of the richer calling. They ſuccour pirats alſo, and verie often exchange their victels with their commodities, rather for feare and want of power to reſiſt (their Ilands lieing ſo ſcattered) than for anie neceſſitie of ſuch gains as they do get by thoſe men: for in truth, they thinke themſelues to haue little need of other furniture than their owne ſoiles do yeeld and offer vnto them. This is alſo to be read of the inhabitants of theſe Ilands, that ignorance of exceſſe is vnto the moſt part of them in ſtead of phyſicke; and labour and trauell a medicine for ſuch few diſeaſes as they are moleſted and incombred withall.

In like ſort they want venemous beaſts, cheeſelie ſuch as do delight in hotter ſoile, and all kinds of ougliе creatures. Their ewes alſo are ſo full of increaſe, that ſome do vſuallie bring forth two, three, or foure lambes at once, whereby they account our anelings (which are ſuch as bring forth but one at once) rather barren than to be kept for anie gaine. As for wild and tame foules, they haue ſuch plentie of them, that the people there account them rather a burthen to their ſoile, than a benefit to their tables; they haue alſo neat and getes, whereby they abound in white meat, as butter and cheeſe: wherein, next vnto fiſh, the cheefe part of their ſuſtenance doth conſiſt. There is alſo a biſhop of the Orchades, who hath his ſee in Pomona the cheefe of all the Ilands, wherein alſo are two ſtrong caſtels, and ſuch hath beene the ſuperſtition of the people here, that there is almoſt no one of them, that hath not one church at the leaſt dedicated to the mother of Chriſt. Finallie, there is little vſe of phyſicke in theſe quarters, leſſe ſtore of eeles, and leaſt of frogs. As for the horſſes that are bred amongſt them, they are commonlie not much greater than aſſes, and yet to labour and trauell, a man ſhall find verie few elſe-where, able to come neere, much leſſe to match with them, in holding out their iournies. The ſeas about theſe Ilands are verie tempeſtuous, not onelie through ſtrong winds, and the influences of the heauens and ſtars; but by the contrarie meetings and workings of the weſt ocean, which rageth ſo vehementlie in the ſtreicts, that no veſſell is able to paſſe in ſafetie amongſt them. Some of theſe Ilands alſo are ſo ſmall and low, that all the commoditie which is to be reaped by anie of them, is ſcarſelie ſufficient to ſuſteine one or two men: and ſome of them ſo barren and full of rocks, that they are nothing elſe but moſſe or bare ſhingle. Wherefore onelie thirteene of them are inhabited and made account of, the reſt being left vnto their ſheepe and cattell. Of all theſe Ilands alſo Pomona is the greateſt, and therfore called the continent, which conteineth thirtie miles in length, and is well replenished with people: for it hath twelue pariſh churches, and one towne, which the Danes (ſometime lords of that Iland) called Cracouia: but now it hight Kirkwa. Kirkwa.

wa. There are alſo two prelie holds, one belonging to the king, the other to the biſhop: and alſo a beautifull church, and much building betweene the two holds, and about this church, which being taken as it were for two townes, the one is called the kings and the other the biſhops towne. All the whole Iland is full of cliffes and promontories, whereby no ſmall number of baies and ſome hauens are produced.

There is alſo tin and lead to be found in ſix of theſe Iles, ſo good and plentifullie as anie where elſe in Britaine. It lieth foure & twentie miles from Cathneſſe, being ſeparated from the ſame by the Pictiſh ſea: wherein alſo lie certeine Ilands, as Stroma, foure miles from Cathneſſe, which albeit that it be but foure miles from Cathneſſe, is not reputed for anie of the Orchades. Going therefore from hence northward, we come to the firſt Ile of the Orchades, called ſouth Rauals, which is ſirteene miles from Dunghilſbie, *alias* Dunachilſbie, & that in two houres ſpace, ſuch is the ſwiftneſſe of the ſea in that tract. This Ile is fiue miles long, and hath a faire port called ſaint Margarets hauen. Then paſſe we by two deſert Iles, which lie towards the eaſt, wherein nothing is found but cattell: ſome call them the holmes, bicauſe they lie low, and are good for nothing but graſſe. On the northſide lieth the Bur, and two other holmes betweene the ſame & Pomona. From Bur, toward the weſt lie three Iles, Sun, Flat, and Far: and beyond them Hote and Uall, which ſome accompt for two, and other but for one; bicauſe that in March and September, the flats that lie betweene them, doo ſeeme to ioine them togither, after the tide is gone. This neuertheleſſe is certeine, that in this ſingle or double Ile, which is ten miles in length, the higheſt hilles are to be ſeene that are in all the Orchades. And as they lie eight miles from Rauals, ſo are they two miles from Pomona, & from ſaint Donats in Scotland full twentie miles, and on the north ſide of it lieth the Brainſe, in a narrow ſtreict, as Buchanan doth remember. And theſe are the Iles which lie betweene Pomona and Cathneſſe. As for the weſt ſide of the continent, I find that it lieth open to the ſea, without either ſhelues, Ilands, or rocks appéering néere vnto it: but on the eaſt ſide thereof Cobeſa doth in maner ouerſhadow it. Siapinſa alſo an Ile of ſix miles long, lieth within two miles of Cracouſa, toward the eaſt, on the weſt ſide of Pomona lieth the Rouſe of ſix miles in length: and by eaſt of that, the Egliſa, wherin (as they ſaie) their patrone S. Magnus lieth interred. From henſe ſouthward lie the Uera, Gerſa, and not far off the Neſſer (which is foureſcore miles from Yethland) Papa, & Stronza, which is alſo eightie miles from Yethland as is the Neſſer. In the middeſt alſo of this tract lieth Far, or Fara, which is to ſaie, faire Ile, in old Engliſh, faire eie, and within ſight ſo well of Yethland, as the Orchades (by reaſon of three inſuperable rocks which are apparant in the ſame) a verie poore Iland, and yet yearelie robbed of ſuch commodities as it hath by ſuch Flemiſh and Engliſh fiſhermen as paſſe by the coaſts thereof in time of the yeare, to catch fiſh for the proviſion of their countries.

Next vnto this is the greateſt of all the Yethlands, an Iland called the Maine, ſixtie miles in length, and ſixteene in breadth, full of rocks, and whoſe coaſts are onelie inhabited, the innermoſt parts being left vnto the foules of the aire, bicauſe of the barrenneſſe and vnfruitfulneſſe of the ſoile: yet of late ſome haue indeuoured to impeople it, but with no ſucceſſe correſpondent to their deſire. Wherefore they returned to their former trades, making their chéefe commoditie and yearelie gaine by fiſh, as aforetime. Ten miles from this toward the north, lieth the Zeale, twentie miles in length, eight in breadth, and ſo wild that it will ſuffer no creature to liue thereof, that is not bred therein. Betweéne this Iland alſo and the Maine, are other ſmaller Ilands to be found, as the Ling, Orne, Big, and Sanſerre. And from henſe nine miles northward Ulla, twentie miles long, & ſix in breadth, plaine, pleaſant, but inuironed with a ſwift and terrible ſea. Betweéne this alſo and the Zeale, are the Uie, the Uze, and the Ling: alſo towards the weſt, the two Skeues, Chalſele, Nordwade, Braſe, and Nowſe, on the weſt ſide lie the weſt Skeues, Rottia, Papa the leſſe, Wunned, Papa the more, Ualla, Tondra, Burra, Haura the more, Haura the leſſe, & in maner ſo manie holmes diſperſed hére and there, whereof I haue no notice. Some call theſe the Shetland, and ſome the Shotland Iles. Buchanan nameth them in the third member of his diuiſion Zelandine, and toward the end of his firſt booke ſeemeth to auouch, that they liue in maner as doo the inhabitants of the Orchades: although not in ſo ciuill wiſe, nor in ſuch large meaſure and aboundance of diet in their houſes. He addeth moreouer, that their apparell is after the Germaine cut, comelie, but not ſo chargeable and coſtlie, and how they raiſe their gaine by ſkins of beaſts, as marterns, ſhéepe, oxen, and gotes ſkins, and thereunto a kind of cloth which they weaue, and ſell to the merchants of Norwaie, togither with their butter, fiſh, either ſalted or dried, and their traine oile, and exerciſe their trade of fiſhing alſo in their vncerteine ſkewes, which they fetch out of Norwaie.

Their ſpeech is Gothiſh, and ſuch of them as by their dealing with forren merchants doo gather anie wealth, that will they verie often beſtow vpon the furniture of their houſes. Their weights & meaſures are after the Germaine maner, their countrie is verie healthie, and ſo wholeſome, that a man was found which had married a wife at one hundred yeares of age, and was able to go out a fiſhing with his bote at one hundred and fortie, and of late yéeres died of méere age, without anie other diſeaſe. Drunkenneſſe is not heard of among them, and yet they méet and make good chéere verie often. Neither doo I read of anie great vſe of fleſh or fowle there, although that ſome of their Ilands haue plentie of both. Nor anie mention of corne growing in theſe parts, and therefore in ſtéed of bread they drie a kind of fiſh, which they beat in morters to powder, & bake it in their ouens, vntill it be hard and drie. Their fuell alſo is of ſuch bones as the fiſh yéeldeth, that is taken on their coaſts: and yet they liue as themſelues ſuppoſe in much felicitie, thinking it a great péece of their happineſſe to be ſo farre diſtant from the wicked auarice, and cruell dealings of the more rich and ciuill part of the world.

Herein alſo they are like vnto the Hirthiens, in that at one time of the yeare, there commeth a prieſt vnto them out of the Orchades (vnto which iuriſdiction they doo belong) who baptiſeth all ſuch children, as haue béene borne among them, ſince he laſt arriued, and hauing afterward remained there for a few daies, he taketh his tithes of them (which they prouide and paie with great ſcrupuloſitie in fiſh, for of other commodities haue they none) and then returneth home againe, not without boaſt of his troubleſome voiage, except he watch his time. In theſe Iles alſo is great plentie of fine Amber to be had (as Hector ſaith) which is produced by the working of the ſea vpon thoſe coaſts: but more of this elſewhere. This neuertheles is certeine, that theſe Ilands, with the Orchades, were neuer perfectlie vnited to the crowne of Scotland, till the mariage was made betweéne king James and the ladie Marie daughter to Chriſtierne king of Denmarke 1468; which Chriſtierne at the birth of their ſonne James (afterward

Amber.

king of Scotland and called Iames the fourth) re-
signed all his right and title whatsoeuer either he or
his ancestors either presently or heretofore had, might
haue had, or hereafter may or should haue, vnto the a-
foresaid peeres, as appeareth by the charter.

From these Shetland Iles, and vntill we come
southwards to the Scarre, which lieth in Buquham-
nesse, I find no mention of ante Ile situat vpon that
coast, neither great lie from thence, vntill we come
at the Forth, that leadeth vp to Sterling, neither
thought we it safetie for vs to search so farre as Thu-
le, whence the most excellent brimstone commeth, &
thereto what store of Ilands lie vnder the more nor-
therlie climats, whose secret situations though part-
lie seene in my time, haue not yet bin perfectlie reue-
led or discouered by ante, because of the great aboun-
dance of huge Ilands of ice that moueth to and fro
vpon their shores, and sundrie perilous gulfes and
indraughts of water, and for as much as their knowe-
lege doth not concerne our purpose, wherfore casting
about, we came at the last into the Firth or Forth,
which some call the Scotish sea, wherein we passe by
seuen or eight such as they be, of which the first called
the Paie, the second Baas, and Garwie the third, dee
seeme to be inhabited. From these also holding on
our course toward England, we passe by another
Ile, wherein Faux castell standeth, and this (so far as
my skill serueth) is the last Iland of the Scotish side,
in compassing whereof I am not able to discerne,
whether their flats and shallowes, number of Ilands
without name, confusion of situation, lacke of true
description, or mine owne ignorance hath troubled
me most. No meruell therefore that I haue beene so
oft on ground among them. But most ioifull am I
that am come home againe: & although not by the
Thames mouth into my native citie (which taketh
his name of Troie) yet into the English dominion,
where good interteinement is much more franke and
copious, and better harborough wherein to rest my
wearie bones, and refresh at ease our wetherbeaten
carcasses.

The first Iland therefore which commeth to our
sight, after we passed Berwike, is that which was
somtime called Lindesfarne, but now Holie Iland,
and conteineth eight miles; a place much honored a-
mong our monasticall writers, because diuerse
monks and heremits did spend their times therein.
Here was also the bishops see of Lindesfarne for a
long season, which afterward was translated to Che-
ster in the street, & finallie to Durelme, Dunelme, or
Durham. It was first erected by Oswald, wherein
he placed Aidanus the learned Scotish monke, who
came hither out of the Ile called Hij, whereof Beda
speaking in the third chapter of his third booke, no-
teth, that although the said Hij belong to the kings
of Northumberland, by reason of situation & neere-
nesse to the coast; yet the Picts appointed the bishops
of the same, and gaue the Ile with the see it selfe to
such Scotish monks as they liked, because that by
their preaching they first receiued the faith. But to re-
turne to Lindesfarne. After Aidan departed this life,
Finanus finished and builded the whole church with
sawed timber of oke, after the maner of his coun-
trie, which when Theodorus the archbishop of Can-
turburie had dedicated, Edbert the bishop did couer
ouer with lead.

Farne. Next vnto this is the Ile of Farne, and herein is
a place of defense so far as I remember, and so great
store of egs laid there by diuerse kinds of wildfoule
in time of the yeare, that a man shall hardlie run for
a wager on the plaine ground without the breach of
mante, before his race be finished. About Farne also
lie certeine Iles greater than Farne it selfe, but
void of inhabitants; and in these also is great store
of puffins, graie as duckes, and without coloured fe- Puffins.
thers, sauing that they haue a white ring round a-
bout their necks. There is moreouer another bird,
which the people call saint Cuthberts foules, a verie Saint Cuth-
berts foules.
tame and gentle creature, and easie to be taken. Af-
ter this we came to the Cocket Iland; so called, be-
cause it lieth ouer against the fall of Cocket water.
Herein is a veine of meane seacole, which the people
dig out of the shore at the low water; and in this I-
land dwelled one Henrie sometime a famous here-
mite, who (as his life declareth) came of the Danish
race. And from thence vntill we came vnto the coast
of Norfolke I saw no more Ilands.

Being therfore past S. Edmunds point, we found
a litle Ile ouer against the fall of the water that
commeth from Holkham, & likewise another ouer a-
gainst the Claie, before we came at Waburne hope:
the third also in Yarmouth riuer ouer against Brad-
well, a towne in low or little England, whereof also
I must néeds saie somewhat, because it is in maner
an Iland, and as I gesse either hath béene or may be
one: for the brodest place of the strict land that lea-
deth to the same, is little aboue a quarter of a mile,
which against the raging waues of the sea can make
but small resistance. Little England or low Eng- Little Eng-
land.
land therefore is about eight miles in length and
foure in bredth, verie well replenished with townes,
as Friskan, Burgh castell, Olton, Flixton, Les-
tosk, Gunton, Blundston, Corton, Lownd, Alhe-
bie, Horton, Belton, Bradwell, and Gorleston, and
beside this it is verie fruitfull and indued with all
commodities.

Going forward from hence, by the Estonnesse
(almost an Iland) I saw a small parcell cut from the
maine in Orford hauen, the Langerstone in Orwell
mouth, & two péeces or Islets at Cattiwade bridge;
and then calling about vnto the Colne, we beheld
Merseie which is a pretie Iland, well furnished with Merseie.
wood. It was sometime a great receptacle for the
Danes when they inuaded England; howbeit at
this present it hath beside two decaied blockehouses,
two parish churches, of which one is called east Mer-
seie, the other west Merseie, and both vnder the arch-
deacon of Colchester, as parcell of his iurisdiction.
Foulenesse is an Ile void of wood, and yet well re- Foulnesse.
plenished with verie good grasse for neat and sheepe,
whereof the inhabitants haue great plentie: there is
also a parish church, and albeit that it stand somewhat
distant from the shore, yet at a dead low water a
man may (as they saie) ride thereto if he be skilfull of
the cause; it is vnder the iurisdiction of London.
And at this present master William Tabor bacheler
of diuinitie and archdeacon of Essex hath it vnder
his iurisdiction & regiment, by the surrender of mai-
ster John Walker doctor also of diuinitie, who liued
at such time as I first attempted to commit this
booke to the impression.

In Maldon water are in like sort three Ilands
inuironed all with salt streames, as saint Osithes, Osithe.
Northeie, and another (after a merth) that beareth no Northeie.
name so far as I remember. On the right hand al-
so as we went toward the sea againe, we saw Ram- Ramseie.
seie Ile, or rather a Peninsula or Biland, & likewise
the Reie, in which is a chappell of saint Peter. And Reie.
then coasting vpon the mouth of the Bourne, we
saw the Wallot Ile and his mates, whereof two lie
by east Wallot, and the fourth is Foulnesse, except
I be deceiued, for here my memorie failesh me on
the one side, and information on the other, I meane
concerning the placing of Foulenesse. But to pro-
céed. After this, and being entered into the Thames
mouth, I find no Iland of ante name, except you ac-
compt Rochford hundred for one, whereof I haue no
mind to intreat, more than of Crowland, Mersland,
Elie,

Lindesfarne or Holie Iland.

Elie, and the reſt, that are framed by the ouze, Andreſeie in Trent, ſo called of a church there dedicated to ſaint Andrew, and Auon (two noble riuers hereafter to be deſcribed) ſith I touch onelie thoſe that are inuironed with the ſea or ſalt water round about, as we may ſee in the Canwaie Iles, which ſome call marſhes onelie, and liken them to an ipocras bag, ſome to a vice, ſcrue, or wide ſléeue, becauſe they are verie ſmall at the eaſt end, and large at weſt. The ſalt rilles alſo that croſſe the ſame doo ſo ſeparat the one of them from the other, that they reſemble the ſlope courſe of the cutting part of a ſcrue or gimlet, in verie perfect maner, if a man doo imagine himſelfe to loke downe from the top of the maſt vpon them. Betweene theſe, moreouer and the Leigh towne lieth another little Ile or Holme, whoſe name is to me vnknowne. Certes I would haue gone to land and viewed theſe parcels as they laie, or at the leaſt haue ſailed round about them by the whole hauen, which may eaſilie be done at an high water: but for as much as a perrie of wind (ſcarſe comparable to the makerell gale, whereof John Anele of Calis one of the beſt ſeamen that England euer bred for his ſkill in the narow ſeas was wont to talke) caught hold of our ſailes, & caried vs forth the right waie toward London, I could not tarie to ſée what things were hereabouts. Thus much therefore of our Ilands, & ſo much may well ſuffice where more cannot be had.

Canwale.

The deſcription of the Thames, and ſuch riuers as fall into the ſame. Cap. 11.

HAuing (as you haue ſéene) attempted to ſet downe a full diſcourſe of all the Ilands, that are ſituat vpon the coaſt of Britaine, and finding the ſucceſſe not correſpondent to mine intent, it hath cauſed me ſomewhat to reſtreine my purpoſe in this deſcription alſo of our riuers. For whereas I intended at the firſt to haue written at large, of the number, ſituation, names, quantities, townes, villages, caſtels, mounteines, freſh waters, plaſhes or lakes, ſalt waters, and other commodities of the aforeſaid Iles, mine expectation of information from all parts of England, was ſo deceiued in the end, that I was faine at laſt onelie to leane to that which I knew my ſelfe either by reading, or ſuch other helpe as I had alreadie purchaſed and gotten of the ſame. And euen ſo it happeneth in this my tractation of waters, of whoſe heads, courſes, length, breadth, depth of chanell (for burden) ebs, flowings, and falles, I had thought to haue made a perfect deſcription vnder the report alſo of an imagined courſe taken by them all. But now for want of inſtruction, which hath béene largelie promiſed, & ſlacklie performed, and other ſudden and iniurious deniall of helpe voluntarilie offered, without occaſion giuen on my part, I muſt néeds content my ſelfe with ſuch obſeruations as I haue either obteined by mine owne experience, or gathered from time to time out of other mens writings: whereby the full diſcourſe of the whole is vtterlie cut off, and in ſtéed of the ſame a mangled rehearſall of the reſidue ſet downe and left in memorie.

Wherefore I beſéech your honour to pardon this imperfection and rudeneſſe of my labour, which notwithſtanding is not altogither in vaine, ſith my errors maie prooue a ſpurre vnto the better ſkilled, either to correct or inlarge where occaſion ſerueth, or at the leaſt wiſe to take in hand a more abſolute péece of worke, as better direction ſhall incourage them thereto. The entrance and beginning of euerie thing is the hardeſt; and he that beginneth well, hath atchiued halfe his purpoſe. The ice (my lord) is broken, and from henceforth it will be more eaſie for ſuch as ſhall come after to wade through with the reſt, ſith *Facile eſt inuentis addere*; and to continue and finiſh, is not ſo great a matter in building, as to attempt and laie the foundation or platforme of anie noble péece of workmanſhip, though it be but rudelie handled. But to my purpoſe. As I began at the Thames in my deſcription of Ilands, ſo will I now doo the like with that of famous riuers; making mine entrie at the ſaid riuer it ſelfe, of whoſe founteine ſome men make as much adoo, as in time paſt of the true head of Nilus, which, till of late (if it be yet deſcried) was neuer found: or the Tanais, whoſe originall was neuer knowne, nor ſhall be: for whileſt one placeth it here, another there; there are none at all that deale with it exactlie. Wherefore leaning to ſuch mens writtings as haue of ſet purpoſe ſought out the ſpring of the Thames; I affirme, that this famous ſtreame hath his head or beginning out of the ſide of an hill, ſtanding in the plaines of Cotſwold, about one mile from Tetburie, néere vnto the Foſſe (an high waie ſo called of old) where it was ſometime named Iſis, or the Ouſe, although diuerſe doo ignorantlie call it the Thames euen there, rather of a fooliſh cuſtome than anie ſkill, becauſe they either neglect or vtterlie are ignorant how it was named at the firſt. From hence it runneth directlie toward the eaſt (as all good riuers ſhould) and méeteth with the Cirne or Churne, (a brooke called in Latine Corinium) whereof Cirnceſter towne (by which it commeth) doth take the denomination.

Thameſis.

Corinium.

From hence it haſteth vnto Créekelade, *aliàs* Crekanford, Lechlade, Radcotebridge, Newbridge, and Eouesham, receiuing by the waie an infinit ſort of ſmall ſtreames, brookes, beckes, waters, and rundels: and here on this ſide of the towne diuideth it ſelfe into two courſes, of which the one goeth ſtraight to Botleie and Hinkſeie, the other by Godſtow, a village not farre off. This latter ſpreadeth it ſelfe alſo for a while into ſundrie ſmaller branches, which run not farre yer they be reunited, and then beclipping ſundrie pleaſant medowes, it paſſeth at length by Oxford, of ſome ſuppoſed rather to be called Duſeford of this riuer, where it méeteth with the Charwell, and a litle from thence the originall branches doo ioine and go together by Abbandune (*aliàs* Sentham or Abington as we call it) although no part of it at the firſt came ſo néere the towne as it doth now, till a branch thereof was led thither from the maine ſtreame, thorough the induſtrie of the monks, as (beſide the teſtimonie of old records thereof yet extant to be ſéene) by the decaie of Cair Dour now Dorcheſter it ſelfe, ſometime the thoroughfare from Wales and the weſt countrie to London, which inſued vpon this fact, is eaſie to be ſéene. From hence it goeth to Dorcheſter, and ſo to Thame, where ioining with a riuer of the ſame denomination, it loſeth the name of Iſis or Ouſe (whereof Duſenete at Oxford is produced) and from thenceforth is called Thameſis. From Thame it goeth to Wallingford, and ſo to Reding, which in time paſt, of the number of bridges there, was called Pontium; albeit that the Engliſh name doth rather proceed from Rhe, or Ræ, the Saxon word for a water-courſe or riuer, which maie be ſéene in Duerée, or Sutherée, for ouer the Ræ, or ſouth of the Rhæ, as to the ſkilfull doth readilie appéere; yet ſome hold (and not altogither againſt probabilitie and likelihood) that the word Sutherée is ſo called of Sudrijc, to wit, the ſouth kingdome, whervnto

Charwell.

Some write, that the maine ſtreame was brought thither which ranne before betweene Andreſeie and Culenham.

Pontium.

Saint Maries ouer Rhée.

whereunto in part the Thames is a bound. But that holdeth not in denomination, either of the ſaid church or name of the foreſaid countie. Other affirme likewiſe, that Reding is ſo called of the Greeke word (ῥέω) which is to ouerflowe. Certes, as neither of theſe coniectures are to be contemned, ſo the laſt cõmeth moſt neere to mine aid, who affirme, that not onelie the courſe of euerie water it ſelfe, but alſo his ouerflowing was in time paſt called Rhe, by ſuch Saxons as inhabited in this Iland: and euen to this daie in Eſſex I haue oft obſerued, that when the lower grounds by rage of water haue beene ouerflowen, the people beholding the ſame, haue ſaid: All is on a Rhe, as if they ſhould haue ſaid; All is now a riuer, albeit the word Riuer be deriued from the French, and borrowed by them from the Latins, but not without corruption, as it was brought vnto them. I will not here giue notice how farre they are deceiued, which call the aforeſaid church by the name of S. Marie Auderies, or S. Marie ouer Ifis, or Iſe: but I will proceed with the courſe of this noble ſtreame,

Kenet. Thetis.

which, howſoeuer theſe matters ſtand, after it hath paſſed by Reding, & there receiued the Kenet, which commeth from the hilles that lie weſt of Marleborough (& then the Thetis, commonlie called the Tide that commeth from Theriſford) hieth to Sudlington otherwiſe called Maidenhead, and ſo to Windlethaze (or Windſore) Eaton, and then to Chertſeie, where Erkenwald biſhop of London ſometime builded a religious houſe or cell, as I doo read.

From Chertſeie it haſteth directlie vnto Staines, and receiuing an other ſtreame by the waie, called the Cole (whereupon Colbrooke ſtandeth) it goeth by Kingſtone, Shene, Sion, and Brentford or Bregentford, where it meeteth the Brane or the Brene (another brooke deſcending from Edgworth) whoſe name ſignifieth a frog, in the Britiſh ſpeach. Upon this alſo ſir John Chin had ſometime a ſtatelie houſe, with a marueilous prouiſion to incloſe and reteine ſuch fiſh as ſhould come about the ſame. From Brentford it paſſeth by Portlach, Putneie, Fulham, Batterſeie, Chelſeie, Lambeth, and ſo to London. Finallie going from thence vnto the ſea, it taketh the Lee with it by the waie vpon the coaſt of Eſſex, and another that commeth by Abreche not far off, and the Darnt vpon Kent ſide, which riſeth neere to Tanrige, and commeth by Shoreham, vnto Dertford, whereunto the Craie falleth. And laſt of all the Medwaie a notable riuer (in mine opinion) which watereth all the ſouth and ſouthweſt part of Kent, and whoſe deſcription ſhall inſue.

Cole. Brene. Darwent. Craie.

Hauing in this maner breefelie touched this noble riuer, and ſuch brookes as fall into the ſame; I will now adde a particular deſcription of each of theſe laſt by themſelues, whereby their courſes alſo ſhall be ſeuerallie deſcribed to the ſatisfaction of the ſtudious. But yet I take the ſame in hand, I will inſert a word or two of the commodities of the ſaid riuer, which I will performe with ſo much breuitie as is poſſible. Hereby alſo finding out his whole tract and courſe from the head to the fall thereof into the ſea. It appeareth euidentlie that the length thereof is at the leaſt, one hundreth and eightie miles, if it be meaſured by the tourneies of the land. And as it is in courſe, the longeſt of the three famous riuers of this Ile, ſo it is nothing inferiour vnto them in aboundance of all kind of fiſh, whereof it is hard to ſaie, which of the three haue either moſt plentie, or greateſt varietie, if the circumſtances be duelie weighed. What ſome other write of the riuers of their countries it ſkilleth not, neither will I (as diuerſe doo) inſert ſtrange things of this noble ſtreame, therewith to nobilitate and make it more honorable: but this will I in plaine termes affirme, that it neither ſwalloweth vp baſtards of the Celtiſh brood, or caſteth vp the right begotten that are throwne in without hurt into their mothers lap, as Politian fableth of the Rhene, *Epiſtolarum lib. 8. epi. 6.* nor yeeldeth clots of gold as the Tagus doth: but an infinit plentie of excellent, ſweet and pleaſant fiſh, wherewith ſuch as inhabit neere vnto hir bankes are fed and fullie nouriſhed.

What ſhould I ſpeake of the fat and ſweet ſalmons, dailie taken in this ſtreame, and that in ſuch plentie (after the time of the ſmelt be paſt) as no riuer in Europa is able to exceed it. What ſtore alſo of barbels, trouts, cheuins, pearches, ſmelts, breames, roches, daces, gudgings, flounders, ſhrimps, &c: are commonlie to be had therein, I refer me to them that know by experience better than I, by reaſon of their dailie trade of fiſhing in the ſame. And albeit it ſeemeth from time to time, to be as it were defrauded in ſundrie wiſe of theſe hir large commodities, by the inſatiable auarice of the fiſhermen, yet this famous riuer complaineth commonlie of no want, but the more it loſeth at one time, the more it yeeldeth at another. Onelie in carps it ſeemeth to be ſcant, ſith it is not long ſince that kind of fiſh was brought ouer into England, and but of late to ſpeake of into this ſtreame, by the violent rage of ſundrie landfloods, that brake open the heads and dams of diuers gentlemens ponds, by which meanes it became ſomewhat partaker alſo of this ſaid commoditie, whereof earſt it had no portion that I could euer heare. Oh that this riuer might be ſpared but euen one yeare from nets, &c! But alas then ſhould manie a poore man be vndone. In the meane time it is lamentable to ſee, how it is and hath beene choked of late with ſands and ſhelues, through the pruning and wrecking of the courſe of the water for commodities ſake. But as this is an inconuenience eaſilie remedied, if good order were taken for the redreſſe thereof: ſo now, the fine or poiſe ſet vpon the ballaſe ſometime freelie giuen to the merchants by patent, euen vnto the lands end (*Iuſques au poinct*) will be another cauſe of harme vnto this noble ſtreame, and all through an aduantage taken at the want of an (i) in the word *poinct*: which grew through an error committed by an Engliſh notarie vnſkilfull in the French tong, wherein that patent was granted.

Salmons. Carps & fiſh late brought into England and later into the Thames.

Furthermore, the ſaid riuer floweth and filleth all his chanels twiſe in the daie and night, that is in euerie twelue houres once; and this ebbing & flowing, holdeth on for the ſpace of ſeauentie miles, within the maine land: the ſtreame or tide being alwaies higheſt at London, when the moone doth exactlie touch the northeaſt and ſouth or weſt points of the heauens, of which one is viſible, the other vnder the earth, and not ſubiect to our ſight. Theſe tides alſo differ in their times, each one comming latter than other, by ſo manie minuts as paſſe yer the reuolution and naturall courſe of the heauens doo reduce, and bring about the ſaid planet vnto thoſe hir former places: whereby the common difference betweene one tide and another, is found to conſiſt of twentie foure minuts, which wanteth but twelue of an whole houre in foure and twentie, as experience doth confirme. In like ſort we ſee by dailie triall, that each tide is not of equall heigth and greatneſſe: for at the full and change of the moone we haue the greateſt floods, and ſuch is their ordinarie courſe, that as they diminiſh from their changes and fuls, vnto the firſt and laſt quarters; ſo afterwards they increaſe againe, vntill they come to the full and change. Sometimes alſo they riſe ſo high (if the wind be at the north or northeaſt, which bringeth in the water with more vehemencie, becauſe the tide which filleth the chanell, commeth from Scotland ward) that the Thames ouer-

The laſt diſtãce betwæn one tide and another.

ouerflowèth hir banks nére vnto London: which happeth eſpecialie in the fuls and changes of Ianuarie and Februarie, wherein the lower grounds are of cuſtome ſoneſt drowned. This order of flowing in like ſort is perpetuall, ſo that when the moone is vpon the ſouthweſt and north of points, then is the water by London at the higheſt: neither dooth the tides alter, except ſome rough winds out of the weſt or ſouthweſt doo kéepe backe and checke the ſtreame in his entrance, as the eaſt and northeaſt doo haſten the comming in thereof, or elſe ſome other extraordinarie occaſion, put by the ordinarie courſe of the northerne ſeas, which fill the ſaid riuer by their naturall returne and flowing. And that both theſe doo happen eſt among, I refer me to ſuch as haue not ſildome obſerued it, as alſo the ſenſible chopping in of thrée or foure tides in one naturall daie, wherof the vnſkilfull doo deſcant manie things.

The ſtreame oft checked in hir entrance into the land.

But how ſo euer theſe ſmall matters doo fall out, and how often ſoeuer this courſe of the ſtreame doth happen to be diſturbed; yet at two ſeuerall times of the age of the moone, the waters returne to their naturall courſe and limits of time exactlie. Polydore ſaith, that this riuer is ſeldome increaſed or rather neuer ouerfloweth hir banks by landflouds: but he is herein verie much deceiued, as it ſhalbe more apparantlie ſéene hereafter. For the more that this riuer is put by of hir right courſe, the more the water muſt of neceſſitie ſwell with the white waters which run downe from the land: becauſe the paſſage cannot be ſo ſwift and readie in the winding as in the ſtreight courſe. Theſe landflouds alſo doo greatlie ſtraine the fineſſe of the ſtreame, in ſo much that after a great landfloud, you ſhall take haddocks with your hands beneath the bridge, as they flote aloft vpon the water, whoſe eies are ſo blinded with the thicknеſſe of that element, that they cannot ſée where to become, and make ſhift to ſaue themſelues before death take hold of them. Otherwiſe the water of it ſelfe is very cléere, and in compariſon next vnto that of the ſea, which is moſt ſubtile and pure of all other; as that of great riuers is moſt excellent, in compariſon of ſmaller brookes: although Ariſtotle will haue the ſalt water to be moſt groſſe, becauſe a ſhip will beare a greater burden on the ſea than on the freſh water; and an eg ſinke in this that ſwimmeth on the other. But he may eaſilie be anſwered by the quantitie of roome and aboundance of waters in the ſea; whereby it becommeth of more force to ſuſteine ſuch veſſels as are committed to the ſame, and wherevnto the greateſt riuers (God wot) are nothing comparable. I would here make mention of ſundrie bridges placed ouer this noble ſtreame, of which that of London is moſt chieflie to be commended, for it is in maner a cõtinuall ſtrеet, well repleniſhed with large and ſtatelie houſes on both ſides, and ſituat vpon twentie arches, whereof ech one is made of excellent frée ſquared ſtone, euerie of them being threeſcore foot in heigth, and full twentie in diſtance one from another, as I haue often viewed.

London bridge.

In like maner I could intreat of the infinit number of ſwans dailie to be ſéene vpon this riuer, the two thouſand wherries and ſmall boats, whereby thrée thouſand poore watermen are mainteined, through the cartage and recartage of ſuch perſons as paſſe or repaſſe, from time to time vpon the ſame: beſide thoſe huge tideboats, tilt botes, and barges, which either carrie paſſengers, or bring neceſſarie proviſion from all quarters of Oxfordſhire, Barkeſhire, Buckinghamſhire, Bedfordſhire, Herfordſhire, Middleſex, Eſſex, Surrie, and Kent, vnto the citie of London. But for ſomuch as theſe things are to be repeated againe in the particular deſcription of London, annexed to his card; I ſurceaſſe at this time to ſpeake anie more of them here, as not lingering but haſting to performe my promiſe made euen now, not yet forgotten, and in performance whereof I thinke it beſt to reſume the deſcription of this noble riuer againe into my hands, and in adding whatſoeuer is before omitted, to deliuer a full and perfect demonſtration of his courſe. How and where the ſaid ſtreame ariſeth, is alreadie (with ſufficiencie ſet downe, noting the place to be within a mile of Tetburie, whereof ſome doo vtterlie miſlike, becauſe that rill in ſummer drouths is oft ſo drie, that there is little or no water at all ſéene running aboue ground in the ſame. For this cauſe therefore manie affirme the verie head of Iſis to come from the poole aboue Kemble. Other confound it with the head of the Cirne or Chirne, called in Latine Corinium that riſeth aboue Coberleie. For my part I follow Leland, as he doth the monke of Malmesburie, which wrote the hiſtorie intituled Eulogium hiſtoriarum, who ſearched the ſame of ſet purpoſe, and pronounced with Leland, although at this preſent that courſe be verie ſmall, and choked vp (as I heare) with grauell and ſand. Proceeding therefore from the head, it firſt of all receiueth the Kemble water called the Coue, which riſeth aboue Kemble towne, goeth by Kemble it ſelfe vnto Poole and Somerford, and then (accompanieth the Thames) vnto Canes, Aſhton, Canes, and Howſton, holding on in one chanell vntill they méet with the Chirne, the next of all to be deſcribed.

Iſis.

Coins.

The Chirne is a faire water ariſing out of the ground aboue Coberleie, from whence it runneth to Colwleie, Colwelburne, Randcome, and ſo into the Iſis on the left ſide aboue Crekelade. Theſe thrée waters being thus vnited and brought into one chanell, within a little ſpace of the head of Iſis, it runneth on by Crekelade, beneath which towne it receiueth the Rhe, deſcending from Elcombe, Eſcot, Redburne, Widhill, & at the fall into Iſis, or not far off ioineth with another that runneth weſt of Purton by Braden forreſt, &c. Next of all our Iſis méeteth with the Amneie on the left hand, which comming from aboue Holie rode Amneie, runneth by Downe Amneie, and finallie into the Iſis a little aboue Iſeie. In like ſort I read of another that méeteth withall on the right hand aboue Iſete alſo, which ſo far as I can call to remembrance, commeth from about Driſield and falleth ſo into our Iſis, that they run as one vntill they come at the Colne, although not ſo nakedlie and without helpe, but that in this paſſage, the maine ſtreame doth croſſe one water that deſcendeth from Swindon, and going alſo by Stratton toward Seuingham, is it ſelfe increaſed with two rils by the waie, whereof one commeth from Liddenton by Wambreie, as I haue béene informed.

Cotinium.

Rhe.

Amneie.

The Colne is a faire riuer riſing by north nére to Witchington, & from thence goeth to Shiptons, Compton Abdale, Wittenton, Parnewoorth, Colne Deanes, and Colne Rogers, Winſton, Biberie, Colne Alens, Quenington, Fairford, and weſt of Lachelade into the riuer Iſis, which hereabout on the ſouthſide alſo taketh in another, whereof I find this remembrance. The Iſis being once paſt Seuingham, croſſeth a brooke from ſouthеſt that mounteth about Alhbirie, and receiuing a rill from byweſt (that commeth from Hinton) beneath Shrineham, it afterward ſo diuideth it ſelfe, that the armes therof include Inglesham, and by reaſon that it falleth into the Iſis at two ſeuerall places, there is a pleſant Iland produced, whereof let this ſuffice.

Colneius, Colineus, or Colunus.

Being paſt Lechelade a mile, it runneth to ſaint Johns bridge, & thereabout méeteth with the Leche on the left hand. This brooke, whereof Lechlade taketh

Lecus or Lechs.

3000 boates vpon the Thames and 3000 poore mẽ mainteined by the ſame Whole gaines come in moſt plentifullie in the tearme time.

keth the name (a towne whereunto one peece of an old vniuerſitie is aſcribed, which it did neuer poſſeſſe, more than Crekelade did the other) riſeth eaſt of Hampnet, frō whence it goeth to north Lech, Eſſenton, Anleſworth, eaſt Lech, ſouth Thorpe, Farendon, & ſo into the Iſis. From hence this famous water goeth by Benſkot toward Radcote bridge (taking in the rill that riſeth in an old peece of Barkeſhire, and runneth by Langford) and being paſt the ſaid bridge (now notable through a conſpiracie made there ſometimes by ſundrie barons againſt the eſtate) it is not long yer it croſſe two other waters, both of them deſcending from another old parcell of the ſaid countie, whereof I haue this note giuen me for my further information. There are two fals of water into Iſis beneath Radcote bridge, wherof the one commeth from Shilton in Barkeſhire by Areſcote, blacke Burton and Clarrefield. The other alſo riſeth in the ſame peece, and runneth by Briſenorton vnto Bampton, and there receiuing an armelet from the firſt that breake off at blacke Burton, it is not long yer they fall into Iſis, and leaue a pretie Iland. After theſe confluences, the maine courſe of the ſtreame hasteth by Shifford to Newbridge, where it ioineth with the Winruſh. The Winruſh riſeth aboue Shieburne in Gloceſterſhire, from whence it goeth to Winruſh, & cōming by Barrington, Burford, Widbroke, Swinbecke caſtell, Witneie, Duckington, Cockthorpe, Stanlake, it meeteth with the Iſis weſt by ſouth of Northmore. From hence it goeth beneath Stanton, Hartingcourt and Enſham, betweene which and Caſſinton, it receiueth (as Leland calleth it) the Bruerne water.

Winruſh.

Bruerna.

It riſeth aboue Limington, and going to Norton in the Marſh, and through a patch of Worceſterſhire vnto Cuenlode, betweene it and the foure ſhireſtones, it taketh in a rill called Come, comming by the long and the little Comptons. After this alſo it goeth by Bradwell, Odington, and ſo to Bleddenton, aboue which towne it taketh in the Rolrich water that iſſueth at two heads, in the hils that lie by weſt of little Rolrich, and ioine aboue Benkeham, and Church hill. From thence alſo it goeth vnto Bruerne, Shipton vnderwood, Aſcot, Shortamton, Chorleburie, Cornburie parke, Stonfield, Longcombe, and ſoutheaſt of Woodſtocke parke, taketh in the Enis, that riſeth aboue Emſtone, and goeth to Diddington, Glimton, Wotton (where it is increaſed with a rill that runneth thither from ſteeple Barton, by the Bachin tree) Woodſtocke, Blaidon, ſo that after this confluence, the ſaid Enis runneth to Caſſinton, and ſo into the Iſis, which goeth from hence to Orford, and there receiueth the Charwell, now preſentlie to be deſcribed.

Comus.

Rolrich.

Enis.

Charwell.

The head of Charwell is in Northamptonſhire, where it riſeth out of a little pole, by Charleton village, ſeuen miles aboue Banberie northeaſt, and there it iſſueth ſo faſt at the verie ſurge, that it groweth into a pretie ſtreame, in maner out of hand. Bare. Culen. Come. Some after alſo it taketh in a rillet called the Bure, which falleth into it, about Otmere ſide: but foraſmuch as it riſeth by Binceſter, the whole courſe thereof is not aboue foure miles, and therefore cannot be great. A friend of mine proſecuting the reſt of this deſcription reporteth thereof as followeth. Before the Charwell commeth into Orfordſhire, it receiueth the Culen, which falleth into the ſame, a little aboue Edgcote, and ſo deſcending toward Wardington, it meeteth with another comming from by north weſt, betweene Wardington and Cropreadie. At Banberie alſo it meeteth with the Come (which falleth from fennie Conton by Farneboro, and afterwards going by kings Sutton, not far from Aine, it receiueth the diſcharge of diuerſe rillets, in one bottome before it come at Cliſton. The ſaid water therfore ingendred of ſo manie brokelets, conſiſteth chiefelie of two, whereof the moſt ſoutherlie called Oke, commeth from Oke Norton, by Witchington or Wiggington, and the Berfords; and carieng a few blind rils withall, doth meet with the other that falleth from by northweſt into the ſame, within a mile of Charwell. Bare. Culen. Come. Otmere.

That other (as I coniecture) is increaſed of three waters, wherof each one hath his ſeuerall name. The firſt of them therefore hight Tudo, which comming betweene Eplwell and the Lee by Toddington, ioineth about Broughton with the ſecond that runneth from Horneton, named Ornus, as I geſſe. The laſt falleth into the Tude or Tudelake, beneath Broughton; and for that it riſeth not far from Sotteſwell in Warwikeſhire, ſome are of the opinion, that it is to be called Sotbroke. The nert water that meeteth without Charwell beneath Cliſton commeth from about Croughton, and after this is the Solwar or Swere, that riſeth north of Michaell Tew, and runneth by nether Wotton. The laſt of all is the Rele *alias* Bure, whoſe head is not far aboue Burceſter, *alias* Binceſter, and Burnceſter: and from whence it goeth by Burceſter to Perton, Charleton, Fencote, Addington, Noke, Iſlip, and ſo into Charwell, that holdeth on his courſe after this augmentation of the waters, betweene Wood and Water Eton, to Marſton, and the eaſt bridge of Orford by Magdalene college, and ſo beneath the ſouth bridge into our aforeſaid Iſis.

Tudo.

Ornus.

Sotbroke.

Solwarus.

Solwar.

Burus.

In deſcribing this riuer, this one thing (right honorable) is come vnto my mind, touching the center and nauill as it were of England. Certes there is an hillie plot of ground in Helledon pariſh, not far from Danberie, where a man maie ſtand and behold the heads of three notable riuers, whoſe waters, and thoſe of ſuch as fall into them, do abundantlie ſerue the greateſt part of England on this ſide of the Humber. The firſt of theſe waters is the Charwell, alreadie deſcribed. The ſecond is the Leme that goeth weſtward into the fourth Auon. And the third is the head of the Nene or firſt Auon it ſelfe, of whoſe courſes there is no card but doth make ſufficient mention; and therefore your honour maie behold in the ſame how they do coaſt the countrie, and alſo meaſure by compaſſes how this plot lieth in reſpect of all the reſt, contrarie to common iudgement, which maketh Northampton to be the middeſt and center of our countrie.

Middeſt of England whereabouts.

But to go forward with my deſcription of the Ouſe, which being paſt Orford goeth to Iſlie, Bennington, Sanford, Nobleie, Newnham, and ſo to Abington, ſomtime called Senſham, without increaſe, where it receiueth the Oche, otherwiſe called the Coche, a little beneath S. Helens, which runneth thither of two brokets, as I take it, whereof one commeth from Compton, out of the dale and weſt of the hill of the White horſſe, the other from Kings Letcombe, and Wantage in Barkſhire, and in one chanell, entreth into the ſame, vpon the right ſide of his courſe. From Abington likewiſe (taking the Arun withall ſouthweſt of Sutton Courtneie) it goeth by Appleford, long Wittenham, Cliſton, Wittenham the leſſe, & beneath Dorcheſter, taketh in the Thame water, from whence the Iſis loſeth the prehemmence of the whole denomination of this riuer, and is contented to impart the ſame with the Thame, ſo that by the conjunction of theſe two waters Thamesis is produced, and that name continued euen vnto the ſea.

Ouse.

Arun.

Thame riuer riſeth in the eaſterlie parts of Chilterne hils, towards Penleie parke, at a towne called Tring weſt of the ſaid parke, which is ſeauen miles from

Thame.

from the ſtone bꝛidge, that is betwæne Querendon and Aillſburie (after the courſe of the water) as Leland hath ſet downe. Running therefoꝛe by long Merſton, and Puttenham, Hucket, and Bearton, it receiueth ſone after a rill that commeth by Querendon from Hardwike, and yet long an other on the other ſide that riſeth aboue Windouer in the Chilterne, and paſſing by Halton, Weſton, Turrill, Bꝛoughton, and Aillſburie, it falleth into the Tame weſt of the ſaid towne (except my memoꝛie doo faile me. From this confluence the Tame goeth by Ethoꝛpe, the Winchingtons, Coddington, Cherſleie, Notleie abbeie: and comming almoſt to Tame, it receiueth one water from ſoutheaſt aboue the ſaid towne, and another alſo from the ſame quarter beneath the towne; ſo that Tame ſtandeth inuironed vpon thꝛée ſides with thꝛée ſeuerall waters, as maie be eaſilie ſéene. The firſt of theſe commeth from the Chiltern eaſt of Below oꝛ Bledlow, from whence it goeth to Hinton, Hoꝛſenden, Kingſeie, Towſeie, and ſo into the Tame. The other deſcendeth alſo from the Chilterne, and going by Chinner, Crowell, Siddenham, and Tame parke, it falleth in the end into Tame water, and then they pꝛoceéd togither as one by Shabbington, Ricot parke, Dꝛacot, Waterſtoke, Milton, Cuddeſdon, and Chiſelton. Here alſo it taketh in another water from by-eaſt, whoſe head commeth from Chilterne hils, not farre from Stocking church, in the waie from Oxfoꝛd to London. From whence it runneth to Weſton (and méeting beneath Curham with Watlington rill) it goeth on to Chalgraue, Stadham, and ſo into the Tame. From hence our ſtreame of Thame runneth to Newenton, Dꝛaton, Doꝛcheſter (ſometime a biſhops ſee, and a noble citie) and ſo into the Thames, which hasteth in like ſoꝛt to Benſington, Crowmarſh, oꝛ Wallingfoꝛd, where it receiueth the Blaue, deſcending from Blaueburg, now Blewberie, as I learne.

Blanius.

Thus haue I bꝛought the Thames vnto Wallingfoꝛd, ſituate in the vale of White hoꝛſe that runneth a long therby. From hence it goeth by Newenham, noꝛth Stoke, ſouth Stoke, Goꝛing, Baſſilden, Pangburne, where it mæteth with a water that commeth from about Hamſted Noꝛris, runneth by Fritzelham, Buckelburie, Stanfoꝛd, Bꝛadfeld, Tidmarſh and Pangburne. After which confluence it goeth on betwæne Mapledoꝛham and Purleie, to Cauerſham, and Cauerſham manour, and a little beneath receiueth the Kenet that commeth thereinto from Reading.

Cenethus.

The Kenet riſeth aboue Duerton 5 oꝛ 6 miles weſt of Marleboꝛow, oꝛ Marlingſboꝛow, as ſome call it; & then going by Fifeld, Clatfoꝛ, Paulon, & Pꝛeſhute, vnto Marleburie: it holdeth on in like oꝛder to Ramſburie, and noꝛthweſt of little Cote, taketh in a water by noꝛth deſcending from the hilles aboue Alburne chaſe weſt of Alburne town. Thence it runneth to little Cote, Charnhamſtréet, & beneth Charnhamſtréet it croſſeth the Bedwin, which (taking the Chalkburne rill withall) commeth from great Bedwine, & at Hungerfoꝛd alſo two other in one botom ſomewhat beneath the towne. From hence it goeth to Auington, Kinburie, Hamſted marſhall, Euburne, Newberie; and beneath this towne, taketh in the Lamburne water that commeth by Iſberie, Egerſton, the Sheffoꝛds, Weſtfoꝛd, Boꝛfoꝛd, Donington caſtell, and Shaw. From Newberie it goeth to Thatcham, Wolhampton, Aldermaſton, a little aboue which village it receiueth the Alburne, another bꝛoke increaſed with ſundꝛie rils: and thus going on to Padwoꝛth, Olton, and Michaell, it commeth at laſt to Reading, where (as I ſaid) it ioineth with the Thames, and ſo they go foꝛward as one by Sonning to Shiplake, and there on the eaſt ſide receiue the Loddon that commeth downe thither from the ſouth, as by his courſe appéereth.

Bedwine. Chalkeburne. Lamburne. Alburnus.

The Loddon riſeth in Hamſhire betwéene weſt Shirburne and Wꝛoton toward the ſouthweſt, afterward directing his courſe toward the noꝛthweſt, thoꝛough the Vine, it paſſeth at the laſt by Bꝛamlie, and thoꝛough a peece of Wiltſhire, to Stradfeld, Swallowfield, Arberfield, Loddon bꝛidge, leauing a patch of Wiltſhire on the right hand (as I haue béene informed.) This Loddon not far from Turges towne receiueth two waters in one bottome, whereof the weſterlie called Baſing water, commeth from Baſingſtoke, and thoꝛough a parke vnto the afoꝛeſaid place. Lodunus.

The other deſcendeth of two heads from Mapledour well, and goeth by Skewes, Newenham, Rotherwic, and yet it come at Hartlie, ioineth with the Baſing water, from whence they go togither to Turges, where they méet with the Loddon (as I haue ſaid alreadie.) The next ſtreame toward the ſouth is called Ditford bꝛoke. It riſeth not farre from Upton, goeth by Gruell, and beneath Wharnboꝛow caſtell receiueth the Ikell (comming from a parke of the ſame denomination) from whence they go togither by Maddingleie vnto Swalowfield, and ſo into the Loddon. In this voiage alſo the Loddon mæteth with the Elwie oꝛ Eluete that commeth from Aldershare, not farre by weſt of Euerſleie: and about Eluesham likewiſe with another running from Dogmanſfield named the Douke: and alſo the third not inferioꝛ to the reſt comming from Erin, whoſe head is in Surreie, and going by Aſh becommeth a limit, firſt betwéene Surreie and Hamſhire; then betwéene Hamſhire and Barkeſhire, and paſſing by Aſh, Erinleie, Blacke water, Perleie, and Finchamſted; it ioineth at laſt with the Ditfoꝛd, before it come at Swalowfield. To conclude therefoꝛe with our Loddon, hauing receiued all theſe waters; and after the laſt confluence with them now being come to Loddon bꝛidge, it paſſeth on by a part of Wiltſhire to Twiford bꝛidge, then to Wargraue, and ſo into the Thames that now is maruellouſlie increaſed and growen vnto triple greatneſſe (to that it was at Oxfoꝛd.) Ditis vadum. Ikelus. Elucius. Ducus. Erin.

Being therefoꝛe paſt Shiplake and Wargraue, it runneth by Hoꝛſependon, oꝛ Harding: then to Henleie vpon Thames, where ſometime a great rill voideth it ſelfe in the ſame. Then to Remenham, Greneland (going all this waie from Shiplake laſt noꝛth, and now turning eaſtwards againe) by Medenham, Hurleie, Biſham, Marlow the greater, Marlow the leſſe, it mæteth with a bꝛoke ſone after that conſiſteth of the water of two rilles, whereof the one called the Uſe, riſeth about weſt Wickham, out of one of the Chilterne hilles, and goeth from thence to eaſt Wickham oꝛ high Wickham, a pꝛetie market towne. The other named Higden, deſcendeth alſo from thoſe mountaines but a mile beneath weſt Wickham, and ioining both in one at the laſt, in the weſt end of eaſt Wickham towne, they go togither to Woburne, Hedſoꝛ, & ſo into the Thames. Some call it the Tide; and that woꝛd doo I vſe in my foꝛmer treatiſe: but to pꝛoceéd. After this confluence our Thames goeth on by Cowkham, Topleie, Maidenhead, *alias* Sudlington, Bꝛaie, Doꝛneie, Clure, new Windſoꝛ (taking in neuertheleſſe, at Eaton by the waie, the Burne which riſeth out of a Mꝛe, & commeth thither by Burnham) old Windſoꝛ, Wratboꝛow, and a little by eaſt therof doth croſſe the Cole, whereof I find this ſhoꝛt deſcription inſuing. Higden.

The Cole riſeth neére vnto Flamſted, from whence it goeth to Redburn, S. Michaels, S. Albons, Aldenham, Watfoꝛd, and ſo by Mꝛe to Richmanſwoꝛth, where there is a confluence of thꝛee waters, of which Colus, *alias* Mere and Verrame.

Gadus. which this Cole is the firſt. The ſecond called Gadus riſeth not farre from Aſhridge, an houſe or palace belonging to the prince: from whence it runneth to great Gaddeſdin, Hemſted, betweene Kings Langleie, and Abbots Langleie, then to Hunters, and Caſhew bridges, and ſo to Richmanſworth, receiuing by the waie a rill comming from Alburie by northweſt, to Northchurch, Barkehamſted, and beneath Hemſted ioining with the ſame. The laſt commeth in at northweſt from aboue Chelſham, by Chelſham it ſelfe, then by Cheſham Bois, Latimers, Hawdens, Cheintes, Sarret and Richmanſworth, and ſo going on all in one chanell vnder the name of Cole, it runneth to Vrbridge, where it taketh in the Miſſenden water, from northweſt, which riſing aboue Miſſenden the greater goeth by Miſſenden the leſſe, Hagmondeſham (now Hammerſham) the Vach, Chalkhunt Giles, Chalkhunt S. Peters, Denham, and then into the Cole aboue Vrbridge (as I haue ſaid.) Some after this our Cole doth part it ſelfe into two branches, neuer to ioine againe before they come at the Thames, for the greater of them goeth thorough the goodlie medows ſtraight to Colebrooke, the other vnto two milles, a mile and a halfe eaſt of Colebrooke, in the waie to London, leauing an Iland betweene them of no ſmall ſize and quantitie.

Windeles. Being paſt the Cole, we come to the fall of the Windeles, which riſeth by northweſt neere vnto Bagſhot, from whence it goeth to Windleſham, Chobham, and meeting with a brooklet comming weſtward from Billeie, they run togither toward Cherteſeie, where when they haue met with a ſmall rill riſing north of Sonning hill in Windleſoure great parke, it falleth into the Thames on the northeaſt ſide of Cherteſeie. When we were come beyond this water, it was not long yer we came vnto another on the ſame ſide, that fell into the Thames betweene Shepperton on the one ſide, and Oteland on the other, and is called the Waie. The Weie or the Waie riſing by weſt, commeth from Oſſed, & ſone after taking the Hedleie broke withall (which riſeth in Wulmere forreſt, and goeth by Hedleie and Frenſham) haſteth by Bentleie, Farnham, Alton, Watherleie, Elſted, and ſo to Pepper harrow, where it ioineth with the Thureſbie water, which commeth not farre off from a village of the ſame denomination. From hence alſo it goeth to Godalming, and then toward Shalford, but yer it come there, it croſſeth Craulie becke, which riſing ſomewhere about the edge of Suſſex ſhort of Ridgewic, goeth by Vacherie parke, Knoll, Craulie, Bramleie, Wonarſh, and ſo into the Waie. From hence then our riuer goeth to Shalford, and ſome after (meeting with the Abbinger water that commeth by Shere, Albirie, and the chappell on the hill) it proceedeth to Guldeford, thence to Stoke, Sutton in the parke, Send, Woking, and at Newarke parke ſide taketh in a broke that riſeth of two heads, whereof one doth ſpring betweene two hils north of Pepper harrow, and ſo runneth through Henleie parke, the other aboue Purbright, and afterward ioining in one, they go forth vnto Newarke, and being there vnited, after the confluence it goeth to Purford court, to Biſſer, Waiſred, Oteland, and ſo into the Thames.

Thureſbie. Crawleie. Abbinger. Cleius. Wolis.

From Oteland the Thames goeth by Walton, Sunburie, weſt Moulſeie, Hampton, and yer it come at Hampton court on the northſide, and eaſt Moulſeie on the other, it taketh in the Moule water, which giueth name vnto the two townes that ſtand on each ſide of the place, where it falleth into our ſtreame. It riſeth in Wood forreſt, and going by Burſtow, it meeteth afterward with another gullet, conteining a ſmall courſe from two ſeuerall heads, whereof one is alſo in the forreſt aforenamed, the other runneth from Bebuſh wood, and comming by Iſeld, meeteth with the firſt aboue Horleie, and ſo run on in one chanell, I ſate, till they ioine with the Moule water, whereof I ſpake before.

After this confluence in like ſort, it is not long yer the Moule take in another from by north, which commeth from about Pelham on the one ſide, and another on the other ſide, running by Oleie and Capell, and whereinto alſo a branch or rill commeth from a wood on the northweſt part. Finallie, being thus increaſed with theſe manie rilles, it goeth by eaſt Bechewoorth, weſt Bechewoorth, and ouer againſt the Swalow on the ſide of Drake hill, taking in another that cõmeth thither from Walton by Darking and Milton, it runneth to Pickleham, Letherhed, Stoke, Cobham, Aſhire parke, eaſt Moulſeie, and ſo into the Thames, which after this coniunction goeth on to Kingſton, and there alſo meeteth with another becke, riſing at Ewell ſouth of Nonſuch. Certes, this rill goeth from Ewell by the old parke, then to Maulden, & ſo to Kingſton towne. The Thames in like maner being paſt Kingſton, goeth to Tuddington, Peterſham, Twickenham, Richmond, and Shene, where it receiueth a water on the northweſt ſide, which comming from about Harrow on the hill, and by weſt of the ſame, goeth by Hales, Harlington, Felthan, and Thiſtlewoorth into the Thames.

Brane. The nert fall of water is at Sion, neere vnto new Brainford, ſo that it iſſueth into the Thames betweẽ them both. This water is called Brane, that is in the Brittiſh tong (as Leland ſaith) a frog. It riſeth about Edgeworth, and commeth from thence by Kingeſburie, Twiford, Perſuall, Hanwell, and Auſterleie. Thence we followed our riuer to old Brentford, Mortlach, Cheſwic, Barnelmes, Fulham, and Putneie, beneath which townes it croſſed a becke from Wandleſworth, that riſeth at Woodmans turne, and going by Eaſthalton, meeteth another comming from Croidon by Bedington, and ſo going on to Mitcham, Harton abbeie, and Wandleſworth, it is not long yer it fall into the Thames. Nert vnto this Mariburne. is Mariburne rill on the other ſide, which commeth in by S. Iames, ſo that by this time we haue either brought the Thames, or the Thames conueied vs to London, where we reſted for a ſeaſon to take view of the ſeuerall tides there, of which each one differeth from other, by foure & twentie minuts, that is fortie eight in a whole daie, as I haue noted before, except the wether alter them. Being paſt London, and in the waie toward the ſea: the firſt water that it meeteth withall, is the Brome on Kent ſide, weſt of Greenewich, whoſe head is Bromis in Bromleie pariſh, and going from thence to Lewſham, it taketh in a water from by eaſt, and ſo directeth his courſe forth right vnto the Thames. Bromis.

The nert water that it meeteth withall, is on Eſſex ſide, almoſt againſt Woolwich, and that is the Lee Lee. or Lute, whoſe head riſeth ſhort of Kempton in Hertfordſhire, foure miles ſoutheaſt of Luton, ſometime Logus. called Logodunum or Logrodunum, & going through a peece of Brokehall parke (leauing Woodhall parke on the north, and Hatfield on the ſouth, with another parke adioining) it goeth toward Hartford towne. But yer it come there, it receiueth a water (peraduenture the Marran) riſing at northweſt in Brode- Marran. water hundred, from aboue Welwin, northeaſt of Digeſwell, and going to Hartingfeld burie, where the ſaid confluence is within one mile of the towne. Beneath Hatfield alſo it receiueth the Beane (as I Beane. geſſe) comming from Borwood by Benington, Aſton, Watton, and Stapleford, and a little lower, the third arme of increaſe from aboue Ware, which deſcendeth from two heads: whereof the greateſt commeth

meth from Barkewaie in Edwinſter hundred, the other Sandon in Oddeſey hundred, and after they be met beneath little Hornemeade, they go togither by Pulcherchurth, or Puckrich, Stonden, Thunderidge Wadeſmill, Benghow, and ſo into the Lée, which from hence runneth on till it come at Ware, which was drowned by the rage of the ſame 1408, and ſo to Amwell, where on the north ſide it receiueth the water that commeth from little Hadham, through a peece of Singleſhall parke, then by great Hadham, and ſo from Widford to the aforeſaid towne. From hence alſo they go as one to old Stanſted called Le Veil, branching in ſuch wiſe yer it come there, that it runneth through the towne in ſundrie places. Thence it goeth forth to Abbats Stanſted, beneath which it méeteth with the Stoure, weſt (as I remember) of Roidon. This Sture riſeth at Wenden lotes, from whence it goeth to Langleie, Clauering, Berden, Manhuden, & Birchanger (where it taketh a rill comming from Elſingham, & Stanſted Mountfitchet.) Thence it hieth on to Biſhops Stourford, Sabrichford, and beneath this towne croſſeth with another from the eaſt ſide of Elſingham, that goeth to Hatfield, Brodocke, Shiring, Harlo, & ſo into the Stoure, and from whence they go togither to Caſtwic, Parmedon, and next into the Lée. These things being thus performed, the Lée runneth on beneath Hoddeſdon, Broxburne, and Wormleie, where a water breaketh out by weſt of the maine ſtreame, a mile lower than Wormeleie it ſelfe, but yet within the paroch, and is called Wormeleie locke.

Stures.

It runneth alſo by Cheſton nunrie, and out of this a little beneath the ſaid houſe, breaketh an arme called the Shirelake, becauſe it diuideth Eaſſex and Hartford ſhire in ſunder, and in the length of one medow called Fritheie. This lake runneth not but at great flouds, and méeteth againe with a ſucco. of ditchwater, at a place called Hockeſdich, halfe a mile from his firſt breaking out, and halfe a mile lower at Marſh point ioineth againe with the ſtreame from whence it came before. Thence commeth the firſt arme to S. Maulie bridge (the firſt bridge weſtward vpon that riuer) vpon Waltham cauſie, & halfe a mile lower than Maulie bridge, at the corner of Ramnie mead, it méeteth with the kings ſtreame & principall courſe of Luy, or Lée, as it is commonlie called. The ſecond arme breaketh out of the kings ſtreame at Halifield halfe a mile lower than Cheſton nunrie, and ſo to the fulling mill, and two bridges by weſt of the kings ſtreame, wherinto it falleth about a ſtones caſt lower at a place called Malkins ſhelfe, except I was wrong informed. Cheſton & Hartfordſhire men do ſaie, that the kings ſtreame at Waltham doth part Hartfordſhire and Eſſex, but the Eſſex men by forreſt charter do plead their liberties to hold vnto S. Maulies bridge. On the eaſt ſide alſo of the kings ſtreame breaketh out but one principall arme at Halifield, three quarters of a mile aboue Waltham, & ſo goeth to the corne mill in Waltham, and then to the K. ſtreame againe a little beneath the kings bridge.

From hence the Lée runneth on by ſouth on Waltonſtow till it come to Stretford Langthorne, where it brancheth partlie of it ſelfe, and partlie by mans induſtrie for mils. Howbeit herein the dealing of Alfred (ſometimes king of England) was not of ſmalleſt force, who vnderſtanding the Danes to be gotten vp with their ſhips into the countrie, there to kill and ſlaie his ſubiects, in the yeere of grace 896, by the conduct of this riuer: he in the meane time before they could returne, did ſo mightilie weaken the maine chanell, by drawing great numbers of trenches from the ſame; that when they purpoſed to come backe, there was nothing ſo much water left as the ſhips did draw: wherefore being ſet on ground, they were ſome fired, & the aduerſaries ouercome. By this policie alſo much medow ground was woone, & made firme land, whereby the countrie about was not a little inriched, as was alſo a part of Aſſyria by the like practiſe of Cyrus with the Ganges, at ſuch time as he came againſt Babylon, which riuer before time was in maner equall with Euphrates. For he was ſo offended, that one of his knights whom he loued dearlie, was drowned and borne awaie with the water in his paſſage ouer the ſame, that he ſware a deepe oth yer long to make it ſo ſhallow that it ſhould not wet a woman to the knées. Which came to paſſe, for he cauſed all his armie to dig 46 new drawes frō the ſame, wherby the bow that he had made was at the full performed. *Senec. de Tra. li. 3.* But to conclude with the Lée that ſomtime ouerflowed all thoſe medowes, through which it paſſeth (as for a great waie not inferior to the Thames) and I find that being paſt Weſtham, it is not long yer it fall into that ſtreame. One thing I read more of this riuer before the conqueſt, that is, how Edward the firſt, & ſonne of Alfred, in the yeare of grace 912, builded Hartford towne: at which time alſo he had Wittham a towne in Eſſex in hand, as his ſiſter called Aelfled repaired Oxford & London, and all this foure yeares before the building of Maldon, of ſome called Hertford or Herudford betweene three waters, that is, the Lée, the Beneſuth, and Pemmarran, or rather Penmarran: but how theſe waters are diſtinguiſhed in theſe daies, as yet I cannot tell. It is poſſible, that the Bene may be the ſame which commeth by Benington, and Benghow: which if it be ſo, then muſt the Pemmarran be the ſame that deſcendeth from Whitwell, for not farre from thence is Branfield, which might in time paſt right well be called Marranfield, for of like inuerſion of names I could ſhew manie examples.

Alfred.

Being paſt the Lée (whoſe chanell is begun to be purged 1576, with further hope to bring the ſame to the north ſide of London) we come vnto the Rodon, vpon Eſſex ſide in like maner, and not verie farre (for foure miles is the moſt) from the fall of the Lée. This water riſeth at little Canfield, from whence it goeth to great Canfield, high Roding, Elthorpe Roding, Ledon Roding, White Roding, Beauchampe Roding, Fifeld, Shelleie, high Ongar, and Cheping Ongar, where the Lauer falleth into it, that ariſeth betwixt Patching and high Lauer; and taking another rill withall comming from aboue Northweld at Cheping Ongar, they ioine (I ſaie) with the Rodon, after which confluence Leland coniectureth that the ſtreame is called Iuell: for my part, I wot not what to ſay of it. But herof I am ſure, that the whole courſe being paſt Ongar, it goeth to Stanſted riuers, Theidon mount, Hetbridge, Chigwell, Woodford bridge, Ilford bridge, Barking, & ſo into the Thames.

Rodon or Rodunus.

Lauer.

Iuelus.

The Darwent méeteth with our ſaid Thames vpon Kents ſide, two miles and more beneath Erith. It riſeth at Tanridge, or there abouts, as I haue beene informed by Chriſtopher Saxtons card late made of the ſame, and the like (I hope) he will do in all the ſeuerall ſhires of England at the infinit charges of ſir Thomas Sackford knight, & maiſter of the requeſts, whoſe zeale vnto his countrie herin I cannot but remember, & ſo much the rather, for that he meaneth to imitate Ortelius, & ſomewhat beſide this hath holpen me in the names of the townes, by which theſe riuers for the Kentiſh part do run. Would to God his plats were once finiſhed for the reſt! But to proceed. The Darwent therefore, riſing at Tanridge, goeth on by Titleie toward Braſted, and receiuing on ech ſide of that towne (& ſeuerall bankes) a riuer or rill, it goeth on to Nockhold, Shorham, Kinſford, Horton, Darnhith, Dartford or Derwentford, & there taking in the Craie on the left hand that coms from Orpington by

Darwent.

Craie.

Marie Crate, Paules Crate, North Crate, and Craiford, it is not long yer it fall into the Thames. But after I had once paſſed the fall of the bꝛoke, it is a woꝛld to ſée what plentie of Serephium groweth vpon the Kentiſh ſhoꝛe, in whoſe deſcription Fuichſius hath not a little halted; whileſt he giueth foꝛth the hearbe Argentaria foꝛ Serephium, betwéene which there is no maner of likelihood. This neuertheleſſe is notable in the ſaid hearbe, that being tranſlated into the garden, it receiueth another foꝛme cleane different from the firſt, which it yéelded when it grew vpon the ſhoꝛe, and therevnto appeareth of moꝛe fat & foggie ſubſtance. Which maketh me to thinke that our phyſicians do take it foꝛ a diſtinct kind of woꝛmewood, whereof controuerſie ariſeth among them. The nert water that falleth into the Thames, is weſt of the Mauie Iles, a rill of no great fame, neither long courſe, foꝛ riſing about Coꝛingham, it runneth not manie miles eaſt and by ſouth, yer it fall into the mouth of this riuer, which I do now deſcribe.

I would haue ſpoken of one créke that commeth in at Cliffe, and another that runneth downe from Haltſto by S. Maries: but ſith I vnderſtand not with what backewaters they be ſerued, I let them paſſe as not ſkilfull of their courſes. And thus much of the riuers that fall into the Thames, wherein I haue done what I maie, but not what I would foꝛ mine owne ſatisfaction, till I came from the head to Lechlade, vnto which, as in lieu of a farewell, I will aſcribe that diſtichon which Apollonius Rhodius wꝛiteth of the Thermodon:

Huic non eſt aliud flumen par, nec tot in agros
Vllum dimittit riuos quot fundit vtrinque.

Midwaie. Nert vnto the Thames we haue the Midwaie water, whereof I find two deſcriptions, the firſt beginneth thus. The Midwaie water is called in Latine Medeuia (as ſome wꝛite) bicauſe the courſe therof is midwaie in a manner betwéene London and Dorobernia, oꝛ (as we now call it) Canturburie. In Bꝛitiſh it hight Dourbꝛée: and thereof Rocheſter was ſometime called Durobꝛeuum. But in an old charter which I haue ſéene (conteining a donation ſometime made to the monaſterie of ſaint Andꝛews there by Ceadwalla) I find that the Saxons called this riuer Wedꝛing; and alſo a towne ſtanding betwéene Walling and eaſt Farleie, Wedꝛington; and finallie, a foꝛreſt alſo of the ſame denomination, Wedꝛington, now Waterdon, wherby the oꝛiginall name appeareth to be fetched from this ſtreame. It ariſeth in Waterdon foꝛreſt eaſt of Whetlin oꝛ Wedꝛing, and ioineth with another bꝛoke that deſcendeth from Ward foꝛreſt in Suſſex: and after this confluence they go on togither, as one by Alhhirſt, where hauing receiued alſo the ſecond bꝛoke, it haſteth to Penſherſt, and there carrieth withall the Eden, that commeth from Lingfield parke. After this it goeth to the ſoutheaſt part of Kent, and taketh with it the Frith oꝛ Firth, on the noꝛthweſt ſide, and an other little ſtreame that commeth from the hilles, betwéene Peuenburie and Hoꝛſemon on the ſoutheaſt. From thence alſo, and not farre from Walling it receiueth the Theiſe (a pꝛetie ſtreame that ariſeth about Theiſe Hirſt) afterward the Gran oꝛ Crane, which hauing his head not farre from Cranbꝛoke, and méeting with ſundꝛie other riuelets by the waie, whereof one bꝛanch of Theiſe is the laſt, foꝛ it parteth at the Twiſt, and including a pꝛetie Iland, doth ioine with the ſaid Midwaie, a little aboue Walding, and then with the Lowſe. Finallie at Maidſtone it méeteth with another bꝛoke, whoſe name I know not, and then paſſeth by Allington, Duton, Newhide, Halling, Cuckeſtane, Rocheſter, Chatham, Gillingham, Upchurch, Kingſferrie, and falleth into the maine ſea betwéene Shepeie and the Grane.

And thus much out of the firſt authour, who commendeth it alſo, foꝛ that in time paſt it did yéeld ſuch plentie of ſturgeon, as beſide the kings poꝛtion, and a due vnto the archbiſhop of Canturburie out of the ſame, the deane and chapter of Rocheſter had no ſmall allowance alſo of that commoditie: likewiſe foꝛ the ſhꝛimps that are taken therein, which are no leſſe eſtéemed of in their kind, than the weſterne ſmelts oꝛ flounders taken in the Thames, &c. The ſecond authour deſcribeth it after this manner, and moꝛe copiouſlie than the other.

The cheefe head of this ſtreame riſeth in Waterdon foꝛreſt, from whence after it hath runne a pꝛetie waie ſtill within the ſame, eaſt of Whetlin, it méeteth with a bꝛoke, whoſe head is in Ward foꝛreſt, ſouthweſt of Grænefked, which goeth to Hartfield, and ſo to Whetlin, and yer long ioineth with the Midwaie. After this confluence it is not long yer it take in another by-weſt from Cowden ward, and the third aboue Penſherſt, growing from two heads, whereof one is in Lingfield parke, the other weſt of Crawherſt; and ioining aboue Edinbꝛidge, it doth fall into the midwaie beneath Heuer towne, and Chiddingſton. From Penſherſt our maine ſtreame hafteth to Ligh, Tunbꝛidge, and Twidleie, and beneath the towne, it croſſeth a water from Noꝛth, whereof one head is at the Mote, another at Wꝛoteham, the third at weſt Peckham, & likewiſe another from ſouthweſt, that runneth eaſt of Capell. Nert after this it receiueth the Theſe, whoſe foꝛked head is at Theiſe Hirſt, which deſcending downe toward the noꝛth, taketh in not farre from Scotnie a bꝛoke out of the noꝛthſide of Waterden foꝛreſt, whoſe name I find not, except it be the Dour. After this confluence our riuer goeth to Goldhirſt, and comming to the Twiſt, it bꝛancheth in ſuch wiſe, that one part of it runneth into Midwaie, another into the Garan, oꝛ rather Cranebꝛoke (if my coniecture be anie thing.) The Garan (as Leland calleth it) oꝛ the Crane (as I do take it) riſeth néere to Cranebꝛoke, and going by Sillinghirſt, it receiueth yer long one water that commeth by Fretingdon, and another that runneth from great Chard by Smerdon, and Hedcoꝛne, croſſing two rilles by the waie from by noꝛth, Hedcoꝛne it ſelfe ſtanding betwéene them both. Finallie, the Garan oꝛ Crane méeting with Midwaie ſouth of Walling, they on the one ſide, and the Theſe on the other, leaue a pꝛetie Iland in the middeſt, of foure miles in length, and two in bꝛeadth, wherein is ſome hillie ſoile, but neither towne noꝛ village, ſo farre as I remember. Garanus, Cranus.

From Walling foꝛward, the Midwaie goeth to weſt Farlegh, eaſt Farlegh: and yer it come at Maidſtone, it interteineth a rill that riſeth ſhoꝛt of Jenham, and goeth by Ledes and Otteringdon, which is verie beneficiall to clothiers in dꝛie yéeres: foꝛ thither they conueie their clothes to be thicked at the fulling milles, ſometimes ten miles foꝛ the ſame: there is alſo at Ledes great plentie of fulling earth, which is a neceſſarie commoditie.

Being paſt Maidſtone, it runneth by Allington, Snodland, Halling, Cuckſtane, and Rocheſter, where it paſſeth vnder a faire bꝛidge of ſtone, with a verie ſwift courſe, which bꝛidge was begun 1388 by the loꝛd John Cobham, the ladie Margaret his wife, and the valiant ſir Robert Knolles, who gaue the firſt onſet vpon that péece of woꝛke, and therevnto builded a chappell of the Trinitie at the end therof, in teſtimonie of his pietie. In pꝛoceſſe of time alſo one John Warner of Rocheſter made the new coping therof; and archbiſhop Warham of Canturburie the iron barres: the biſhops alſo of that ſée were not ſlacke in their benevolence and furtherances toward that

Frethus.

Theiſe. Grane alias Cranus.

that woꝛke, eſpecially Walter Merton founder of Merton colledge in Oxford, who by miſfoꝛtune periſhed by falling from the ſame, as he rode to ſurueie the woꝛkemen. Being paſt Rocheſter, this noble riuer goeth to Chatham, Gillingham, Upchurin, and ſome after branching, it imbraceth the Græne at his fall, as his two heads dw Aſhdon foꝛreſt, that lieth betwæne them both.

Of ſuch ſtreames as fall into the ſea, betweene the Thames and the mouth of the Sauerne.

Chap. 12.

Stoure.

AFter the Midwaie we haue the Stoure that riſeth at Kingeſwod, which is fourtæne oꝛ fiftæne miles from Canturburie. This riuer paſſeth by Aſhfoꝛd, Wlie, Mackington, Canturburie, Foꝛdiſh, Standiſh, and Sturemouth, where it receiueth another riuer growing of thꝛee bꝛanches. After our Stoure oꝛ Sture parteth it ſelf in twaine, & in ſuch wiſe, that one arme therof goeth toward the noꝛth, and is called (when it commeth at the ſea) the noꝛth mouth of Stoure; the other runneth ſoutheaſtward vp to Richboꝛow, and ſo to Sandwich, from whence it goeth noꝛtheaſt againe and falleth into the ſea. The iſſue of this later tract is called the hauen of Sandwich. And peraduenture the ſtreame that commeth downe thither, after the diuiſion of the Stoure, maie be the ſame which Beda calleth Wantſome; but as I cannot vndw this knot at will, ſo this is certeine, that the Stoure on the one ſide, and peraduenture, the Wantſome on the other, parteth and cutteth the Tenet from the maine land of Kent, whereby it is left foꝛ an Iland.

Nailburne water alſo (as I heare) neer to Cantwarbꝛie, but I wote not whereabouts: ſee Marianus Scotus.

wantſome.

There are other little bꝛookes which fall into the Stoure, whereof Leland ſpeaketh, as Filhpoole becke that ariſeth in Stonehirſt wod, and meeteth with it foure miles from Canturburie: another beginneth at Chiſlet, and goeth into the Stoure gut, which ſometime incloſed Thanet, as Leland ſaith: the third iſſueth out of the ground at Noꝛthburne (where Cadbert of Kent ſometime paſt held his palace) and runneth to Sandwich hauen, as the ſaid authour repoꝛteth: and the fourth called Bꝛidgewater that riſeth by S. Marie Burne church, and going by Biſhops Burne, meeteth with Canturburie water at Stourmouth: alſo Wlham that riſeth aboue Wlham ſhoꝛt of Adſam, and falleth into Bꝛidgewater at Dudmill, oꝛ Wenderton: and the third nameleſſe, which riſeth ſhoꝛt of Wodenſburgh (a towne wherein Hengiſt & the Saxons honoꝛed their grand idoll Woden, oꝛ Othine) and goeth by Staple to Wingam: but ſith they are obſcure I will not touch them here. From hence paſſing by the Godwine, a plot verie perilous foꝛ ſea-faring men (ſometime firme land, that is, vntill the tenth of the conqueꝛours ſonne, whoſe name was William Rufus, and wherein a great part of the inheritance of erle Godwine in time paſt was knowne to lie) but eſcaping it with eaſe, we came at length to Douer. In all which voiage we found no ſtreame, by reaſon of the cliffes that inuiron the ſaid coaſt. Howbeit vpon the ſouth ſide of Douer, there is a pꝛetie freſh riuer, whoſe head ariſeth at Erwell, not paſſing foure miles from the ſea, and of ſome is called Dour, which in the Bꝛitiſh tong is a common name foꝛ waters, as is alſo the old Bꝛitiſh woꝛd Auon foꝛ the greateſt riuers, into whoſe mouthes oꝛ falles ſhippes might find ſafe entrance; and therefoꝛe ſuch are in my time called hauens, a new woꝛd growen by an aſpiration added to the old: the Scots call it Auen. But moꝛe of this elſe-where, ſith I am now onelie to ſpeake of Dour, wherof it is likelie that the towne & caſtell of Douer did ſometime take the name. From hence we go toward the Camber (omitting peraduenture here and there ſundꝛie ſmall cꝛeeks void of backwater by the waie) whereabouts the Rother a noble riuer falleth into the ſea. This Rother ſeparateth Suſſex from Kent, and hath his head in Suſſex, not farre from Argas hill neere to Waterden foꝛreſt, and from thence directeth his courſe vnto Rotherfield. After this it goeth to Ethlingham oꝛ Hitchingham, and ſo foꝛth by Newendon vnto Matham ferrie, where it diuideth it ſelfe in ſuch wiſe, that one bꝛanch thereof goeth to Appledoure (where is a caſtell ſometime builded by the Danes, in the time of Alfred, as they did erect another at Middleton, and the third at Beamflete) and at this towne, where it meeteth the Bilie that riſeth about Bilſington; the other by Iden, ſo that it includeth a fine parcell of ground called Oxneie, which in time paſt was reputed as a parcell of Suſſex; but now vpon ſome occaſion oꝛ other (to me vnknowne) annexed vnto Kent. From hence alſo growing into ſome greatneſſe, it runneth to Rie, where it meeteth finallie with the Becke, which commeth from Beckleie: ſo that the plot wherein Rie ſtandeth, is in manner a by-land oꝛ peninſula, as experience doth confirme. Leland and moſt men are of the likelieſt opinion, that this riuer ſhould be called the Limen, which (as Peter of Cornhull ſaith) doth iſſue out of Andꝛedeſwald, where the head therof is knowne to be. Certes, I am of the opinion, that it is called the Rother vnto Appledoure, & from thence the Limen, bicauſe the Danes are noted to enter into theſe parts by the Limen; and ſailing on the ſame to Appledoure, did there begin to foꝛtifie, as I haue noted alreadie. Howbeit, in our time it is knowne by none other name than the Rother oꝛ Appledoure water, whereof let this ſuffice.

Rother.

Bilie.

Becke.

Limenus.

Being thus croſſed ouer to the weſt ſide of Rie hauen, & in vewing the iſſues that fall into the ſame, I meet firſt of all with a water that groweth of two bꝛookes, which come downe by one chanell into the eaſt ſide of the mouth of the ſaid poꝛt. The firſt therfoꝛe that falleth into it deſcendeth from Beckleie oꝛ thereabouts (as I take it) the next runneth along by Peſemarſh, & ſoone after ioining with all, they hold on as one, till they fall into the ſame at the weſterlie ſide of Rie: the third ſtreame commeth from the noꝛth, and as it mounteth vp not farre from Munfield, ſo it runneth betwæne Seſcambe and Wacklinton neere vnto Bꝛead, taking another rill withall that riſeth (as I heare) not verie far from Weſtfield. There is likewiſe a fourth that groweth of two heads betwæne Ielingham and Pet, and going by Winchelſete it meeteth with all about Rie hauen, ſo that Winchelſeie ſtandeth inuironed on thꝛee parts with water, and the ſtreames of theſe two that I haue laſt rehearſed.

The water that falleth into the Ocean, a mile by ſouthweſt of Haſtings, oꝛ therabouts, is called Æſtus oꝛ Aſten: perhaps of Haſten oꝛ Haſting the Dane, (who in time paſt was a plague to France and England) & riſing not far from Penhirſt, it meeteth with the ſea (as I heare) by eaſt of Hollington. Buluerhith is but a cꝛeeke (as I remember) ſerued with no backewater; and ſo I heare of Codding oꝛ Old hauen, wherefoꝛe I meane not to touch them.

Æſtus.

Buluerhithe.

Into Peuenſeie hauen diuerſe waters dw reſoꝛt, and of theſe, that which entereth into the ſame on the eaſt ſide riſeth out from two heads, whereof the moſt eaſterlie is called Aſh, the next vnto the Burne, and vniting themſelues not farre from Aſhburne, they continue their courſe vnder the name and title of Aſhburne water, as I read. The ſecond that commeth thereinto iſſueth alſo of two heads, whereof the one is ſo manie miles from Boꝛeham, the other not

Peuenſeie.

Aſh.

Burne.

Dour.

far from the Parke eaſt of Yellingſtowne, and both of them concurring ſouthweſt of Yirſtmowſen, they direct their courſe toward Peuenſeie (beneath which they meet with another riſing at Foington) and thence go in one chanell for a mile or more, till Cucomarus. they fall togither into Peuenſeie hauen. The Cuckmer iſſueth out at ſeuerall places, and hereof the more eaſterlie branch commeth from Marbleton ward, the other from Biſhops wood, and meeting beneth Halling, they run in one bottome by Wicham Arlington, Wellington, old Frithſtan, and ſo into the ſea.

Lus, *ni fallor.* Unto the water that commeth out at Newhauen, ſundrie brookes and riuerets do reſort, but the chiefe head riſeth toward the weſt, ſomewhat betweene Etchinford and Shepleie, as I heare. The firſt water therefore that falleth into the ſame on the eaſt ſide, iſſueth out of the ground about Uertwood, and running from thence by Langhton and Ripe, on the weſt ſide; it falleth into the aforeſaid riuer beneath Forle and Glime, or three miles lower than Lewis, if the other buttall like you not. The nert herevnto hath his head in Argas hill, the third deſcendeth from Aſhedon forreſt, and ioining with the laſt mentioned, they croſſe the maine riuer a little beneath Iſeſield. The fourth water commeth from Aſhedon forreſt by Horſted Caines (or Duleſtate Caines) and falleth into the ſame, likewiſe eaſt of Linfield. Certes I am deceiued if this riuer be not Sturewell. called Iſis, after it is paſt Iſeſield. The fift riſeth about Storuelgate, and meeteth alſo with the maine ſtreame aboue Linfield, and theſe are knowen to lie vpon the right hand as we rowed vp the riuer. On the other ſide are onelie two, whereof the firſt hath his originall nere vnto Weneſield, and holding on his courſe toward the eaſt, it meeteth with his maſter betweene Newicke and Iſeſeld (or Iſield) as Plinus. ſome read it. The laſt of all commeth from Plimodune or Plumpton, and hauing met in like ſort with the maine riuer about Barcham, it runneth forth with it, & they reſt in one chanell by Barcham, Hamſeie, Malling, Lewis, Piddingburne, and ſo forth into the maine.

Sorw. The next riuer that we came vnto weſt of Brighthemſton is the Soze, which notwithſtanding I find to be called Brember water, in the ancient map of Marton colledge in Oxford: but in ſuch ſort (as I take it) as the Rother or Limen is called Apledoure ſtreame, bicauſe of the ſaid towne that ſtandeth thervpon. But to proceed, it is a pleaſant water, & thereto if you conſider the ſituation of his armes, and branches from the higher grounds, verie much reſembling a foure ſtringed whip. Whereabout the head of this riuer is, or which of theſe branches may ſafelie be called Soza from the riſing, in good ſooth I cannot ſay. For after we had paſſed nine or ten mils thereon vp into the land, ſuddenlie the croſſe waters ſtopped vs, ſo that we were inforced to turne either eaſt or weſt, for directlie forth-right we had no waie to go. The firſt arme on the right hand as we went, riſeth out of a parke by ſouth of Alborne, and going on for a certeine ſpace toward the northweſt, it turneth ſouthward betweene Shermonburie and Twinham, and ſone after meeteth with the Bimar, not Bimarus. much ſouth from Shermonburie, whence they run togither almoſt two miles, till they fall into the Soze. That on the weſt ſide deſcendeth from about Billingeſhirſt, & going toward the eaſt, it croſſeth with the fourth (which riſeth a litle by weſt of Thacam) caſt from Pulborow, and ſo they run as one into the Soze, that after this confluence haſteth it ſelfe ſouthward by Bember, Burleis, the Combes, and yer long into the Ocean.

Arunus. The Arun (of which beſide Arundell towne the caſtell and the vallie wherin it runneth is called Vallis Aruntina, or Arundale in Engliſh) is a goodlie water, and thereto increaſed with no ſmall number of excellent & pleaſant brookes. It ſpringeth vp of two heads, whereof one deſcendeth from the north not far from Gretham, and going by Lis, meeteth with the next ſtreame (as I geſſe) about Dourſord houſe. The ſecond riſeth by weſt from the hils that lie toward the riſing of the ſunne from Eaſt maine, and runneth by Peterfield. The third commeth from Berton ward, and ioineth with the ſecond betweene Peterfield and Dourſord, after which confluence they go togither in one chanell ſtill toward the eaſt (taking a rill with them that commeth betweene Fernehirſt and S. Lukes chappell, ſouthweſt of Linchmere, and meeting with it eaſt of Loddeſworth (as I do read, and likewiſe ſundrie other in one chanell beneath Stopham) to Waltham, Burie, Houghton, Stoke, Arundell, Tortington ford, Climping (all on the weſt ſide) and ſo into the ſea.

Hauing thus deſcribed the weſt ſide of Arun, let vs do the like with the other in ſuch ſort as we beſt may. The firſt riuer that we come vnto therfore on the eaſt ſide, and alſo the ſecond, riſe of ſundrie places in S. Leonards forreſt, & ioining a little aboue Horſham, they meet with the third, which commeth from Iſield parke, not verie farre from Slinfeld. The fourth hath two heads, whereof one riſeth in Witleie parke, the other by weſt, neere vnto Heſelmere chappell, and meeting by weſt of Dourſeld, they vnite themſelues with the chanell, growing by the confluence that I ſpake of beneath Slinfeld, a little aboue Billingſhirſt. The laſt water commeth from the hils aboue Linchemere, and runneth weſt and ſouth, and paſſing betweene Billingthirſt and Stopham, it commeth vnto the chanell laſt mentioned, and ſo into the Arun beneath Stopham, without anie further increaſe, at the leaſt that I do heare of.

Burne hath his iſſue in a parke neere Aldingburne. rie (or rather a little aboue the ſame toward the north, as I haue ſince beene informed) and running by the bottomes toward the ſouth, it falleth betweene north Berflete and Fleſham. Erin riſeth of ſundrie Elin. heads, by eaſt of Erinleie, and directing his courſe toward the ſunne riſing, it peninſulateth Seleſeie towne on the ſouthweſt and Pagham at northweſt. Deel ſpringeth about Benderton, and thence run- Delus. ning betweene middle Lauant and eaſt Lauant, it goeth by weſt of weſt Hampnet, by eaſt of Chicheſter, or weſt of Rumbaldeſdowne, and afterward by Fiſhburne, where it meeteth with a rill comming north weſt from Funtingdon (a little beneath the towne) & then running thus in one ſtreame toward the ſea, it meeteth with another rillet comming by north of Boſham, and ſo into Auant gulfe by eaſt of Thorneie Iland.

The Racon riſeth by eaſt of Racton or Racodu- Racunus. num (as Leland calleth it) and comming by Chidham, it falleth into the ſea, northeaſt of Thorneie aforeſaid. The Emill commeth firſt betweene Rac- Emill. ton and Stanked, then downe to Emilſworth or Emmeſworth, & ſo vnto the Ocean, ſeparating Suſſex from Hampſhire almoſt from the very head. Hauing in this maner paſſed along the coaſts of Suſſex, the next water that I remember, riſeth by eaſt of the forreſt of Eſtbirie, from whence it goeth by Southwike, weſt Burhunt, Farham, and ſo into the gulfe almoſt full ſouth. Then come we to Bedenham Badunus forte. creeke (ſo called of a village ſtanding thereby) the mouth whereof lieth almoſt directlie againſt Portcheſter caſtell, which is ſituat about three miles by water from Portesmouth towne, as Leland doth report. Then go we within halfe a mile further to Forten or Fordon. Forten creeke, which either giueth or taketh name of

Oſterpoole. a village hard by. After this we come to Oſterpoole lake, a great creeke, that goeth vp by weſt into the land, and lieth not far from a round turret of ſtone, from whence alſo there goeth a chaine to another tower on the eaſt ſide directlie ouer againſt it, the like whereof is to be ſeene in diuerſe other hauens of the weſt countrie, wherby the entrance of great veſſels into that part may be at pleaſure reſtreined.

From hence we go further to Tichefeld water, that riſeth about Eaſtmaine parke, ten or twelue miles by northeaſt or there abouts from Tichefeld. From Eaſtmaine it goeth (parting the forreſts of Waltham, and Eaſtberie by the way) to Witham or Wicombe, a pretie market towne & large throughfare, where alſo the water ſeparateth it ſelfe into two armelets, and going vnder two bridges of wood commeth yer long againe vnto one chanell. From hence it goeth three or foure miles further, to a bridge of timber by maiſter Writhoſeleies houſe (leauing Tichfeld towne on the right ſide) and a little beneath runneth vnder Ware bridge, whither the ſea floweth as hir naturall courſe inforceth. Finallie, within a mile of this bridge it goeth into the water of Hampton hauen, whervnto diuerſe ſtreames reſort, as you ſhall heare hereafter.

Tichefield.

Hamelriſh. After this we come to Hamble hauen, or Hamelriſh creeke, whoſe fall is betweene ſaint Andrewes caſtell, and Hoke. It riſeth about Shidford in Waltham forreſt, & when it is paſt Croke bridge, it meeteth with another broke, which iſſueth not farre from Biſhops Waltham, out of ſundrie ſprings in the high waie on Wincheſter, from whence it paſſeth (as I ſaid) by Biſhops Waltham, then to Budeleie or Botleie, and then ioining with the Hamble, they run togither by Prowlingſworth, Upton, Burſill, Hamble towne, and ſo into the ſea.

Southhampton. Now come we to the hauen of Southhampton, by Ptolomie called Magnus portus, which I will briefelie deſcribe ſo neere as I can poſſiblie. The breadth or entrie of the mouth hereof (as I take it) is by eſtimation two miles from ſhore to ſhore. At the weſt point therof alſo is a ſtrong caſtell latelie builded, which is rightlie named Caldſhore, but now Cawſhot, I wote not by what occaſion. On the eaſt ſide thereof alſo is a place called Hoke (afore mentioned) or Hamell hoke; wherein are not aboue three or foure fiſher houſes, not worthie to be remembred. This hauen ſhoteth vp on the weſt ſide by the ſpace of ſeuen miles, vntill it come to Hampton towne, ſtanding on the other ſide, where it is by eſtimation a mile from land to land. Thence it goeth vp further about three miles to Redbridge, ſtill ebbing and flowing thither, and one mile further, ſo farre as my memorie doth ſerue mee. Now it reſteth that I deſcribe the Alreſford ſtreame, which ſome do call the Arre or Arle, and I will proceed withall in this order following.

Alreſford. The Alreſford beginneth of diuerſe faire ſprings, about a mile or more frõ Alreſford, or Alford as it is now called, and ſone after reſorting to one bottome, they become a broad lake, which for the moſt part is called Alford pond. Afterward returning againe to a narrow chanell, it goeth through a ſtone bridge at the end of Alford towne (leauing the towne it ſelfe on the left hand) toward Hichingſtocke three miles off, but yer it commeth there, it receiueth two rils in one bottome, whereof one commeth from the Forreſt in maner at hand, and by northweſt of old Alreſford, the other frõ Browne Candiuer, that goeth by Northenton, Swarewotton, Aberſtone, &c: vntill we met with the ſaid water beneath Alford towne. Being paſt Hichinſtocke, it commeth by Awington to Eſton village, and to Worthie, where it beginneth to branch, and ech arme to part it ſelfe into other that reſort to Hide and the lower ſoiles by eaſt of Wincheſter, there ſeruing the ſtreets, the cloſe of S. Maries, Wolueſeie, and the new college verie plentifullie with their water. But in this meane while, the great ſtreame commeth from Worthie to the eaſt bridge, and ſo to ſaint Elizabeth college, where it doth alſo part in twaine, enuironing the ſaid houſe in moſt delectable maner. After this it goeth toward S. Croſſes, leauing it a quarter of a mile on the right hand: then to Twiford (a mile lower) where it gathereth againe into one bottome, and goeth ſix miles further to Wodmill, taking the Otter broke withall on the eaſt ſide, and ſo into the ſalt creeke that leadeth downe to the hauen. Otter.

On the other ſide of Southhampton, there reſorteth into this hauen alſo both the Teſt & the Stockbridge water in one bottome, whereof I find this large deſcription inſuing. The verie head of the Stockewater, is ſuppoſed to be ſomewhere about Baſing ſtoke, or church Hockleie, and going from thence betweene Duerton and Steuenton, it commeth at laſt by Lauerſtocke & Whitchurch, and ſone after receiuing a broke by northweſt, called the Bourne (deſcending from S. Marie Bourne, ſouth-eaſt from Horſeburne) it proceedeth by Long paroch and the wood, till it meet with the Cranburne, on the eaſt ſide (a pretie riuelet riſing about Michelneie, and going by Fullington, Barton, and to Cramburne) thence to Horwell in one bottome, beneath which it meeteth with the Andeuer water, that is increaſed yer it come there by an other broke, whoſe name I doo not know. This Andeuer ſtreame riſeth in Culhamſhire forreſt, not far by north from Andeuer towne, and going to vpper Clatford, yer it touch there it receiueth the rill of which I ſpake before, which riſing alſo neer vnto Anport, goeth to Honketon, to Abbateſham, the Andeuer, and both (as I ſaid) vnto the Teſt beneath Horwell, whereof I ſpake euen now. Stocke. Bourne. Maloptus. Teſt.

These ſtreames being thus brought into one bottome, it runneth toward the ſouth vnder Stockbridge, and ſone after diuiding it ſelfe in twaine, one branch thereof goeth by Houghton, & a little beneath meeteth with a rill, that commeth from bywest of S. Ans hill, and goeth by eaſt of vpper Wallop, weſt of nether Wallop, by Bucholt forreſt, Broughton, and called (as I haue beene informed) the Gallop, but now it is named Wallop. The other arme runneth through the parke, by north weſt of kings Somburne, and vniting themſelues againe, they go forth by Mottiſhunt, and then receiue the Teſt, a pretie water riſing in Clarendun parke, that goeth by weſt Deane, and eaſt Deane, ſo to Mottiſhunt, and finallie to the aforeſaid water, which from thence forth is called the Teſt, euen vnto the ſea. But to proceed. After this confluence, it taketh the gate to Kimbebridge, then to Rumſeie, Longbridge, and beneath the ſame receiueth a concourſe of two rilles whereof the one commeth from Shereſield, the other from the new Forreſt, and ioining in Wadeleie parke, they beat vpon the Teſt, not verie farre from Purſeling. From thence the Teſt goeth vnder a pretie bridge, before it come at Redbridge, from whence it is not long yer it fall into the hauen.

The next riuer that runneth into this port, ſpringeth in the new Forreſt, and commeth thereinto about Eling, not paſſing one mile by weſt of the fall of Teſt. From hence caſting about againe into the maine ſea, and leauing Calde ſhore caſtell on the right hand, we directed our courſe toward the southweſt, vnto Beaulieu hauen, whereinto the Mineie deſcendeth. The Mineie riſeth not far from Mineiſteed, a village in the north part of the new Forreſt; and going by Beaulieu, it falleth into the ſea ſouth-

Eling. Mineie.

west (as I take it) of Erburie, a village standing vpon the shore.

Limen. Being past the Mincie, we crossed the Limen as it is now called, whose head is in the verie hart of the new Forrest (sometime conuerted into a place of nourishment for deere by William Rufus, buieng his pleasure with the ruine of manie towns and villages, as diuerse haue inclosed or inlarged their parks by the spoile of better occupiengs) & running southwest of Lindhirst & the parke, it goeth by east of Brokenhirst, west of Bulder, & finallie into the sea south and by east of Lemington. I take this not to be the proper name of the water, but of the hauen, for Limen in Greeke is an hauen: so that Limendune is nothing else, but a downe or higher plot of ground lieng on the hauen: neuertheless, sith this denomination of the riuer hath now hir free passage, I think it not conuenient to seeke out any other name that should be giuen vnto it. The next fall that we passed by is nameless, except it be called Bure, & as it descendeth from new Forrest, so the next vnto it hight Bure. Wile, as I haue heard in English. Certes the head thereof is also in the southwest part of the said Forrest, & the fall not far from Wilford bridge, beyond the which I find a narrow going or strictland leading fro the point to Hirst castell which standeth into the sea, as if it hong by a thred, from the maine of the Iland, readie to be washed awaie by the continuall working and dailie beating of the waues. Wilts.

Auon. The next riuer that we came vnto of anie name is the Auon, which (as Leland saith) riseth by northeast, and not far from Woolfehall in Wiltshire, supposed to be the same which Ptolomie called Halenus. The first notable bridge that it runneth vnto, is at Alphauen, thence foure miles further it goeth to little Ambresburie, and there is another bridge, from thence to Woodford village, standing at the right hand banke, and Newton village on the left. The bishops of Sarum had a proper manor place at Woodford, which bishop Sharton pulled downe altogither, because it was somewhat in ruine. Thence it goeth to Fisherton bridge, to Canebridge, old Salisburie, new Salisburie, and finallie to Harnham, which is a fatelie bridge of stone, of six arches at the least. There is at the west end of the said bridge, a little Iland, that lieth betwixt this and another bridge, of foure prettie arches, and vnder this later runneth a good round streame, which (as I take it) is a branch of Auon, that breaketh out a little aboue, & soone after it reuniteth it selfe againe: or else that Wilton water hath there his entrie into the Auon, which I cannot yet determine. From Harneham bridge it goeth to Downton, that is about foure miles, and so much in like sort from thence to Fordingbridge, to Ringwood bridge fiue miles, to Christes church Twinham fiue miles, and streight into the sea; and hitherto Leland of this streame, which for the worthinesse thereof (in mine opinion) is not sufficientlie described. Wherefore I thinke good to deliuer a second receiued of another, which in more particular maner doth exhibit his course vnto vs.

Certes this Auon is a goodlie riuer, rising (as I said before here) vnto Woolfe hall; although he that will seeke more scrupulouslie for the head in deed, must looke for the same about the borders of the forrest of Sauernake (that is Soure oke) which lieth as if it were imbraced betweene the first armes thereof, as I haue beene informed. These heads also do make a confluence by east of Martinshall hill, and west of Wilton. From whence it goeth to Wilton, Powleie, Wanningfield abbeie, Wanningfield crosse, and beneath Newington taketh in one rill west from Rudborow, and another a little lower that riseth also west of Alcanninges, and runneth into the same by Patneie, Werden, Wilford, Charleton, and Ruckshall. Being therefore past Newington, it goeth to Uphauen (whereof Leland speaketh) to Chesilburie, Compton, Ablington, little Almsburie, Darntford, Woodford, old Salisburie, and so to new Salisburie, where it receiueth one notable riuer from by northwest, & another from north east, which two I will first describe, leauing the Auon at Salisburie for a while.

The first of these is called the Wilugh, whereof the whole shire doth take hir name, and not of the great plentie of willowes growing therein, as some fantasticall heads do imagine: whereof also there is more plentie in that countrie than is to be found in other places. It riseth among the Deuerels, and running thence by hill Deuerell, & Deuerell long bridge, it goeth toward Bishops straw, taking in one rill by west & another from Upton by Werminster at northwest. From Bishops straw it goeth to Norton, Upton, Badhampton, Steplinford, and Stapleford, where it meeteth with the Winterburie water from by north, descending from Maddenton by Winterburne. From Stapleford it hasteth to Wilsford, Newton, Chilhampton, Wilton: and thither commeth a water vnto it from southwest, which riseth of two heads aboue Querdonet. After this it goeth by Wordcastell, to Tisburie, and there receiueth a water on ech side, whereof one commeth from Funthill, the other from two issues (of which one riseth at Austie, the other at Swalodise) and so keeping on still with his course, our Wilugh runneth next of all by Sutton. Thence it goeth to Fouant, Boberstocke, Southburcombe, Wilton (where it taketh in the Fomington or Nader water) Westharnam, Salisburie, and Eastharnam: and this is the race of Wilugh. Wilugh. Nader becke.

The other is a naked arme or streame without anie branches. It riseth aboue Colingburne Kingston in the hils, and thence it goeth to Colingburne, the Tidworths (whereof the more southerlie is in Wiltshire) Shipton, Cholterton, Newton, Toneie, Idmerson, Porton, the Winterburns, Lauerstocke, and so into Auon east of Salisburie. And thus is the confluence made of the aforesaid waters, with this our second Auon, whereinto another water falleth (called Becquithes bwke) a mile beneath Harneham bridge, whose head is fiue miles from Sarum, and three miles aboue Becquithes bridge, as Leland doth remember, who noteth the Chalkeburne water to haue his due recourse also at this place into the aforesaid riuer. Certes it is a prettie bwke, and riseth sir miles from Shaftesburie, and in the waie toward Salisburie in a bottome on the right hand, whence it commeth by Knighton and Fennistratford, to Honington, that is about twelue miles from the head, and about two miles and an halfe from Honington beneath Odstocke, goeth into the Auon, a mile lower than Harnham bridge, except he forget himselfe. This Harnham, whereof I now intreat, was sometime a prettie village before the erection of new Salisburie, and had a church of S. Martine belonging vnto it, but now in steed of this church, there is onelie a barne standing in a verie low mead on the northside of S. Michaels hospitall. The cause of the relinquishing of it was the moistnesse of the soile, verie oft ouerflowne. And whereas the kings high waie laie sometime through Wilton, licence was obteined of the king and Richard bishop of Salisburie, to remoue that passage vnto new Salisburie in like maner, and vpon this occasion was the maine bridge made ouer Auon at Harneham. By this exchange of the waie also old Salisburie fell into vtter decaie, & Wilton which was before the head towne of the shire, and furnished with twelue parish churches, grew to be but a poore village, and of small reputation. Howbeit, this was not the onelie cause of the Becquith bwke. Chalkeburne. Three townes decaied by changing one waie.

the ruine of old Saliſburie, ſith I read of two other, whereof the firſt was a ſalue vnto the latter, as I take it. For whereas it was giuen out, that the townesmen wanted water in old Saliſburie, it is ſtat otherwiſe; ſith that hill is verie plentifullie ſerued with ſprings and wels of verie ſweet water. The truth of the matter therefore is this.

In the time of ciuill warres, the ſouldiors of the caſtell and chanons of old Sarum fell at ods, inſomuch that after often braules, they fell at laſt to ſad blowes. It happened therefore in a rogation weeke that the cleargie going in ſolemne procеſſion, a controuerſie fell betweene them about certeine walkes and limits, which the one ſide clained and the other denied. Such alſo was the hot intertainment on eth part, that at the laſt the Caſtellanes eſpieng their time, gate betweene the cleargie and the towne, and ſo coiled them as they returned homeward, that they feared anie more to gang about their bounds for the yeare. Hereupon the people miſſing their bellie cheare (for they were wont to haue banketing at euerie ſtation, a thing commonlie practiſed by the religious in old time, wherewith to linke in the commons vnto them, whom anie man may lead whither he will by the bellie, or as Latimer ſaid, with beefe, bread and beere) they conceiued forthwith a deadlie hatred againſt the Caſtellans. But not being able to cope with them by force of armes, they conſulted with Richard Poore their biſhop, and he with them ſo effectuallie, that it was not long yer they, I meane the chanons, began a new church vpon a peece of their owne ground called Mirfield, pretending to ſerue God there in better ſafetie, and with far more quietneſſe than they could do before. This church was begun 1219, the nine and twentith of Aprill, and finiſhed with the expenſes of 42000 marks, in the yeare 1260, and fiue & twentith of March, whereby it appeareth that it was aboue fortie yéers in hand, although the clearks were tranſlated to the new towne 1220, or the third yeere after the graie. The people alſo ſeeing the diligence of the chanons, and reputing their harmes for their owne inconuenience, were as earneſt on the other ſide to be neere vnto theſe prelats, and therefore euerie man brought his houſe vnto that place, & thus became old Sarum in few yeeres vtterlie deſolate, and new Saliſburie raiſed vp in ſtéed thereof, to the great decaie alſo of Harnham and Wilton, whereof I ſpake of late. Neuertheleſſe it ſhould ſéeme to me that this new citie is not altogither void of ſome great hinderances now and then by water: for in the ſecond of Edward the ſecond (who held a parlement there) there was a ſudden thaw after a great froſt, which cauſed the waters ſo faſt to ariſe, that euen at high maſſe time the water came into the minſter, and not onelie ouerflowed the nether part of the ſame, but came vp all to the kings pauaſe where he ſate, whereby he became wetſhod, and in the end inforced to leaue the church, as the executour did his maſſe, leaſt they ſhould all haue béene drowned: and this rage indured there for the ſpace of two daies, whereupon no ſeruice could be ſaid in the ſaid minſter.

An holie conflict.

New Saliſburie begun.

Now to returne againe from whence I thus digreſſed. Our Auon therefore departing from Saliſburie, goeth by Burtford, Longford, and taking in the waters afore mentioned by the waie, it goeth by Stanlcie, Dunketon, Cratford, Burgate, Fording bridge, Kingwood, Auon, Chriſtes church; and finallie into the ſea. But yer it come all there & a litle beneth Chriſtes church, it croſſeth the Stoure or Stare, a verie faire ſtreame, whoſe courſe is ſuch as may not be left vntouched. It riſeth of ſix heads, whereof three lie on the north ſide of the parke at Sturton within the pale, the other riſe without the parke; & of this riuer the towne and baronie of Sturton doth take his name as I geſſe, for except my memorie do too much faile me, the lord Sturton giueth the ſix heads of the ſaid water in his armes. But to proceed. After theſe branches are conioined in one bottome, it goeth to long Laime mill, Stilton, Milton, and beneath Gillingham receiueth a water that deſcendeth from Mere. Thence the Sture goeth to Bugleie, Stoure, Weſtouer bridge, Stoure prouoſt, and per long it taketh in the Cale water, from Pen that commeth downe by Wickhampton to Morcland, & ſo to Stapleford, ſeuen miles from Wickhampton, paſſing in the ſaid voiage, by Wine Caunton, and the fiue bridges. After this confluence, it runneth to Hinton Parues, and ſone after croſſeth the Lidden and Deuliſ waters all in one chanell, whereof the firſt riſeth in Blackemore vale, and goeth to the biſhops Caundell: the ſecond in the hils ſouth of Pulham, and ſo runneth to Lidlinch; the third water iſſueth néere Ibberton, and going by Fifehed to Lidlington, and there méeting with the Lidden, they receiue the Blackewater aboue Bagburne, and ſo go into the Stoure.

Cale. Lidden. Deuilis. Iber. Blackewater.

After this the Stoure runneth on to Stoureton minſter, Fitleford, Hammond, and ſone after taking in one water that commeth from Hargraue by weſt Orchard, and a ſecond from Funtmill, it goeth on to Chele, Ankeford, Handford, Durweſton, Knighton, Brainſton, Blandford, Charleton: and croſſing yer long a rill that riſeth about Tarrent, and goeth to Launſton, Munketon, Caunſton, Tarrant, it proceedeth forth by Shepwyſe, and by and by receiuing another broke on the right hand, that riſeth about Strictland, and goeth by Quarleſton, Whitchurch, Anderſton, and Winterburne, it haſteth forward to Stoureminſter, Berford lake, Alen bridge, Winburne, *alias* Twinburne minſter, whither commeth a water called Alen (from Knolton, Wilkehampton, Eſtambridge, Hinton, Barnſlcie) which hath two heads, whereof one riſeth ſhort of Woodcotes, and eaſt of Farneham, named Terig, the other at Munketon aboue S. Giles Winburne, and going thence to S. Giles Athleie, it taketh in the Horton becke, as the Horton doth the Cranburne. Finallie, méeting with the Terig aboue Knolton, they run on vnder the name of Alen to the Stoure, which goeth to the Canfords, Preſton, Kingſton, Perleie, and Polneſt: but yer it come at Polneſt it taketh in two brokes in one bottome, whereof one commeth from Woodland parke by Holt parke, and Holt, another from aboue vpper Winburne, by Edmondeſham, Uertwod, and Pannington, and ioining about S. Leonards, they go to Hornebridge, and ſo into Stoure. After which confluence, the ſaid Stoure runneth by Iuor bridge, and ſo into Auon, leauing Chriſts church aboue the méeting of the ſaid waters (as I haue ſaid before.)

This Stoure aboundeth with pike, perch, roch, dace, gudgeon and eeles.

Hauing in this maner paſſed Chriſtes church head we come to the fall of the Burne, which is a little broke running from Stourefield heath, without branches; from whence we proceeded: & the next fall that we come vnto is Poole, from whoſe mouth vpon the ſhore, by ſouthweſt in a baie of three miles off, is a poore fiſher towne called Sandwich, where we ſaw a péere and a little freſh broke. The verie vtter part of ſaint Adelmes point, is fiue miles from Sandwich. In another baie lieth weſt Lillewoth, where (as I heare) is ſome profitable harborough for ſhips. The towne of Poole is from Winburne about foure miles, and it ſtandeth almoſt as an Ile in the hauen. The hauen it ſelfe alſo, if a man ſhould meaſure it by the circuit, wanteth little of twentie miles, as I did geſſe by the view.

Burne. Poole.

Sturus.

Going therefore into the ſame, betweene the north

and

and the ſouth points, to ſée what waters were there, we left Brunkeſcie Iland, and the caſtell on the left hand within the ſaid points; and paſſing about by Pole, and leauing that créeke, becauſe it hath no freſh, we came by Holton and Beſworth, where we beheld two falles, of which one was called the north, the other the ſouth waters. The north ſtreame hight Piddle as I heare. It riſeth about Alton, and goeth from thence to Piddle trench head, Piddle hinton, Walterſtow, and yer it come at Birſtam, receiueth Deuils broke that commeth thither from Brugham and Melcombe by Deuiliſh towne. Thence it goeth to Tow piddle, Aſhe piddle, Turners piddle (taking in yer it come there, a water that runneth from Melton by Middleton, Milburne & Biere) then to Hide, and ſo into Pole hauen, and of this water Marianns Scotus ſpeaketh, except I be deceiued. The ſouth water is properlie called Frome for Frame. It riſeth néere vnto Cuerſhot, and going downe by Fromequitaine, Chelmington, and Catſtocke, it receiueth there a rill from beſide Rowſham, and Wrarehall. After this it goeth on to Chilfrome, and thence to Maden Newton, where it méeteth with the Diuke, that riſeth either two miles aboue Yoke parke at Benford, or in the great pond within Yoke parke, and going by the Tollards, falleth into the Frome about Maden Newton, & ſo go as one from thence to Fromevauchirch, Crokewaie, Frampton, and Puckilford, and receiueth néere vnto the ſame a rill from aboue Upſidling by S. Nicholas Sidling, and Grimſton. From hence it goeth on by Stratton and Bradford Peuerell, and beneath this Bradford, it croſſeth the Silleie *alias* Winterne and Cherne brooks both in one chanell: whereof the firſt riſeth in vpper Cherne pariſh, the other at Winterne, and méeting aboue middle Cherne, they go by nether Cherne, Forſton, Godmanſton, and aboue Charneminſter into Frome. In the meane time alſo our Frome branceth and leaueth an Iland aboue Charneminſter, and ioining againe néere Dorcheſter, it goeth by Dorcheſter, and Forthington; but yer it come at Beckington, it méeteth with another Becke that runneth thereinto from Winterburne, Stapleton, Martinſtow, Heringſtow, Caine and Stafford, and from thence goeth without anie further increaſe as yet to Beckington, Knighton, Tinkleton, Morton, Woll, Bindon, Stoke, & beneath Stoke receiueth the iſſue of the Luckeford lake, from whence alſo it paſſeth by Caſtholme, Warham, and ſo into the Baie. From this fall we went about the arme point by Slepe, where we ſaw a litle créeke, then by Owre, where we beheld an other, & then comming againe toward the entrance by ſaint Helens, and Furleie caſtell, we went abroad into the maine, and found our ſelues at libertie.

When we were paſt Pole hauen, we left the Handfaſt point, the Peuerell point, S. Adelmes chappell, and came at laſt to Lughport hauen, whereby and alſo the Luckeford lake, all this portion of ground laſt remembred, is left in maner of a byland or peninſula, and called the Ile of Purbecke, wherein is good ſtore of alum and hard ſtone. In like ſort going ſtill weſterlie, we came to Sutton points, where is a créeke. Then vnto Waie or Wilemouth, by kings Welcombe, which is twentie miles from Pole, and whoſe head is not full foure miles aboue the hauen by northweſt at Uphill in the ſide of a great hill. Hereinto when we were entred, we ſaw three falles, whereof the firſt and greateſt commeth from Upweie by Bradweie, and Radipole, receiuing afterward the ſecond that ran from eaſt Chekerell, and likewiſe the third that maketh the ground betwéene Weimouth and Smalmouth paſſage almoſt an Iland. There is a little barre of ſand at the hauen mouth, and a great arme of the ſea runneth vp by the right hand; and ſcant a mile aboue the hauen mouth on the ſhore, is a right goodlie and warlike caſtell made, which hath one open barbicane. This arme runneth vp alſo further by a mile as in a baie, to a point of land where a paſſage is into Portland, by a little courſe of pibble ſand. It goeth vp alſo from the ſaid paſſage vnto Abbatſbirie about ſeauen miles off, where a litle freſh rondell reſorteth to the ſea. And ſomewhat aboue this, is the head or point of the Cheſill lieng northweſt, which ſtretcheth vp from thence about ſeauen miles, as a maine narrow banke, by a right line vnto the ſoutheaſt, and there abutteth vpon Portland ſcant a quarter of a mile aboue the Newcaſtle there. The nature of this banke is ſuch, that ſo often as the wind bloweth vehementlie at ſoutheaſt, ſo often the ſea beateth in, and loſing the banke ſoketh through it: ſo that if this wind ſhould blow from that corner anie long time togither, Portland ſhould be left an Iland as it hath béene before. But as the ſouthweſt wind doth appaire this banke, ſo a northweſt doth barre it vp againe. It is prettie to note of the Townelet of Waimouth, which lieth ſtreight againſt Milton on the other ſide, and of this place where the water of the hauen is but of ſmall breadth, that a rope is commonlie tied from one ſide of the ſhore to another, whereby the ferrie men do guide their botes without anie helpe of Oares. But to proceed with our purpoſe. Into the mouth of this riuer doo ſhips often come for ſuccour.

Piddle. Deuils. Frome. Dene. Silleie. Winterne, Cherne. Luckford. Sméke more for white broke that goeth by weſt burie to Pole hauen. Cheſill.

Going by Portland and the point thereof called the Raſe, we ſailed along by the Shingle, till we came by ſaint Katharins chappell, where we ſaw the fall of a water that came downe from Blackdéene Beaconward, by Portcham and Abbatſburie. Thence we went to another that fell into the ſea, nære Birton, and deſcended from Litton by Chilcombe, then vnto the Bride or Brute port, a prettie hauen, and the riuer it ſelfe ſerued with ſundrie waters. It riſeth halfe a mile or more aboue Bemiſter, and ſo goeth from Bemiſter to Netherburie by Parneham, then to Melplaſh, and ſo to Briteport, where it taketh in two waters from by eaſt in one chanell, of which one riſeth eaſt of Nettlecourt, and goeth by Poreſtoke and Milton, the other at Aſkerwell, and runneth by Longlether. From hence alſo our Bride going toward the ſea, taketh the Simen on the weſt that commeth by Simenſburge into the ſame, the whole ſtreame ſome after falling into the ſea, and leauing a prettie hauenet.

Bride. Nature hath ſet the mouth of this riuer in maner betwixt two hils, ſo that a little coſt would make an haue there. Simen.

The nert port is the Chare, ſerued with two rils in one confluence, beneath Charemouth. The cheefe head of this riuer is (as Leland ſaith) in Marſhwood parke, and commeth downe by Whitechurch: the other runneth by weſt of Wotton, and méeting beneath Charemouth towne (as I ſaid) doth fall into the ſea. Then came we to the Cobbe, and beheld the Lime water, which the townesmen call the Buddle, which commeth about three miles by north of Lime, from the hils, fleting vpon Rockie ſoile, and ſo falleth into the ſea. Certes, there is no hauen héere that I could ſée, but a quarter of a mile by weſt ſouthweſt of the towne, is a great and coſtlie ſuttie in the ſea for ſuccour of ſhips. The towne is diſtant from Colton, about fiue miles. And héere we ended our voiage from the Auon, which conteineth the whole coaſt of Dorceſter, or Dorcetſhire, ſo that nert we muſt enter into Summerſet countie, and ſée what waters are there.

Chare. Buddle.

The firſt water that we mét withall in Summerſetſhire is the Are, which riſeth in a place called Are knoll, longing to ſir Giles Strangwaie, néere vnto Cheddington in Dorſetſhire, from whence it runneth to Poſterne, Febrow, Clarton, Weiford bridge,

Are.

Yare alias Arte.

bridge, Winſham ford, and receiuing one rill from the eaſt by Hawkechurch, and ſone after another comming from northweſt by Churchſtoke, from Wainbroke, it goeth to Areminſter, beneath which it croſſeth the Yare, that commeth from about Buckland, by Whitſtaunton, Yarecombe, Long bridge, Stockeland, Kilmington bridge (where it receiueth a broke from by ſouth, that runneth by Dalwood) and ſo into the Are. From hence our Are goeth to Drake, Puſburie, Culliford: but yer it come altogither at Culliford, it méeteth with a water that riſeth aboue Cotleie, and goeth from thence by Widworthie, Culliton, and there receiuing a rill alſo, procéedeth on after the confluence aboue Culliford bridge, into the Are, and from thence hold on togither into the maine ſea, whereinto they fall vnder the rots of the winter cliffes, the points of them being almoſt a mile in ſunder. The moſt weſterlie of them called Berewod, lieth within halfe a mile of Seton.

But the other toward the eaſt is named Whitecliffe, of which I ſaie no more, but that in the time of Athelſtane, the greateſt nauie that euer aduentured into this Iland, arriued at Seton in Deuonſhire, being replenished with aliens that ſought the conqueſt of this Iland, but Athelſtane met and incountered with them in the field, where he ouerthrew ſix thouſand of his aforeſaid enimies. Not one of them alſo that remained aliue, eſcaped from the battell without ſome deadlie or verie gréeuous wound. In this conflict moreouer were ſlaine fiue kings, which were interred in the churchyard of Are minſter, and of the part of the king of England were killed eight earles of the chéefe of his nobilitie, and they alſo buried in the churchyard aforeſaid. Héerunto it addeth how the biſhop of Shireburne was in like ſort ſlaine in this battell, that began at Brunedune nære to Coliton, and indured euen to Are minſter, which then was called Brunberie or Brunburg. The ſame daie that this thing happened the ſunne loſt his light, and ſo continued without anie brightneſſe, vntill the ſetting of that planet, though otherwiſe the ſeaſon was clére and nothing cloudie.

As for the hauen which in times paſt as I haue heard, hath béene at Sidmouth (ſo called of Sidde a rillet that runneth thereto) and likewiſe at Seton, I paſſe it ouer, ſith now there is none at all. Yet hath there béene ſometime a notable one, albeit, that at this preſent betwéene the two points of the old hauen, there lieth a mightie bar of pibble ſtones, in the verie mouth of it, and the riuer Are is driuen to the verie eaſt point of the hauen called White cliffe. Thereat alſo a verie little gull goeth into the ſea, whither ſmall fiſherbotes do oft reſort for ſuccour. The men of Seton began of late to ſtake and make a maine wall within the hauen to haue changed the courſe of the Are, and (almoſt in the middle of the old hauen) to haue trenched through the Cheſill, thereby to haue let out the Are, & to haue taken in the maine ſea, but I heare of none effect that this attempt did come vnto. From Seton weſtward lieth Coliton, about two miles by weſt northweſt, whereof riſeth the riuer Colie, which going by the aforeſaid towne, paſſeth by Colecombe parke, and afterward falleth betwéene Are bridge and Are mouth towne into the Are riuer.

By weſt of Berewoorth point lieth a créeke, ſerued (ſo farre as I remember) with a freſh water that commeth from the hilles ſouth of Southleie or Brancombe. Sidmouth hauen is the next, and thither commeth a freſh water by S. Maries from the ſaid hils, that goeth from S. Maries aforeſaid to Sidburie, & betwéene Saltcombe & Sidmouth into the maine ſea. By weſt of Auterton point alſo lieth another hauen, and thither commeth a prettie riueret, whoſe head is in the Hackpendon hilles, and commeth downe firſt by Upauter, then by a parke ſide to Pohuns Auter, Munketon, Honniton, Buckelwell, and north of Autrie receiueth a rill called Tale, that riſeth northweſt of Brodemburie in a wood, and from whence it commeth by Pehemburie, Winniton, and making a confluence with the other, they go as one betwéene Cadde and Autrie, to Yerford, Luton, Collaton, Auterton, Budeleie, and ſo into the ſea. On the weſt ſide of this hauen is Budeleie almoſt directly againſt Otterton. It is eaſie to be ſéene alſo, that within leſſe ſpace than one hundred yéers, ſhips did vſe this hauen, but now it is barred vp. Some call it Budeleie hauen of Budeleie towne, others Salterne port, of a little créeke comming out of the maine hauen vnto Salterne village, that hath in time paſt béene a towne of great eſtimation.

Sidde. Seton. Colie. Sid. Autrie alias Otterie. Tale.

The Exe riſeth in Exemore in Summerſetſhire, nére vnto Exe croſſe, and goeth from thence vnto Exeford, Winſford, and Extun, where it receiueth a water comming from Cutcombe, by north. After this confluence it goeth on toward the ſouth, till it méet with a prettie broke riſing northeaſt of Whettell (going by Brunton Regis) increaſed at the leaſt with three rilles which come all from by north. Theſe being once met, this water runneth on by weſt of the beacon that beareth the name of Haddon, & ſone after taketh in the Barleie, that receiueth in like ſort the Done at Hawkbridge, and from hence goeth by Dauerton, and Combe, and then doth méet with the Exe, almoſt in the verie confines betwéene Dorſet & Summerſet ſhires. Being paſt this continuation, our Exe paſſeth betwéene Bruſhford and Nurbath, and then to Exe bridge, where it taketh in (as I heare) a water by weſt from eaſt Auſtie: and after this likewiſe another on ech ſide, whereof one commeth from Dirford, and Baunton, the other called Woodburne, ſomewhat by eaſt of Okeford. From theſe mætings it goeth to Caue and through the forreſt and woods to Hatherland and Waſhfields, vntill it come to Tiuerton, and here it receiueth the Lomund water that riſeth aboue Aſhbrittle, & commeth downe by Hockworthie, vpper Loman, and ſo to Tiuerton that ſtandeth almoſt euen in the verie confluence. Some call this Lomund the Simming broke or Sunnings bath. After this our Exe goeth to Bickleie, Theuerten (taking in a rill by weſt) nether Exe, Bramford, beneath which it ioineth with the Columbe that riſeth of one head northeaſt of Clarie Haidon, and of another ſouth of Shildon, and méeting beneath Columbe ſtocke, goeth by Columbe and Bradfeld, and there croſſing a rill that commeth by Alhford, it runneth ſouth to Wood, Moore hales, Columbton, Brandnicke, Beare, Columbe John, Horham, and ioining (as I ſaid) with the Exe at Bramford, paſſing vnder but one bridge, yer it meet with another water by weſt, growing of the Forten and Cride waters (except it be ſo that I do iudge amiſſe.) The Cride riſeth aboue Wolleſworthie, and néere vnto Upton: after it is paſt Dewriſh, croſſeth a rill from betwéene Puggill and Stockeleie by Stocke Engliſh, &c. From hence it goeth to Fulford, where it méeteth with the Forten, wherof one branch commeth by Caldbroke, the other from S. Marie Tedburne, and ioining aboue Crediton, the chanell goeth on to the Cride, (which yer long alſo receiueth another from by north, comming by Stockeleie and Combe) then betwéene Haine and Newton Sires, to Pines, and ſo into the Exe, which ſtaieth not vntill it come to Exceſter. From Exceſter (whither the burgeſſes in time paſt laboured to bring the ſame, but in vaine) it runneth to Were, there taking in a rill from by weſt, and an other lower by Erminſter, next of all vnto Toppeſham; beneath which towne the Cline entreth thereinto,

Yale. Done alias Done ſtroke. Woodburne. Lomund or Simming. Columbe. Cride. Forten. Cline.

into, which riſing about Plumtree, goeth by Cliff Haidon, Cliff Laurence, Wrode Cliff, Honiton, Souton, Biſhops Cliff, S. Marie Cliff, Cliff ſaint George, and then into the Exe, that runneth forward by Notwell court, Limſton and Ponderham caſtell.

Ken. Here (as I heare) it taketh in the Ken, or Kenton wroke (as Leland calleth it) comming from Holcombe parke, by Dunſdike, Shillingford, Kenford, Ken, Kenton, and ſo into Exe hauen, at whoſe mouth lie certeine rocks which they call the Checkſtones, except I be deceiued. The next fall, whereof Leland ſaith nothing at all, commeth by Aſhcombe and Dulch, and hath his head in the hilles thereby.

Teigne. The Teigne mouth is the next fall that we came to, & it is a goodlie port foure miles from Exemouth. The head of this water is twentie miles from the ſea at Teigne head in Dartmore among the Gidleie hilles. From whence it goeth to Gidleie towne, Teignton drue, where it receiueth the Crokerne comming from by north, and likewiſe another weſt of Fulford parke. Then it goeth to Dufford, Bridford, Kirſlowe, Chidleie, Knighton, and beneath the bridge there receiueth the Bouie, whoſe courſe is to north Bouie, Lilleie, and Bouitracie. Thence it runneth to kings Teignton, taking in Eidis, a wroke beneath Preſton that commeth from Edeford by the waie. And when it is paſt this confluence, at kings Teignton, it croſſeth the Leman, which commeth from Saddleton rocke by Beckington, and Newton Buſhels: and ſone after the Aller that riſeth betweene Danburie and Warog well, afterward falling into the ſea by Biſhops Teignton, ſouth of Teignmouth towne.

Croberne. Bouie. Eidis. Leman. Aller.

The verie vtter weſt point of the land, at the mouth of Teigne is called the Nelle, and is a verie high red cliffe. The eaſt part of the hauen is named the Poles, a low ſandie ground, either caſt vp by the ſpuing of the ſand out of the Teigne, or elſe throwne vp from the ſhore by the rage of wind and water. This ſand occupieth now a great quantitie of the ground betweene the hauen where the ſand riſeth, and Teignmouth towne, which towne (ſurnamed Regis) hath in time paſt been ſore defaced by the Danes, and of late time by the French.

From Teignemouth we came to Tor baie, whereof the weſt point is called Birie, and the eaſt Perritorie, betweene which is little aboue foure miles. From Tor baie alſo to Dartmouth is ſir miles, where (ſaith Leland) I marked diuerſe things. Firſt of all vpon the eaſt ſide of the hauen a great hillie point called Downeſend, and betwixt Downeſend, and a pointlet named Wereford is a little baie. Were it ſelfe, in like ſort, is not full a mile from Downeſend vpward into the hauen. Kingſwere towne ſtandeth out as another pointlet, and betwixt it & Wereford is the ſecond baie. Somewhat moreouer aboue Kingſwere towne goeth a little creeke vp into the land from the maine ſtreame of the hauen called Waterhead, and this is a verie fit place for veſſels to be made in. In like ſort halfe a mile beyond this into the landward goeth another longer creeke, and aboue that alſo a greater than either of theſe called Galmſton, whoſe head is here not halfe a mile from the maine ſea, by the compaſſing thereof, as it runneth in Tor baie.

Dart. The riuer of Dart or Darent (for I read Derenta muth for Dartmouth) commeth out of Dartmore fifteene miles aboue Totneſſe, in a verie large plot, and ſuch another wild moriſh & forreſtie ground as Ermore is. Of it ſelfe moreouer this water is verie ſwift, and thorough occaſion of tin-workes whereby it paſſeth, it carrieth much ſand to Totneſſe bridge, and ſo choketh the depth of the riuer downeward, that the hauen it ſelfe is almoſt ſpoiled by the ſame. The mariners of Dartmouth accompt this to be about a kenning from Plimmouth. The Darent therefore proceeding from the place of his vpriſing, goeth on to Buckland, from whence it goeth to Buckland hole; and ſone after taking in the Aſhburne water on the one ſide that runneth from Saddleton rocke by north, and the Buckfaſtlich that commeth from north weſt, it runneth to Staunton, Darington, Hemſton, and there alſo croſſing a rill on ech ſide paſſeth forth to Totneſſe, Bowden, and aboue Gabriell Stoke meeteth with the Hartburne that runneth vnder Roſt bridge, two miles aboue Totnes, or (as another ſaith) by Ratter, Harberton, Paineſford, and Aſprempton into Darent, which yer long alſo commeth to Cornewothie, Grenewaie, Ditſham, Darntmouth towne (whervnto king John gaue ſometimes a maior, as he did vnto Totneſſe) from thence betweene the caſtelles, and finallie into ſea.

Aſhburne. Buckfaſtlich. Hartburne.

From hence we went by Stokeflemming to another water, which commeth from blacke Auton, then to the ſecond that falleth in eaſt of Slapton, and ſo coaſting out of this baie by the Start point, we ſaile almoſt directlie weſt, till we come to Saltcombe hauen. Certes this port hath verie little freſh water comming to it, and therefore no meruell though it be barred; yet the head of it (ſuch as it is) riſeth neere Buckland, and goeth to Dudbroke, which ſtandeth betweene two creekes. Thence it hieth to Charleton, where it taketh in a rill, whoſe head commeth from ſouth and north of Shereford. Finallie, it hath another creeke that runneth vp by Ilton: and the laſt of all that falleth in north of Portlemouth, whoſe head is ſo neere the baie laſt afore remembred, that it maketh it a forie peninſula (as I haue heard it ſaid.)

Then come we to the Awne, whoſe head is in the hils farre aboue Brent towne, from whence it goeth to Dirford wood, Loddewell, Hache, Aunton, Thorleſton, and ſo into the ſea ouer againſt a rocke called S. Michaels burrow. Arme riſeth aboue Harford, thence to Stoford, Iuie bridge, Armington bridge, Fleet, Orchardton, Owne well, and ſo vnto the ſea, which is full of flats and rocks, ſo that no ſhip commeth thither in anie tempeſt, except it be forced therto, through the vttermoſt extremitie and deſperat hazard of the fearefull mariners. King Philip of Caſtile loſt two ſhips here in the daies of king Henrie the ſeuenth, when he was driuen to land in the weſt countrie by the rage of weather. Yalme goeth by Cornewood, Slade, Stratleie, Yalmeton, Collaton, Newton ferrie, and ſo into the ſea, about foure miles by ſouth eaſt from the maine ſtreame of Plimmouth. Being paſt theſe portlets, then next of all we come to Plimmouth hauen, a verie buſie peece to deſcribe, becauſe of the numbers of waters that reſort vnto it, & ſmall helpe that I haue for the knowledge of their courſes; yet will I doo what I may in this, as in the reſt, and ſo much I hope by Gods grace to performe, as ſhall ſuffice my purpoſe in this behalfe.

Awne. Arme. See Hen. 7. pag. 792, 793, 794. Yalme. Plim.

The Plimne or Plim, is the verie ſame water that giueth name to Plimpton towne. The mouth of this gulfe, wherein the ſhips doo ride, is walled on ech ſide and chained ouer in time of neceſſitie, and on the ſouth ſide of the hauen is a blocke houſe vpon a rockie hill: but as touching the riuer it ſelfe, it riſeth in the hils weſt of Cornewood, and commeth downe a ſhort courſe of three miles to Newenham after it be iſſued out of the ground. From Newenham alſo it runneth to Plimpton, and ſone after into the Stoure, which Stoure ariſeth northweſt of Shepſtour, & goeth frō thence to Hemchurch, Yele, Shane, Bickleie, and ſo to Eford, where taking in the Plim, it runneth downe as one vnder the name of Plim, vntill

Plim. Stoure alias Catwater.

vntill it go paſt Plimmouth, and fall into the hauen ſouth eaſt of Plimmouth aforeſaid. I haue oftentimes trauelled to find out the cauſe whie ſo manie riuers in England are called by this name Stoure, and at the firſt ſuppoſing that it was growne by the corruption of Dour, the Brittiſh word for a ſtreame, I reſted therupon as reſolued for a ſeaſon: but afterward finding the word to be mere Saxon, and that Stouremare is a prouince ſubiect to the duke of Saxonie, I yelded to another opinion: whereby I conceiue that the ſaid name was firſt deriued from the Saxons. But to returne to our purpoſe.

Plimmouth it ſelfe ſtandeth betweene two creeks, not ſerued with anie backewater, therefore paſſing ouer theſe two, we enter into the Thamar that diſchargeth it ſelfe into the aforeſaid hauen. Going therfore vp that ſtreame, which for the moſt part parteth Deuonſhire from Cornewall, the firſt riuret that I met withall on the eaſt ſide is called Tauie, the head whereof is among the mounteins foure miles aboue Peters Tauie, beneath which it meeteth with another water from by weſt, ſo that theſe two waters include Marie Tauie betweene them, though nothing neere the confluence. From hence the Taue or Tauie runneth to Tauiſtocke, aboue which it taketh in a rill from by weſt, and another aboue north Buckland, whoſe head is in Dartmore, and commeth therevnto by Sandford and Yarrow bridge. From hence it goeth into Thamar, by north Buckland, monks Buckland, Beare, and Tamerton follie. Hauing thus diſpatched the Tauie, the next that falleth in on the eaſt ſide vpwards is the Lidde, which riſing in the hils aboue Lidford, runneth downe by Curriton and Siddenham, and ſo to Lidſtone, aboue which it receiueth the Truſhell brooke, which riſing north eaſt of Bredikon, goeth by Truſholton to Ibaine, where it receiueth a rill that commeth by Bradwood from Germanſwike, and after the confluence runneth to Liſton, and from thence into the Thamar. The next aboue this is the Corewater, this ariſeth ſomewhere about Elwell or Yelwell, and going by Virginſton, runneth on by ſaint Giles without anie increaſe vntill it come to Thamar. Next of all it taketh in two brookes not much diſtant in ſunder, whereof the one commeth in by Glanton, the other from Holſworthie, and both eaſt of Tamerton, which ſtandeth on the further banke, & other ſide of the Thamar, and weſt northweſt of Tedcote, except the quarter deceiue me.

Taue or Tauie.

Lidde.

Truſhell.

Core.

Thamar.

Certes, the Thamar it ſelfe riſeth in Summerſetſhire, about three miles northeaſt of Hartland, and in maner ſo croſſeth ouer the whole weſt countrie betweene ſea and ſea, that it leaueth Cornewall, a byland or peninſula. Being therefore deſcended from the head, by a tract of ſix miles, it commeth to Denborow, Pancraſe well, Bridge Reuell, Tamerton, Tetcote, Lafkencote, Boiton, and Wirrington, where it meeteth with a water on the weſt ſide called Arteie, that riſeth ſhort of Jacobſtow. Two miles in like ſort frō this confluence, we met with the Renſeie, whoſe head is ſhort of Warpeſton by ſouth eaſt: from whence it goeth by Treneglos, Tremone, Treſmure, Trewen, Lanſton, and ſo into the Thamar, that runneth from hence by Lowthitton vnto Bradſton, and going on toward Dunterton, taketh in a rill from ſouth Pitherwie, and by Leſant; beneath Dunterton alſo it croſſeth the Entan. This riuer riſeth at Dauidſton, and directeth his race by ſaint Clethir, Lancaſt, and Trelaſke firſt; and then vnder ſundrie bridges, vntill it meet with the Thamar. From hence alſo the Thamar goeth by Siddenham to Calſtocke bridge, Calſtocke towne, Clifton, Cargreue (there abouts taking in a creeke aboue Landilip) and running on from thence, hasteth toward Saltaſh, where it receiueth the Liuer water. The head of Liuer is about Brownwellie hill, from whence it goeth on to North hill, Lekenhorne, South hill, and taking in a rill by eaſt (from aboue Kellington) it runneth on to Newton, Pillaton, Wotton, Bloſſleming, ſaint Erne, and beneath this village croſſeth a rillet that runneth thither from Bicton by Quithiocke, ſaint Germans, and Sheuiocke. But to proceed. After the confluence, it goeth betweene Erlie and Fro Martine caſtell, and ſone after taking in a rill from by north, that paſſeth weſt of ſaint Steuens, it is not long yer it fall into the Thamar, which after this (receiuing the Milbrooke creeke) goeth on by Edgecombe, and betweene ſaint Michaels Ile and Ridden point into the maine ſea. And thus haue I finiſhed the deſcription of Plimmouth water, and all ſuch falles as are betweene Newſton rocke on the eaſt ſide, and the Ram head on the other.

Liuer.

After this we proceeded on with our iournie toward the weſt, and paſſing by Longſtone, we came ſone after to Sothan baie, where we croſſed the Seton water, whoſe head is about Liſcard, & his courſe by Pinheniet, Chaſtrench, Tregowike, Sutton, and ſo into the ſea. Then came we to Low, and going in betweene it and Mount Ile, we find that it had a branched courſe, and thereto the confluence aboue Low. The chiefe head riſeth in the hils, as it were two miles aboue Gaine, and going by that towne, it ceaſeth not to continue his courſe eaſt of Dulo, till it come a little aboue Low, where it croſſeth and ioineth with the Brodoke water that runneth from Brodokes by Trewargo, and ſo into the ſea. Next vnto theſe are two other rils, of which one is called Polpir, before we come at Foy, or Fawy.

Sutton.

Low.

Polpir.

Foy or Fawy riuer riſeth in Fawy more, on the ſide of an hill in Fawy more, from whence it runneth by certeine bridges, till it meet with the Glin water weſt of Glin towne, which riſing aboue Temple, & meeting with a rill that commeth in from S. Neotes, doth fall into Fawy a mile and more aboue Reſprin from by eaſt. After this confluence then, it goeth to Reſprin bridge, Leſkermen caſtell, Loſwithiell bridge, Pill, ſaint Kingtons, ſaint Winnow, and Golant, and here alſo receiueth the Lerine water out of a parke, that taketh his wate into the maine ſtreame by Biconke, Tethe, and the Fining houſe. Being thus vnited, it proceedeth vnto Fawy towne, taking in a rill or creeke from aboue it on the one ſide, and another beneath it ſouth of Halling on the other: of which two this latter is the longeſt of courſe, ſith it runneth three good miles before it come at the Foy. Leland writing of this riuer addeth verie largelie vnto it after this maner. The Fawy riſeth in Fawy more (about two miles from Camilford by ſouth, and ſixteene miles from Fawy towne) in a verie quaue mire on the ſide of an hill. From hence it goeth to Drainesbridge, to Clobham bridge, Lergen bridge, New bridge, Reſprin bridge, and Loſwithiell bridge, where it meeteth with a little brooke, and neere therevnto parteth it ſelfe in twaine. Of theſe two armes therefore one goeth to a bridge of ſtone, the other to another of timber, and ſone after ioining againe, the maine riuer goeth to ſaint Gwinnowes, from thence alſo to the point of ſaint Gwinnowes wood, which is about halfe a mile from thence, except my memorie doth faile me. Here goeth in a ſalt creeke halfe a mile on the eaſt ſide of the hauen, and at the head of it is a bridge called Lerine bridge; the creeke it ſelfe in like maner bearing the ſame denomination.

Fawie.

Glin.

Lerinus.

From Lerine creeke, to S. Caracs pill or creeke, is about halfe a mile, and Lower on the eaſt ſide of the ſaid hauen: it goeth vp alſo not aboue a mile and

In the mid
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Renſeie.

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Faw.

ret in an Iſlet longing ſometime to Hount tegew a prioric.

an halfe into the land. From Caracs creeke to Poulmorland a mile, and this likewiſe goeth vp ſcant a quarter of a mile into the land, yet at the head it parteth it ſelfe in twaine. From Poulmorland vnto Bodnecke village halfe a mile, where the paſſage and repaſſage is commonlie to Fawy. From Bodnecke to Pelene point (where a creeke goeth vp not fullie a thouſand paces into the land) a mile, thence to Poulruan a quarter of a mile, and at this Poulruan is a tower of force, marching againſt the tower on Fawy ſide, betweene which (as I doo heare) a chaine hath ſometime beene ſtretched, and likelie inough; for the hauen there is hardly two bow ſhot ouer. The verie point of land at the eaſt ſide of the mouth of this hauen, is called Pontus croſſe, but now Panuche croſſe. It ſhall not be amiſſe in this place ſomewhat to intreat of the towne of Fawy, which is called in Cornish Comuhath, and being ſituat on the northſide of the hauen, is ſet hanging on a maine rockie hill, being in length about one quarter of a mile, except my memorie deceiue me.

Comuhath.

The renowme of Fawy roſe by the wars vnder king Edward the firſt, Edward the third, and Henrie the fift, partlie by feats of armes, and partlie by plaine piraſie. Finallie, the townesmen feeling themſelues ſomwhat at eaſe and ſtrong in their purſes, they fell to merchandize, and ſo they proſpered in this their new deuiſe, that as they trauelled into all places, ſo merchants from all countries made reſort to them, whereby within a while they grew to be exceeding rich. The ſhips of Fawy ſailing on a time by Rhie and Winchelſeie in the time of king Edward the third, refuſed ſtoutlie to vale anie bonet there, although warning was giuen them ſo to doo by the portgreues or rulers of thoſe townes. Hereupon the Rhie and Winchelſeie men made out vpon them with cut and long taile: but ſo hardlie were they interteined by the Fawy pirates (I ſhould ſaie aduenturers) that they were driuen home againe with no ſmall loſſe and hinderance. Such fauour found the Fawy men alſo immediatlie vpon this bickering, that in token of their victorie ouer their winching aduerſaries, and riding ripiers (as they called them in mockerie) they altered their armes and compounded for new, wherein the ſcutchion of Rhie and Winchelſeie is quartered with theirs, and beſide this the Foyens were called the gallants of Fawy or Foy, whereof they not a little reioiſed, and more peraduenture than for ſome greater bootie. And thus much of Fawy towne, wherein we ſee what great ſucceſſe often commeth of witleſſe and raſh aduentures. But to returne againe to our purpoſe from whence we haue digreſſed, and as hauing ſome deſire to finiſh vp this our voiage, we will leaue the Fawmouth & go forward on our iournie.

Gallants of Foy or Fawy.

Being therefore paſt this hauen, we come into Trewardith baie, which lieth into the land betweene Tannaſſe and the Blacke head point, and hereabout Leland placeth *Vrctoum promontorium*. In this we ſaw the fall of two ſmall brookes, not one verie far diſtant from another. The firſt of them entring weſt of Trewardith, the other eaſt of ſaint Blaies, and both directlie againſt Curwarder rocke, except I miſtake my compaſſe. Neither of them are of anie great courſe, and the longeſt not full three miles and an halfe. Wherfore ſith they are neither branched nor of anie great quantitie, what ſhould I make long harneſt of a little corne, and ſpend more time than may well be ſpared about them?

Auſtell.

When we were paſt the Blacke head, we came to Auſtell brooke, which is increaſed with a water that commeth from aboue Melwan, and within a mile after the confluence, they fall into the ſea at Pentozen, from whence we went by the Blacke rocke, and about the Dudman point, till we came to Chare haies, where falleth in a prettie water, whoſe head is two miles aboue ſaint Tues. Thence we went by here and there a meere ſalt creeke, till we paſſed the Graie rocke, in Gwindraith baie, and S. Anthonies point, where Leland maketh his accompt to enter into Falamouth hauen. Chare.

The Fala riſeth a little by north of Pennenton towne, and going weſtward till it come downwards toward ſaint Dionſe, it goeth from thence to Melader, ſaint Steuens Grampont, Goldon, Crede, Corneleie, Tregue, Morran, Tregunnan, it falleth into the hauen with a good indifferent force: and this is the courſe of Fala. But leaſt I ſhould ſeeme to omit thoſe creekes that are betweene this and S. Anthonies point, I will go a little backe againe, and fetch in ſo manie of them, as come now to my remembrance. Entring therefore into the port, we haue a creeke that runneth vp by ſaint Anthonies toward ſaint Gereus, then another that goeth into the land by eaſt of ſaint Maries caſtell, with a forked head, paſſing in the meane time by a great rocke that lieth in the verie midſt of the hauen, in maner of the third point of a triangle, betweene ſaint Maries caſtell and Pendinant. Fala.

Thence we caſt about by the ſaid caſtell, and came by another creeke that falleth in by eaſt, then the ſecond aboue ſaint Iuſtus, the third at Ardenora, the fourth at Kilan. And hauing as it were viſited all theſe in order, we came backe againe about by Tregonnian, and then going vpward betweene it and Taluerne, till we came to Fentangolan, we found the confluence of two great creekes beneath ſaint Clements, whereof one hath a freſh water comming downe by S. Werther, the other another from Truro, increaſed with ſundrie branches, though not one of them of anie greatneſſe, and therefore vnworthie to be handled. Pole hole ſtandeth vpon the head almoſt of the moſt eaſterlie of them. S. Kenwen and Truro ſtand aboue the confluence of other two. The fourth falleth in by weſt from certeine hils: as for the firſt and firt, as they be little creeks and no freſh, ſo haue I leſſe language and talke to ſpend about them.

Of ſaint Caie, and ſaint Feokes creeke, whoſe iſſue is betweene Keſtronget and creeke of Truric, I ſee no cauſe to make any long ſpeech; yet I remember that the towne of S. Feoke ſtandeth betweene them both. That alſo called after this ſaint, riſing aboue Perannarwothill, and comming thence by Kirklo, falleth into Falamouth, northeaſt of Miloz, which ſtandeth vpon the point betweene it and Miloz creeke. Miloz creeke is next Keſtronget: ſome call it Miloz pole, from whence we went by Trekuſis point, and there found an other great fall from Perin, which being branched in the top, hath Perin towne almoſt in the verie confluence. And thus much by my collection of the fall. But for ſomuch as Leland hath taken ſome paines in the deſcription of this riuer, I will not ſuffer it to periſh, ſith there is other matter conteined therein worthie remembrance, although not deliuered in ſuch order as the thing it ſelfe requireth. S. Caie. S. Feoke. Miloz.

The verie point (ſaith he) of the hauen mouth (being an hill whereon the king hath builded a caſtell) is called Pendinant. It is about a mile in compaſſe, almoſt inuironed with the ſea: and where the ſea couereth not, the ground is ſo low that it were a ſmall maſtrie to make Pendinant an Iland. Furthermore, there lieth a cape or foreland within the hauen a mile and a halfe, and betwixt this and maiſter Killigrewes houſe one great arme of the hauen runneth vp to Penrine towne, which is three miles from the verie entrie of Falamouth hauen, and two good Fala.

miles

Leuine. miles from Penſulis. Moreouer, there is Leuine, Puſcelo, betwixt ſaint Budocus and Pendinas, which were a good hauen but for the barre of ſand. But to proceed.

The firſt creeke or arme that caſteth on the north-weſt ſide of Falemouth hauen, goeth vp to Perin, and at the end it breaketh into two armes, whereof the leſſe runneth to Glaſenith, *viridis nidus*, the greene neſt, or Wagmere at Penrine: the other to ſaint Gluntas the pariſh church of Penrine. In like ſort out of each ſide of Penrine creeke, breaketh an arme yer it come to Penrine. This I vnderſtand alſo that ſtakes and foundations of ſtone haue béene ſet in the creeke at Penrine a litle lower than the wharfe, where it breaketh into armes: but howſoeuer this ſtandeth, betwixt the point of Trefuſis and the point of Reſtronget is Miloz creeke, which goeth vp a mile into the land, and by the church is a good rode for ſhips. The next creeke beyond the point of Reſtronget wood, is called Reſtronget, which going two miles vp into the maine, breaketh into two armes. In like order betwixt Reſtronget and the creeke of Trurie be two creekes; one called ſaint Feokes, the other ſaint Caie, next vnto which is Trurie creeke that goeth vp about two miles creeking from the principall ſtreame, and breaketh within halfe a mile of Trurie, caſting in a branch weſtward euen hard by Newham wood.

Miloz.

Reſtronget.

S. Feokes. S. Caie.

Trurie creeke This creeke of Trurie is diuided into two parts before the towne of Trurie, and each of them hauing a broke comming downe and a bridge, the towne of Trurie ſtandeth betwixt them both. In like ſort Kenwen ſtreet is ſeuered from the ſaid towne with this arme, and Clements ſtreet by eaſt with the other. Out of the bodie alſo of Trurie creeke breaketh another eaſtward a mile from Crurie, and goeth vp a mile and a halfe to Creſilian bridge of ſtone. At the verie entrie and mouth of this creeke is a rode of ſhips called Maples rode: and here fought not long ſince eightéene ſhips of Spaniſh merchants, with foure ſhips of warre of Deepe, but the Spaniards draue the Frenchmen all into this harborow. A mile and an halfe aboue the mouth of Crurie creeke, is another named Lhan Morzan of S. Morzans church at hand. This creeke goeth vp a quarter of a mile from the maine ſtreame into the hauen, as the maine ſtreame goeth vp two miles aboue Morzan creeke ebbing and flowing: and a quarter of a mile higher is the towne of Cregowie, where we found a bridge of ſtone vpon the Fala riuer. Fala it ſelfe riſeth a mile or more weſt of Roche hill, and goeth by Graund pont, where I ſaw a bridge of ſtone.

Morzan.

Graund pont. This Graund pont is foure miles from Roche hill, and two little miles from Cregowie, betwixt which the Fala taketh his courſe. From Cregowie to paſſe downe by the bodie of the hauen of Falamouth to the mouth of Lanie horne pill or creeke, on the ſouth ſide of the hauen is a mile, and (as I remember) it goeth vp halfe a mile from the principall ſtreame of the hauen. From Lanihorne pill alſo is a place or point of ſand about a mile waie of fortie acres or thereabout (as a peninſula) called Ardeuerauter. As for the water or creeke that runneth into the ſouth ſoutheaſt part, it is but a little thing of halfe a mile vp into the land, and the creeke that hemmeth in this peninſula, of both doth ſeeme to be the greater. From the mouth of the weſt creeke of this peninſula, vnto ſaint Juſtes creeke, is foure miles or more.

S. Iuſtus. S. Mawes. In like maner from ſaint Juſtes pill or creeke (for both ſignifie one thing) to ſaint Mawes creeke is a mile and a halfe, and the point betweene them both is called Pendinas. The creeke of ſaint Mawes goeth vp a two miles by eaſt northeaſt into the land, and beſide that it ebbeth and floweth ſo farre, there is a mill driuen with a freſh creeke that reſorteth to the ſame. Halfe a mile from the head of this downeward to the hauen, is a creeke in maner of a pole, whereon is a mill alſo that grindeth with the tide. And a mile beneath that on the ſouth ſide entereth a creeke (about halfe a mile into the countrie) which is barred from the maine ſea by a ſmall ſandie banke, and another mile yet lower, is an other little creekelet. But how ſo euer theſe creekes do run, certeine it is that the bankes of them that belong to Fala are meruellouſlie well wooded. And hitherto Leland, whoſe words I dare not alter, for feare of corruption and alteration of his iudgement. Being paſt Falmouth hauen therefore (as it were a quarter of a mile beyond Arwennach, maiſter Killegrewes place which ſtandeth on the brimme or ſhore within Falmouth) we came to a little hauen which ran vp betweene two hilles, but it was barred: wherefore we could not learne whether it were ſerued with anie backe freſh water or not.

From thence we went by Polwitherall creeke (parted into two armes) then to the Polpenrith, wherevnto a riueret falleth that riſeth not farre from thence, and ſo goeth to the maine ſtreame of the hauen at the laſt, whither the creeke reſorteth about three miles and more from the mouth of the hauen, and into which the water that goeth vnder Gare and Mogun bridges, do fall in one bottome (as Leland hath reported.) Vnto this hauen alſo repaireth the Penkeſtell, the Callous, the Cheſſow, and the Gilling, although this latter lieth againſt ſaint Mawnons on the hither ſide hard without the hauen mouth (if I haue done aright.) For ſo motheaten, mouldie, & rotten are thoſe bookes of Leland which I haue, and beſide that, his annotations are ſuch and ſo confounded, as no man can (in a maner) picke out anie ſenſe from them by a leaſe togither. Wherefore I ſuppoſe that he diſperſed and made his notes intricate of set purpoſe: or elſe he was loth that anie man ſhould eaſilie come to that knowledge by reading, which he with his great charge & no leſſe trauell atteined vnto by experience. Thus leauing Fala hauen, as more troubleſome for me to deſcribe, than profitable for ſeafaring men, without good aduiſe to enter into, we left the rocke on our left hand, and came ſtraight ſouthweſt to Helford hauen, whoſe water commeth downe from Wreeke (where is a confluence of two ſmall rilles whereof that rill conſiſteth) by Mawgan and Trelawarren, and then it receiueth a rill on the north ripe from Conſtantine, after whoſe confluence it goeth a maine vntill it come to the Ocean, where the mouth is ſpoiled by ſand comming from the tinworks. See Leland in the life of S. Breaca. Beneath this alſo is another rill comming from S. Martyrs, by whoſe courſe, and another ouer againſt it on the weſt ſide that falleth into the ſea by Winniton, all Menage is left almoſt in maner of an Iland. From hence we go ſouth to the Manacle point, then ſouthweſt to Liſard, and ſo north and by weſt to Predannocke points, beyond which we meet with the fall of the ſaid water, that riſeth in the edge of Menag, and goeth into the ſea by Melien on the north, and Winniton on the ſouth. By north alſo of Winniton is the Curie water that runneth ſhort of Magan, and toucheth with the Ocean ſouth of Pengwenian point.

Polwitherall. Polpenrith. Wike. Gare. Mogun. Penkeſtell. Callous. Cheſſow. Gilling. Curie.

From hence we ſailed to the Lo mouth, which ſome call Lopole, becauſe it is narrower at the fall into the ſea, than it is betweene the ſea and Hailſton. It riſeth aboue S. Sethians, and comming downe by Wendron, it haſteth to Hailſton or Helſton, from whence onelie it is called Lo: but betweene Helſton and the head, men call it commonlie Cohor. Of this riuer Leland ſaith thus: The Lopole is two miles in

Lo.

lengthe, and betwixt it and the maine Ocean is but a barre of ſand that once in thrée or foure yéeres, what by weight of the freſh water, and worcking of the ſea breaketh out, at which time it maketh a wonderfull noiſe: but ſone after the mouth of it is barred vp againe. At all other times the ſuperfluitie of the water of Lopole (which is full of trout and éele) drayneth out through the ſandie barre into the open ſea: certes if this barre could alwaies be kept open, it would make a goodlie hauen vp vnto Haileſton towne, where coinage of tin is alſo vſed, as at Truric and Loſtwithiell, for the quéenes aduantage.

Being paſſed the Lo, I came to another water that deſcendeth without anie increaſe from Crowan by Simneie, whoſe whole courſe is not aboue thrée miles in all. Then going by the Cuddan point, we entered the mounts Baie, and going ſtreight north (leauing S. Michaels mount a little vpon the left hand) we came to the Lid, which riſing ſhort of Tewidnacke, deſcendeth by Lidgenan, and ſo into the ſea. Certes the courſe of theſe waters cannot be long, ſith in this verie place the breadth of land is not aboue foure miles, and not more than fiue at the verie lands end. There is alſo a rill eaſt of Borugie, and Guluall, and another weſt of the ſame hard at hand, and likewiſe the third eaſt of Penſants: and not a full quarter of a mile from the ſecond, ſouthweſt of Penſants alſo lieth the fourth that commeth from Sancrete ward by Newlin, from whence going ſouthweſt out of the baie by Pouſhole Ile, that lieth ſouth of Pouſhole towne, we come to a water that entreth into the Ocean betwixt Remels & Lamorleie point. Trulie the one head thereof commeth from by weſt of Sancrete, the other from by weſt of an hill that ſtandeth betwéene them both, and ioining aboue Remels, it is not long yer they ſalute their grandame. After this, and before we come at Roſecaſtell, there are two other créekes, whereof one is called Boſkennie, that riſeth ſouth of ſaint Buriens, and an other ſomewhat longer than the firſt, that iſſueth by weſt of the aforeſaid towne, wherein is to be noted, that our cards made heretofore do appoint S. Buriens to be at the very lands end of Cornewall, but experience now teacheth vs, that it commeth not néere the lands end by thrée miles. This latter rill alſo is the laſt that I do reade of on the ſouth ſide, and likewiſe on the weſt and north, till we haue ſailed to S. Jes baie, which is full ten miles from the lands end, or Brean Ile eaſtward, & rather more, if you reckon to the fall of the Haile, which lieth in the very middeſt and higheſt part of the baie of the ſame. The ſoile alſo is verie hillie here, as for ſaint Jes towne, it is almoſt (as I ſaid) a byland, and yet is it well watered with ſundrie rilles that come from thoſe hilles vnto the ſame.

The Haile riſeth in ſuch maner, and from ſo manie heads, as I haue before ſaid: howbeit I will adde ſomewhat more vnto it, for the benefit of my readers. Certes the chéefe head of Haile riſeth by weſt of Godalfin hilles, and going downe toward ſaint Erthes, it receiueth the ſecond, and beſt of the other thrée rilles from Godalfin towne: finallie, comming to ſaint Erthes, and ſo vnto the maine baie, it taketh in the Clowart water from Guimer, ſouth of Phelacke, which hath two heads, the ſaid village ſtanding directlie betwixt them both.

The Caine riſeth ſoutheaſt of Caineburne towne a mile and more, from whence it goeth without increaſe by weſt of Gwethian, and ſo into the ſea weſt of Hara Darwaie. From hence we coaſted about the point, & left the baie till we came to a water that riſeth of two heads from thoſe hilles that lie by ſouth of the ſame: one of them alſo runneth by ſaint Anis, another by Redreuth, and méeting within a mile, they fall into the Ocean beneath Luggam or Tuggam. A mile and a halfe from this fall we come vnto another ſmall rill, and likewiſe two other créekes, betwixt which the towne of ſaint Agnes ſtandeth; and likewiſe the fourth halfe a mile beyond the moſt eaſterlie of theſe, whoſe head is almoſt thrée miles within the land in a towne called ſaint Alin. Thence going by the Hanrocke, and weſt of ſaint Piran in the ſand, we find a courſe of thrée miles and more from the head, and hauing a forked branch, the parts do méet at weſt aboue ſaint Kibbard, and ſo go into the ſea. I take this to be ſaint Pirans créeke, for the next is Carantocke pill or créeke, whoſe head is at Guſwarth, from whence it goeth vnto Treriſe, and ſone after taking in a rill from by weſt, it runneth into the ſea coaſt of ſaint Carantakes. Beyond this is another créeke that riſeth aboue little ſaint Colan, and goeth by leſſe ſaint Columbe: and eaſt and by north hereof commeth downe one more whoſe head is almoſt ſouth of the Nine ſtones, & going from thence to great ſaint Columbes, it paſſeth by Lamberne, and ſo into the ſea. S. Perons créeke is but a little one, riſing weſt of Padſtow, and falling in almoſt ouer againſt the Gull rocke. Then turning betwéene the point and the blacke rocke, we entred into Padſtow hauen thrée miles lower than port Iſſec, and a mile from port Gwin, whoſe waters remaine next of all to be deſcribed.

The Alan ariſeth flat eaſt from the hauen mouth of Padſtow, well nére eight or nine miles about Dauidſtone, nére vnto which the Entam alſo iſſueth, that runneth into the Thamar. Going therefore from hence it paſſeth to Camelford, ſaint Aduen, ſaint Bernard (both Cornith ſaints) and ſone after receiueth a rill at northeaſt, deſcending from Rowters hill. Thence it goeth to Bliſeland, and Helham, the firſt bridge of name that ſtandeth vpon Alin. Yer long alſo it taketh in one rill by ſouth from Bodman, another from ſaint Laurence, the third by weſt of this, and the fourth that commeth by Wethiell, no one of them exceéding the courſe of thrée miles, and all by ſouth. From hence it goeth toward Igleſaleward, and there receiueth a water on the eaſt ſide, which commeth about two miles from ſaint Teath, by Michelſon, ſaint Tuchoe, ſaint Maben (no Cornith patrons) and finallie ſouth of Igleſall, méeteth with the Alen that goeth from thence by S. Breaca to Wodbridge. Hereabout I find, that into our Alein or Alen, there ſhould fall two riuerets, whereof the one is called Carneleie, the other Laine, and comming in the end to full notice of the matter, I ſée them to iſſue on ſeuerall ſides beneath Wodbridge almoſt directlie the one againſt the other. That which deſcendeth from northweſt, and riſeth about ſaint Kew, is named Carneleie, as I heare: the other that commeth in on the ſouthweſt banke hight Laine, and noted by Leland to riſe two miles aboue S. Eſſe. But howſoeuer this matter ſtandeth, there are two other créekes on ech ſide alſo, beneath theſe, as Pethrike créeke, and Minner créeke (ſo called of the Cornith ſaints) for that ſoile bred manie, wherewith I finiſh the deſcription of Alen, or (as ſome call it) Dunmere, and other Padſtow water.

From Padſtow hauen alſo they ſaile out full weſt to Waterford in Ireland. There are likewiſe two rockes, which lie in the eaſt ſide of the hauen, ſecretlie hidden at full ſea, as two pads in the ſtraw, whereof I thinke it taketh the name. Yet I remember how I haue read that Padſtow is a corrupted word for Adleſtow, and ſhould ſignifie ſo much as *Athelſtani locus*, as it may well be. For it is euident that they had in time paſt ſundrie charters of priuilege from Athelſtane, although at this preſent it be well ſtored with Iriſhmen. But to our purpoſe. Le-

land

Simmele. Lid. Brean Ile Haile. Clowart. Caine. Luggam. S. Pirans créeke. Carantocke. Padſtow, Locus buſonis. Iannus. Entam. Carneleie. Laine. Pethrike. Minner. Dunmere.

land ſuppoſeth this riuer to be the ſame Camblan, where Arthur fought his laſt and fatall conflict: for to this daie men that dw eare the ground there, dw oft plow vp bones of a large ſize, and great ſtore of armour, or elſe it may be (as I rather conjecture) that the Romans had ſome field (or Caſtra) thereabout, for not long ſince (and in the remembrance of man) a braſſe pot full of Romane coine was found there, as I haue often heard. Being thus paſſed Padſtow hauen, and after we had gone three miles from hence, we came to Portgwin a poore fiſher towne, where I find a broke and a péere. Then I came to Portiſſec *alias* Cunilus two miles farther, and found there a broke, a péere, and ſome ſuccor for fiſher boats. Next of all vnto a broke that ran from ſouth eaſt, directlie north into the Sauerne ſea, and within halfe a mile of the ſame laie a great blacke rocke like an Iland. From this water to Treuenni is about a mile, where the paroch church is dedicated to ſaint Simphorian, and in which paroch alſo Tintagell or Dundagle caſtell ſtandeth, which is a thing inexpugnable for the ſituation, and would be made with little reparations one of the ſtrongeſt things in England. For it ſtandeth on a great high terrible crag inuironed with the ſea. There is a chappell yet ſtanding in the dungeon thereof, dedicated to ſaint Vlet. Tintagell towne and Treuenni are not a mile in ſunder.

The next creeke is called Boſinni, which is a mile from Tintagell, and to the ſame Tredwie water reſorteth, and ſo they go to the ſea betwixt two hils, whereof that on the one ſide lieth out like an arme or cape, and maketh the faſhion of an hauenet or peere, whither ſhiplets ſometime dw reſort for ſuccour. A frier of late daies tooke vpon him to make an hauen at this place, but in vaine. There lie alſo two blacke rocks as Ilets, at the weſt northweſt point, or ſide of this creeke, the one (ſauing that a little gut doth part them) ioining with the other, and in theſe by all likelihod is great ſtore of gulles. I can not tell whether this be the water that runneth by Boſcaſtell or not, but if it be not, then haue I this deſcription of the latter. Boſcaſtell creeke that lieth eaſt of Tintagell, is but a ſmall thing, running at the moſt not aboue two miles into the land, yet it paſſeth by foure townes, whereof the firſt is called Leſneth, the ſecond ſaint Juliet, the third Pinſker, and the fourth Boſcaſtell or Buſhcaſtell, as ſome men dw pronounce it.

Tredwie.

Boſcaſtell.

Bede.

Lancels.

In Bede baie I find the Bedewater, whoſe chiefe head is not farre from Norton. Thence running to Stratton, it receiueth the Lancels rill before it come at Norham. And here alſo it croſſeth another whoſe head is eaſt of ſaint Marie wike, from whence it runneth by Wolſton and Whaleſborow, and thence into the ſea betweene Effor and Plough hill. And thus much of the waters that lie betweene the point of Cornewall, and the Hartland head vpon the north ſide of Cornewall. Now let vs dw the like with thoſe that remaine of Deuonſhire, whereof the ſaid Hartland is the verie firſt point in this our poeticall voiage. Hauing therefore brought Hartland point on our backs, we come next of all to Barſtable bar, and ſo into the hauen, whereinto two principall ſtreams dw perpetuallie vnburden their chanels.

Ocus.

The firſt and more weſterlie of theſe is called Ocus, whoſe head is not farre weſt of the head of Darnt, and both in Darntmore. Riſing therefore in the aforeſaid place, it runneth northweſt to Snorton, and ſo to Okehampton, beneath which towne it méeteth with an other water comming from ſoutheaſt, & riſeth not much weſt from the head of Taw. From hence it goeth to Stow Erborne, Monke Okington, & Iddeſleie, where it taketh in the Tanridge a verie prette ſtreamelet, whoſe iſſue is not full a mile by eaſt from the head of Thamar, three miles by north eaſt from Hartland. Comming therefore by weſt and eaſt Putford, Bulworthie, Bockington, Newton, and Shebbor, it receiueth a forked rill that runneth from ech ſide of Bradworthie by Sutcombe, Treborow, Milton, & ſo to Thornebirie, where méeting with an other forked water (whereof one head comming from Dunſland, ioineth with the other north of Cockbirie) it goeth with ſpeed into the Tanridge water. After this confluence it runneth on to Sheepewaſh (by weſt whereof falleth in the Buckland water from by north) thence to high Hainton, and ſo to Haitherlaie, north wherof it taketh in a rill from by ſouth, and endeth his race at Iddeſleie, by ioining with the Oke. Hence then the Ocus haſteth to Dowland, and betweene it and Doulton, receiueth one rill from by eaſt, as it doth an other betweene Doulton and Marton from by weſt, and ſo proceeding on with his courſe, it commeth eaſt of Torrington the leſſe, and taking in a water at eaſt, that runneth from three heads (by Wollie parke) betweene which Combe and Roughborow are ſituat, it deſcendeth to Torington the more, and meeting with the Langtree water on the one ſide, and the Mare broke on the other, it procéedeth to Bediford, croſſing a rill by the waie that commeth vnto it betweene Annarie & Littham. From Bediford bridge it goeth without anie increaſe to Weſtleie, Norham, Appledoure, and ſo into the hauen.

Buckland.

Langtree.

Were or Ware.

The Taw of both is the more noble water, notwithſtanding that his hauen be barred with ſand; and thereby dangerous, and hath moſt rils deſcending into his chanell. Howbeit, by theſe two is all the hart of Deuonſhire well watered on the northſide of the mores. The Tawy riſeth directlie at ſouth weſt of Throwleie, and north of the head of Darnt, or (as Leland ſaith) in Exmore ſouth eaſt from Barſtable. From thence alſo it runneth to Sele, South Taueton, Cockatre, Bath, Northtaueton, Albridge, Colridge, and ſone after receiueth the Bowmill creeke, whereof one head riſeth at Bow, the other at Mill, and meeting beneth Biſhops Norchard, they fall into the Taw north of Nimeth Rowland, as I haue béene informed. From hence then it runneth by Edgeforth, to Chimligh, by ſouth whereof it méeteth with a rill comming downe of two heads from about Rakenford, by Wetheridge and Chawleie. Thence it goeth to Burrington, and Chiltenholtwod, and there taketh in the Houlebraie water conſiſting of two in one chanell, whereof the Moll doth riſe aboue north Moulton, and comming to Moulton receiueth another rill running from Holland, and ſone after the ſecond that growing by two brokes (the head of one being at Knawſton, and of the other weſt of Crokeham, and both vniting themſelues beneath Marſton) doth fall into the ſame yer long alſo, and ſo go togither till it croſſe the Braie, which (being the ſecond of the two that maketh the Houlbraie) riſeth at Braie, commeth by Buckland, and ſouth of Holtwod doth make his confluence with Taw. Being paſt the wood, it goeth on to Brightleie hall, Taueton, Taueſtocke, & Berſtable, ſometime a prette walled towne with foure gates, but now a little thing; and ſuch in déed, as that the ſuburbes thereof are greater than it ſelfe. I ſuppoſe that the name of this towne in the Britiſh ſpeach was Abertaw, becauſe it ſtood toward the mouth of Taw, and Berdneſſe pronounced ſhort (as I geſſe) for Abernelſe. As for Staple, it is an addition for a market, & therefore hath nothing to dw in the proper name of the towne. King Athelſtane is taken here for the chiefe priuileger of the towne. This is alſo worthie to be noted hereof, that the houſes there are

Wowmill.

Houlebraie.

Braie.

of ſtone, as moſt are in all the good townes thereabout.

But to proceed with our purpoſe. Beneath this towne there falleth in a water that hath one head neere about Challacombe, & another at eaſt Downe, whereof this deſcending by Stoke riuer, and the other by Sherwell, they vnite themſelues within three miles of Barſtaple. Soone after alſo it taketh in another that deſcendeth from Bitenden by Aſhford, and the laſt of all eaſt of ſaint Anthonies chappell, named Doneham the Doneham, becauſe one head is at weſt Done, and the other at Ham, both of them meeting weſt of Aſh. And thus is Taue deſcribed, which is no great water nor quicke ſtreame, as may appeere in Low water marke at Berſtable, and yet is it a pretie riuret. This alſo is worthie to be noted thereof, that it receiueth no brooke from by weſt, whereof I would ſomewhat maruell, if Taurige were not at hand.

Being paſt the Taue, Cride baie and Bugpoint aliàs Bagpoint, we go by Poze baie, Pozſtone aliàs Pozſtone, and then toward the northeaſt, till we come by a creekelet to Ilfare combe, & ſo to Combe Parton, whereat (I meane ech of them) are ſundrie creekes of ſalt water, but not ſerued with anie freſh that I as yet do heare of. Marrie there is betweene Martinbow & Trenſow, a creeke that hath a backewater, which deſcendeth from Parracombe (ſo farre as I call to mind named Parradine becke) but the greateſt of all is betweene Linton and Conisberie called Oze, which riſeth in Summerſetſhire in Exmoze (eaſt of Hoze oke, moze than a mile) and going by Owze, falleth into the ſea betweene Linton and Conisberie, ſo that the whole race thereof amounteth in and out to an eight miles, as I haue heard repoꝛted. Thus haue I finiſhed the diſcourſe of the waters of Deuonſhire, whoſe breadth in this place from hence ouerthwart to the Checkſtones in the mouth of Ex, on the ſouth ſide of the Ile, is eight and thirtie miles or vnder fortie, and ſo much likewiſe is it from Plimmouth to Hartland point, but the broadeſt part there commeth to ſix and thirtie miles, whereas the broadeſt part of Cornewall doth want two miles of fortie.

Being paſt the aforeſaid limits of the counties we came to Portloch baie, whither commeth a water named Loch that deſcendeth from Stokepero, Lucham and Portloch without increaſe. Thence to Dunſteir brooke, which runneth from about Wlwton, and Courtneie by Tunbercombe and Dunſteir, then to another that commeth weſt of Old Cliffe, leauing a parke on the weſt ſide, next of all to Watchet water, whereof one head commeth from the Quantocke hils ſouth of Bickualer by Weſtquantocke head, and almoſt at Doniford, receiueth the Williton becke, then to eaſt Quantocke brooke (omitting a creeket) & next of all to Doddington water, that goeth by Holford, Alforton, and afterward into the ſea. From hence we go by Botteſall point, to Stert point, where two noble riuers do make their confluence, which I will ſeuerallie deſcribe, as to my purpoſe apperteineth.

The firſt of theſe is called the Iuell, or (as I find it in an ancient writer) Po, who ſaith that the riuer Po doth runne from Ilcheſter to Bridgewater, and ſo into the ſea. It riſeth aboue Oburne, and at Shirburne receiueth a water, whereof Leland ſaith thus. There are ſeuen ſprings in an hill called the ſeuen ſiſters, north eaſt from Shireburne, which gather into one bottome, & come into the Pere. Another brooke likewiſe commeth by Yeidon from Puſcandell, three miles from thence by flat eaſt, betwixt the parke and the Pere full ſo great as the ſtreame of the Pere, and ioining at the lower mill of Shireburne, with the Pere water, it is not long yer it fall into the Euill. Thence our Euill goeth on towards Glaſen Bradford, and yer it come there taketh in a forked rill from by ſouth, deſcending from about weſt Chelburie and Chetnall in Dorſetſhire, beneath which towne the other head falleth into the ſame, ſo that they run forth by Bearhaggard and Thorneford (till they meet with the Iuell) and ſo to Clifton, Euill a proper market towne, Trent, Putford, Aſhinton, and eaſt of Limminton it meeteth with the Cade Cade. that runneth from Parlington, by north Cadbirie, and ſome after croſſing a rill alſo from by eaſt, that commeth from Blackeford by Compton, it haſteth to ſouth Cadbirie, Sparkeford, Queenes Camell, weſt Camell, and ſo into Iuell, which runneth on to Kimmington, Ilcheſter, Ilbridge, long Sutton, and yer it come at Langport, taketh in two famous waters in one chanell, next of all to be remembred before I go anie further. The firſt of all theſe riſeth ſoutheaſt betweene the Parrets (where it is called Parret water) and goeth to Crokehorne, and at Parret. Merlot taketh in a brooke from the eaſt, which conſiſteth of two courſes vnited at Bowbridge, whereof the one deſcendeth from Pen by Haſilburie, the other from aboue the three Chenocks, as I do vnderſtand.

From hence alſo they go as one with the Parret water, toward ſouth Pederton (taking in at eaſt a becke comming from Hamden hill) thence to Pederton, Lambroke, Thornete bridge, and Puchelneie where it meeteth with the ſecond called Ill or Ilus, Ill. whoſe head is aboue Chellington, & comming downe from thence by Cadworth, before it come at Dunniet, it taketh in a rill that runneth by Chalcombe and Knoll. Thence leauing Ilmiſter on the eaſt ſide, it meeteth with another from by eaſt, deſcending from about Whitlakington. Then it goeth to Pokington (where it croſſeth the Ilton water by weſt) Ilton. next to Ilbruers, and there it ioineth with a rillet that riſeth by weſt at Staple, and runneth by Bicknell and Abbats Ilie, and after this confluence goeth on toward Langport. And here after ſome mens opinion, the Iuell loſeth his name, and is called Parret: but this conjecture cannot hold, ſith in the old writers it is called Iuell, till it fall into the ſea. Neuertheleſſe, how ſoeuer this matter ſtandeth, being paſt Langport, it goeth by Awber toward ſaint Anthonies, where it meeteth with the Tone next of all to be deſcribed.

The Tone iſſueth at Clatworthie, and goeth by Tone. weſt of Wiuelſcombe, to Stawleie, Kitford, Runton, Wellington and Bradford, beneath which it taketh in a faire water cõming from Sanford Combe, Elworthie, Brunt Rake, Piluerton, Oke and Hilfarens. After this confluence alſo it runneth to Helebridge, and there below meeteth with one water that runneth by Hawſe, Hethford and Norton, then another from Crokeham by biſhops Sledard, and the third & fourth at Taunton, that deſcendeth from Kingſton by north, and another by ſouth that riſeth about Pidmiſter. And thus is the Tone increaſed, which goeth from Taunton to Riſton, Crech, Northcurrie, Ling, and ſo by Anthonie into the Iuell, that after this confluence meeteth yer long with the Chare, a pretie riuer that commeth by eaſt from Chare or Care. Northborow, by Carleton, Badcare, Litecare, Somerton, Higham, Audrie more, Audrie, and Michelsborow. From whence going on betweene Queenes more and North more, it receiueth one brooke called Peder from by ſouthweſt, that runneth through Peder. Pederton parke and North more; and likewiſe another that paſſeth by Durleie, yer it do come at Bridgewater. From Bridgewater it goeth by Chilton directlie northweſt, and then turning flat weſt, it goeth northward towards the ſea, taking in two waters

Doneham.
Orus.
The breadth of Deuonſhire & Cornewall.
Loch.
Durus.
Vacetus.
Williton. Doddington.
Iuelus.
The ſeuen ſiſters.

ters by the waie, whereof one runneth by Corſpole & Camington, and beareth the name of Camington, the other by Stoddington and Comage, and then receiuing the Bzier before it come at Start point, they fall as one into the Ocean, whereof let this ſuffice for the deſcription of the Iuell, whoſe ſtreame doth water all the weſt part of Summerſetſhire and leaueth it verie fruitfull.

Camington. Bzier.

Bzier.

Leland writeth the firſt Brieuclus and the ſecond Mellodunus or the Milton water.

Dulis.

Howaie or Stowaie.

Cos.

The Bzier, Bzuer, or Bzéer, riſeth of two waters, whereof one is in Selwood foreſt, & commeth downe by Bzuecombe, Bzuham, and Bzuton. The other which Leland nameth Pellos, is northeſt of Staffordell towne, and going by the ſame, it runneth by Redlinch, to Wike; where it méeteth with the other head, and thence go on as one to Awnſford, Alford (where it taketh in a water called Dulis from by north that riſeth nére Dolting, and commeth by Euerchurch parke) then to the Lidfords, Balborow wood, the Tor hill, Pont perilous (whereinto they fable that Arthur being wounded to death did throw Calibur his ſword) by Glaſtenburie and ſo into the Méere. Beſide this riuer there are two other alſo that fall into the ſaid Méere, whereof the one called Sowaie commeth from Créechurch parke, and Pulton by Hartlacke bridge, the other named Cos or the Coſcombe water, from aboue Shepton, Mallet (which caſt of Wike taketh in a water comming from Welles) by Wike, Gedneie, and ſo into the Méere. Finallie, returning all into one chanell, it runneth to Burtlehouſe, and ſone after diuiding it ſelfe, one arme goeth by Baſtian alias Bzent bridge, to High bridge, leauing Huntſpill a market towne by ſouthweſt, the other by Marke to Rokes bridge, Hebbes paſſage, and ſo into the ſea, leauing a faire Iland, wherin beſide Bzentmarſh are ſeuen or eight townes, of whoſe names I haue no knowledge.

Now as touching the water that commeth from Welles, which falleth (as I ſaid) into the Coſcombe water on the right hand of the Cawſeie; you ſhall vnderſtand that as manie ſpzings are in Wels, ſo the chiefe of them is named Andzes well, which riſeth in a medow plat not farre from the eaſt end of the cathedzall church, and afterward goeth into the Coſcombe, in ſuch place as I haue noted. Leland ſpeaketh of the Milton & Golafer waters, which ſhould fall likewiſe into the Bzier: but whether thoſe be they whereof the one riſeth aboue Staffordell, and in the deſcent runneth by Shipton, Pitcombe, and ſo to Awnſford on the one ſide, as the other doth riſe betwéene Batcombe and Upton noble on the other halfe; or vnto whether of them either of theſe names are ſeuerallie to be attributed: as yet I doo not read.

Milton. Golafer.

Are.a. The Cheder-bzooke, dziueth twelue miles within a quarter of a mile of his head.

Wane.

Artro.

The ſecond Are which commeth by Are towne in old time called Uera, iſſueth out of Dwkie hole, from whence it goeth by Dwkie towne, afterward méeting with the Cheder bzooke that commeth from the Cheder rocks, wherein is an hole in old time called Carcer Æoli, wherof much hath béene written & surmiſed paſt credit. It runneth by Were, Ratcliffe, and after a little compaſſe into the northeaſt bzanch of the aforeſaid riuer laſt deſcribed, betwéene Rokes bzidge and Hebbes paſſage, as I haue béene informed. From the fall of Are we come to an other called Wane, northeaſt of Wodſpzing, whoſe head is about Banwell parke, or elſe in Smaldon wood. Then to an other, and to the third, called Artro, which riſeth about Litton, and going by the Artrocs, Abbeie, Perribzidge (receiuing a rill yer it come thither from by ſouth) beneath Cungeſbirie, or (as I learne) betwéene Kingſton and Laurence Wike, it méeteth with the ſea.

Sotteſpill.

Sotteſpill water riſeth betwéene Cheueleie and Naileſeie, howbeit it hath no increaſe before it come into the ſea at Sotteſpill, more than the next vnto it, which is named Cleueden water, of a certeine towne nére to the fall thereof. It riſeth ſoutheaſt of Barrow, goeth by Burton Naileſeie, and ſo vnto Cleuedon. The Auon, commonlie called the third Auon, is a goodlie water, and growne to be verie famous by ſundzie occaſions, to be particularlie touched in our deſcription of Bzillow. Yet thus much will I note héere thereof as a rare accident, how that in king Edgars daies, the verie ſame yeare that the old monaſterie of Euesham fell downe by it ſelfe, a porpaſſe was taken therein nére to the ſaid monaſterie, and neuer anie before or ſince that time heard of to haue béene found in that ſtreame. And euen ſo not manie yeares before I firſt wrote this treatiſe, a ſturgion was taken aliue in Rocheſter ſtreame, which the biſhop gaue vnto your honor, and you would as gladlie haue ſent it to the quéenes maieſtie, if ſhe might haue béene preſented withall aliue as it was taken. Certes both theſe rare occurrents gaue no leſſe occaſion of ſtrange ſurmiſes to the inhabitants of both places, than the blockes of Bzerton, when they appeare, doo vnto that familie; of which the report goeth that they are neuer ſéene but againſt ſome miſchéefe or other to befall vnto that houſe. But how farre am I gone from my purpoſe?

Cleueden.

Auon.

Sturgion taken in Rocheſter water.

The Auon therefore riſeth in the verie edge of Tetburie, and goeth by long Newton to Bzokenton, Whitchurch, and Malmſburie, where it receiueth two waters, that is to ſaie, one from by weſt comming by Foreleie and Bzomleham, which runneth ſo nére to the Auon in the weſt ſuburbe of Malmſburie, that the towne thereby is almoſt made an Iland. Another from Okeleie parke by Hankerton, Charleton, and Gareſden. After this confluence it hasteth to Cole parke, then goeth it toward the ſoutheaſt, till it méet with a water comming from ſouthweſt (betwéene Hullauington and Bzadfield) by Aſton: and ſone after with another at the northſide from Binall by Wotton Baſſet (through the parke to Gretenham, and Idouer bzidges) and after the confluence to Dauntſeie, Segar, Sutton, Chziſtmalford, Auon, Calwales houſe, and then to weſt Tetherton. Beneath this towne alſo it taketh in a water increaſed by two bzookes, whereof one comming from Cleue by Hilmarton, Whitleie houſe and Bzamble (and there receiuing another that commeth by Calne) paſſeth on by Stanlie into the Auon, which from thenceforth goeth to Chippenham, Rowdon, Lekham, and then receiuing Colham water, goeth to Lacocke, Melſham, and yer it come at Whaddon, croſſeth two other in one chanell, whereof one riſeth about Bzumham houſe, and goeth to Sene, the other about the Diuzes, and from thence runneth to Potterne wood, Creke wood, Worton, Malton, Bucklington, and ioining with the other aboue Litleton, they run by Semmington, and north of Whaddon aforeſaid into the maine ſtreame, whereof I now intreat. From hence our Auon runneth to Stauerton, and ſouthweſt of that towne méeteth with the Were that commeth from Upton by Dilton, Bzoke parke (there croſſing a rill called Biſſe from Weſtbirie vnder the plaine) then to north Bzadleie, Trubzidge, and ſo into Auon that goeth from thence to Bzadford, & within a mile or thereabouts, before it come at Freſhford, it méeteth with the Frome, whoſe deſcription doth inſue.

Colham.

Were.

Weſtbirie vnder ỹ plaine, neuer without a théefe or twaine.

The Frome riſeth in the eaſt part of Mendip hils, and from thence runneth by Aſtwie, the Cole pits, Lie vnder Mendip, Whateleie, Elmesbzidge, and ſone after taketh in the Nonneie water, comming from Nonneie caſtell, thence to Walles and Mzcharleie bzidge, where it receiueth a prette bzoke

Frome.

Nonneie.

deſcending from Frome Selwood weſt of Brackleie, increaſed with ſundrie rils, whereof two come out of Selwood forreſt (and one of them from the Fratrie) another out of Long lead parke, from Horningham, and the fourth from Coſleie. Hence our Frome goeth to Lullington, Beckington, Farleie caſtell, Bord and Freſh ford, and taking in the Silling brooke, falleth into the Auon beneath Bradford, and eaſt of Freſhford. From thence going beneath Silling. Stoke, it receiueth on the left hand a water comming from ſouthweſt, increaſed by ſundrie brookes, whereof one commeth from Camelet by Litleton, and Dankerton, the other from Stone Eſton, Midſummer Norton, by Welſton, Rodſtocke, Wrigleton, Foſcot, and Wellow, and there (taking in a rill from Phillips Norton) it goeth by Clauerton to Hampton, and there it méeteth with another water comming from Barthford, whoſe head is at Litleton from whence it runneth by weſt Kineton to Caſtell combe (where it ſoineth with a rill riſing by north from Litleton drue) and thence commeth ſouth to Slaughtenford, Haſelburie, Box, Baithford, and ſo into the Auon, which turning plaine weſt, haſteth to Baithwic, and (meeting with another in his paſſage from Caldaſton) to Bath, the Tiuertons, and Coſton.

Héere alſo it taketh in a rill by the waie from Parkeſburie by Wilmerton and Newton, and then going on to Sawford, it méeteth with one rill ſome Swinford. weſt of Northſtocke, named Swinford, and another by Bitton, from Durhain by Wike, and ſo proceédeth ſtill holding on his way to Caimſham, a towne Swinford parteth Sommerſet & Glocetterſhires in ſunder. in Sommerſet ſhire (ſo called of Caim an Engliſh ſaint, by whoſe praiers, as the countrie once beléeued, all the adders, ſnakes and ſerpents were turned into ſtone, their formes reſerued, and for a certeine ſpace of ground about the ſaid towne, and whereof ſome ſtore as yet is to be found in thoſe quaries. But this miracle is ſo true as the hiſtorie of Hilda, or that S. Patrike ſhould chaſe all venemous creatures out of Italie with his ſtaffe; or that maid Radegund ſhould driue the crowes to the pound, which did annoie hir corne while ſhe went vnto a chappell to heare & ſée a maſſe) where it croſſeth the Chute, which iſſueth at Winford, and goeth by biſhops Chue to Penford, and there receiueth the Clue comming from Cluton, and from thence to Chute, & ſo into the Auon. The Auon likewiſe after all theſe confluences goeth to Briſelton, and ſo to Briſtow, beneath which it receiueth a rill on each ſide (whereof one commeth from about Stoke lodge in Glocetterſhire, being a faire water and running by Acton, Frampton, Pambroch, Stapleton, and through Briſtow, the other by ſouth from Dundreie hill and towne, by Biſport and Bedminſter) and ſo deſcending yet lower, goeth to Kalneham paſſage and Clifton, then by S. Vincents rocke and Laie, next of all to Crocampill, and finallie into the ſea, whither all waters by nature do reſort.

Beſide this water, Leland maketh mention of Alderleie. Alderleie brooke, which in ſome ancient records is alſo called Auon, and runneth by Barkeleie. In like Dourefleie. maner he talketh of Dourefleie becke, whoſe principall head is in Dourefleie towne: howbeit he ſaith no thing of it more, than that it ſerueth ſundrie tucking lucking milles, and goeth by Tortworth or foure Tortworth. miles further, before it come at the Sauerne. Finallie, making mention of an excellent quarrie of hard ſtone about Dourefleie, he telleth of the Tortworth becke, that runneth within a flight ſhot of Barkeleie towne, and falleth on the left hand into Sauerne marches, taking with all the Alderleie or Auon, except I miſtake his meaning, which may ſome be done among his confuſed notes.

The deſcription of the Sauerne, & ſuch waters as diſcharge themſelues into the ſame.

Chap. 13.

Sauerne. THe Sauerne which Ptolomie calleth Sabriana, Tacitus Sabrina, diuideth England or that part of the Iland, which ſometime was called Lhoegres from Cambria, ſo called of Camber, the ſecond ſonne of Brute, as our hiſtories do report. But now that region hight Wales, of the Germane word Walſh, whereby that nation doth vſe to call all ſtrangers without reſpect of countrie. This riuer toke the name of a certeine ladie, called Habren or Hafren, baſe daughter to Locrinus begotten vpon Eſtrildis daughter to Humber otherwiſe called Cumbrus or Umar, and for which ſome write Chonibrus king of Scithia, that ſometime inuaded this Iſland, and was ouerthrowne here in the daies of this Locrinus, as ſhall be ſhewed at hand: although I ſuppoſe rather that this ladie was called Ine, and that the word Sabrina is compounded of Aber and Ine, and the letter S added *Propter euphoniam*: for the mouth or fall of euerie riuer in the Britiſh ſpéech is called Aber, whereby Aber Ine is ſo much to ſaie as, the fall of Ine. But let vs returne againe to our diſcourſe of Humber or Umar, which is worthie to be remembred.

For after the death of Locrinus, it came to paſſe that Guendolena his wife ruled the kingdome in the nonage of hir ſonne: and then getting the ſaid Eſtrildis and Habren hir daughter into hir hands, ſhe drowned them both in this riuer. And in perpetuall remembrance of hir husbands diſloialtie towards hir, ſhe cauſed the ſtreame to be called Habren of the yoong ladie, for which the Romans in proceſſe of time for readineſſe and mildneſſe of pronunciation, wrote Sabrina, and we at this time do pronounce the Sauerne. Of the drowning of the ſaid Abren alſo I find theſe verſes inſuing:

In fluuium præcipitatur Abren,
Nomen Abren, fluuio de virgine, nomen eidem
Nomine corrupto deinde Sabrina datur.

But to returne to our Sauerne. It falleth into the maine ſea betweene Wales and Cornewall, which is and ſhall be called the Sauerne ſea, ſo long as the riuer doth keepe hir name. But as the ſaid ſtreame in length of courſe, bountie of water, and depth of chanell commeth farre behind the Thames: ſo for other commodities, as trade of merchandize, plentie of carriage, & ſtore of all kind of fiſh, as ſalmon, trouts, breames, pikerell, tench, perch, &c: it is nothing at all inferiour or ſecond to the ſame. Finallie, there is nothing to be diſcommended in this riuer, but the openneſſe thereof in manie places to the weather, whereby ſundrie perils oft ouertake ſuch as fiſh or ſaile in ſmall veſſels on the ſame.

The head of this noble ſtreame is found in the high mounteines of ſouth Wales called Helennith or Plim limmon; in Engliſh, the blacke mounteins, or more heads, from whence alſo the Wie and the Rhidoll do proceéd: and therefore theſe three waters are commonlie called the three ſiſters, and haue in latitude two and fiftie degrees ten minutes, in longitude fifteéne and fiftie, as the deſcription inferreth. So ſone as it is out of the ground, it goeth ſoutheaſtward, till it come within a mile of Laundlos, where it receiueth a chanell from by ſouth ſouthweſt, called the Dulas, which commeth thereinto on the ſouth ſide, & ſouthweſt of Lan Idlos. It riſeth (as it ſhould ſéeme) of diuerſe heads in the edge of Radnorſhire,

and

Bruchan. Clewdogh. Bacho. Dungum. Lhoid. Bigga. Couine. Carnon. Caran. Haſwes. Duleſſe. 2. Mule. Lenlet. Camalet. Tate. Lan Idlos. Tanet. Peuereie or Purneweie. Auernele. Wordant.

and taking in ſundrie ſmall rilles, it meeteth at the laſt with the Brueham broke, and ſo they go together till they fall into the Sauerne. Beneath Lan Idlos it taketh in the Clewdogh from northweſt, a water produced by the influence of foure prette brookes, whereof one is called Bacho, another Dungum comming out of lin Glaſlin, the third Lhoid riſing in lin Begilin, and the moſt ſoutherlie called Bigga. After which confluence our Sauerne procéedeth on by Berhlaid toward Landiman, taking in by the waie, on the eaſt ſide the Couine, thence to Cairfuſe caſtell, where it meeteth with the Carnon, and the Taran both in one chanell, and going not far from the aforeſaid fortreſſe. After this it croſſeth the Hawes on the north halfe beneath Aberhawes, next of all the Duleſſe that riſeth in the edge of Radnor ſhire, and meeteth with it before it come at Newton in Powiſie, otherwiſe called Trenewith, as I find in Britiſh language. Being come to Trenewith, I cannot eſchue (right honorable) to giue one note, as by the waie, touching the originall of my ladie your bedfellowes anceſtrie, which came from hence, & were ſurnamed Newtons onelie, for that the grandfather of ſir John Newton either dwelled or was borne there: otherwiſe the right name is Caradoc, for which ſome do corruptlie write Cradocke, reſpecting rather the ſhortneſſe of pronuntiation, than the true orthographie and writing of the word. Certes the Caradockes haue béene, and yet are a linage of great honor, antiquitie, and ſeruice; their lands alſo ſometime belonged (for the moſt part) to the noble Gonoanies of Summerſetſhire: but in what order they deſcended to the Newtons, in good ſooth I cannot tell. But to proceed with our riuer, which being paſt Newton, runneth forth by Landilouarne, and ſo forth on till it come to the fall of the Mule, whoſe head is in the edge of Radnor alſo, and thereto his paſſage by Kerie and Lanmereiwic. After this alſo it procédeth further till it meet with the Kenlet or the Camalet, which taketh in alſo the Tate or Tadbroke water riſing out of the hilles a mile from Biſhops towne, the whole courſe thereof being about ſeauen miles from the head (as I haue often heard.) Of this alſo I find two deſcriptions, whereof one I borrow out of Leland, who ſaith that it is a prette broke, running in the vale by Mountgomerie, and comming within halfe a mile of the place where Chirbirie priorie ſtood, it falleth into the Sauerne about a mile from thence. Of the rilles (ſaith he) that run from the hilles thorough Mountgomerie, which are a mile from the Sauerne ſhore, and likewiſe of the Lan Idlos broke that meeteth withall within foure miles of the head, I ſpeake not, but thinke it ſufficient to touch thoſe of ſome eſtimation, onelie leauing the reſt to ſuch as maie hereafter deale with things more particularlie as time and trauell maie reueale the truth to them. And hitherto Leland, whoſe words I dare not alter. But another noteth this Camalet or Kenlet to run by More, Liddiom, Sned, Churchſtocke, Chirbirie, Walcote, and Winſbirie, and ſo into the Sauerne.

From hence then, and after this confluence it goeth on by Fordon, Leighton, and Landbreuie toward Meluerleie, and there it meeteth with ſundrie waters in one chanell, whereof the one called the Tanet is a verie prette water (whereinto the Peuereie or Purneweie doth fall, which deſcendeth from the hilles by weſt of Matrafall not farre from Lhan Ftlin) the other Auernie, and ioining beneath Abertannoth, or aboue Lannamonach nere vnto the ditch of Offa, it is not long yer they meet with the Wordant broke, and there loſe their names ſo ſone as they ioine and mir their waters with it. The head of the Wordant iſſueth out of the Lanuerdan hilles, where diuerſe ſaie, that the pariſh church of croſſe Oſwald or Oſweſter ſometimes ſtood. Certes, Oſweſter is thirtéene miles northweſt from Shrewſburie, and conteineth a mile within the walles. It hath in like ſort foure ſuburbs or great ſtrétes, of which one is called Stratlan, another Wuliho, the third Beterich, wherein are one hundred and fortie barns ſtanding on a row belonging to the citizens or burgeſſes, and the fourth named the Blackegate ſtrét, in which are thirtie barns mainteined for corne & haie. There is alſo a broke running thorough the towne by the croſſe, comming from Simons well, a bow ſhote without the wall; & going vnder the ſame betwéene Thorowgate & Newgate, running vnder the Blacke gate. There is another, ouer whoſe courſe the Baderikes or Wederich gate ſtandeth, and therefore called Wederich broke. The third palleth by the Willigate or Newgate, & theſe fall all togither with the Croſſe broke, a mile lower by ſouth into the Mordant that runneth (as I ſaid) by Oſweſter. From hence alſo it goeth to Mordant towne, and betwéene Landbreuie and Meluerleie doth fall into the Sauerne. After this our principall ſtreame goeth to Sheauerdon caſtell, Mountford, and Bicton chappell: and here it receiueth a water on the left hand, that riſeth of two heads, whereof one is aboue Merton, the other at Eliſmere, and ioining betwéene Woodhouſes & Bagleie, the confluence runneth on by Radnall, Halton, Teddeſmer, Roiton, Baſchurch, Walford, Grafton, Pitton, and ſo into the Sauerne. From hence it runneth to Fitz, Eton, or Leiton, Barwic, vpper Roſſall, Shelton, and ſo to Shrewſburie, where it croſſeth the Mele water, whoſe head (as I heare) is ſaid to be in Weſton.

Mele. Haberleie.

The Mele therefore riſing at Weſton, goeth by Brocton, Worthen, Alton Pigot, Weſtleie, Afterleie, and at Lea it meeteth with the Haberleie water that commeth downe by Pontelford and Aunſton. After this confluence alſo it runneth to Newenham & Crokemele, there taking in a rill on the other ſide that deſcendeth by Weſtburie and Stretton, & thence going on to Hanwood, Noball, Pulleie, Bracemele, and Shrewelburie, it falleth (as I ſaid) into the open Sauerne. From hence our Sauerne haſteth to Aſſington, Preſton, and betwéene Chilton and Brampton taketh in the Terne, a faire ſtreame and worthie to be well handled; if it late in me to performe it. This riuer riſeth in a mere beſide Welbridge parke, néere vnto Ternemere village in Staffordſhire. From whence it runneth by the parkes ſide to Knighton, Norton, Betton, and at Draiton Hales croſſeth with a water comming from about Adbaſton (where maiſter Brodocke dwelleth) and runneth by Chippenham and Amming: ſo that the Terne on the one ſide, and this broke on the other, do incloſe a great part of *Blore heath, where a noble battell was ſometime purpoſed betwéene king Henrie the firſt, and the duke of Norke: but it wanted execution.

Terne. * See Hen. 6. pag. 649.

But to procéed. After this confluence, it runneth to Draiton Hales, Ternehill bridge: and yer long taking in a rill from Sandford by Blechleie, it goeth to Stoke Allerton, Peplaw, and Eaton, where it croſſeth with a broke that riſeth about Brinton, and going by Higham, Norton, the great Mere, Forton, Pilſon, Pickſtocke, Reinton, Tibberton, and Bolas, it ioineth with the ſaid Terne not farre from Water Upton. Thence paſſing to Crogenton, it meeteth with another broke that commeth from Chaltwen Aſton, by Newport, Longford, Aldnete, and ſo through the Wilde more to Kinſleie & Sleépe, and finallie into the Terne, which haſteth from thence to Elſon bridge, and nére vnto Walcote taketh in the Roden. This water riſeth at Halton in Cumbermere lake: and comming to Duenlete, croſſeth a rill from Cowlemere by Lentall. Thence it goeth to

Roden.

Norton,

Horton, and (ioining with another rill beneath Ponlate that commeth from Pidle) runneth on to Wen, Aſton, there croſſing a rill beneath Lacon hall from Prées ward, and ſo to Lée, Beckford, Stanton, Morton, Shabrée, Painton, Roden, Rodington, and then into Terne, that runneth from thence by Charlton, Upton, Morton, Barwyc, Acham, and ſo into the Sauerne two miles beneath Shrewesburie (as I wéene.)

Thus haue I deſcribed the Terne in ſuch wiſe as my ſimple ſkill is able to performe. Now it reſteth that I proceed on (as I maie) with the Sauerne ſtreame, with which, after this former confluence, it goeth vnto Worater or Worceſter, Brampton, Eaton vpon Sauerne, Draiton, where it ioineth with the Euerne that runneth from Frodeſleieward by Withall and Pitchford, Creſſedge, Garneſton, Leighton, and betwéene the two Bildaſles croſſeth the Rhe or Wenlocke water, and ſo goeth on to Browſleie and Hord parke, where it uniteth it ſelfe with another broke to be deſcribed in this place, whileſt the Sauerne reſts, and recreates it ſelfe hereamong the pleſant bottoms.

Euerne.

Wenlocke or Rhe.

This water ariſeth aboue Tongcaſtell, and yet it haue run anie great diſtance from the head, it méeteth with a rill comming by Sheriffe Hales, and Staunton. Thence it goeth on to Patton, Roſton, and there croſſing another from Woodhouſes, comming by Haughton and Euelin, it procéedeth to Beckebirie and Higford, and not omitting here to croſſe the Worſe (ſometime a great ſtreame that runneth vnto it out of Snowdon pole) and ſo paſſeth forth to Badger, Acleton, Worſfield: a litle from whence (about Wickin) it taketh in another broke into it called Churle, & ſo goeth on to Kindleford, and then into Sauerne ſomwhat aboue Bridgenorth at Penſton mill (except mine information deceiue me.) From Bridgenorth our Sauerne deſcendeth to Woodburie, Quatford, and there taking in the Marbroke beneath Eaton that riſeth aboue Collaton, and goeth by Norgill & Underton, it runneth by Didmanſton, Hempton, Aueleie, & beneath in the waie to Bargate, croſſeth with a broke comming from Upton parke, by Chetton, Billingſleie, and Highleie, which being admitted, it holdeth on to Areleie, Clarnewod parke, Halbach and Dowleſſe. Here alſo it méeteth with the Dowleſſe water, a pretie broke iſſuing out of the Cle hilles in Shropſhire, verie high to loke vpon, and three miles or thereabouts from Ludlow, which runneth through Clebirie parke in Wire forreſt, & taking withall the Lempe, doth fall into the Sauerne not far from Bewdleie.

Worſe.

Marbroke.

Dowleſſe.

Lempe.

But to procéd. From Bewdleie our Sauerne haſteth directlie to Ribford, Areleie and Redſton, and here it méeteth with a water called Stoure, deſcending from Elie, or out of the ponds of Yales Owen in Worceſterſhire, where it receiueth a rill from the left hand, and another from the right, and then goeth on to Sturbridge (taking in there the third water yer long running from Sturton caſtell) then to Kinner Whittenton, Querleie and Kidermiſter, aboue which it croſſeth one brokelet that commeth thither by Church hill, and another beneath it that runneth by Belborow, betwixt which two waters lieth an od peece of Staffordſhire included, and alſo the Cle hill. From hence the aforeſaid Sauerne haſteth by Redſton to Shrawleie; and aboue this towne receiueth the Aſtleie water, as beneath the ſame it doth another. From Mitleie then it goeth on to Holt caſtell, and ſo to Grimleie, taking in thereabout with the Doure, and Sulwale waters, whereof this riſeth at Chadſwyſe, and runneth by Stoke prior, & Droitwich, the other aboue Chaddeſleie, and commeth by Dourdale. After this it goeth forth vnto Worceſter, in old time called Caer Brangon, or Caer Frangon, where it méeteth with the Tiber, or Tiberton water, on the right hand aboue that citie, and beneth it nere vnto Powyc with the Temde, whoſe deſcription ſhall be ſet downe before I proceed or go anie further with the Sauerne.

Stoure.

Aſtleie.

Doure.
Sulwale.

Tiber.

The Temde, or (as ſome name it) the Tame riſeth vp in Radnorſhire, out of the Melenith hilles, and ſone after his iſſue, méeting with a water from Withall, it runneth to Begeldie, Lanuerwaterden, and ſo to Knighton, which is fiue or ſix miles (as I heare) from his originall. From Knighton it goeth ouer the ditch of Offa vnto Standiſh, and croſſing a rill that commeth from betwéene the parke named Clude, (and is a bound of Radnorſhire) it goeth to Buckton, Walford, and Lanuarden, where it méeteth with the Bardwell or Berfield, and the Clun, both in one chanell, of which I find theſe deſcriptions here folowing word for word in Leland. The Bardwell or Barfield riſeth aboue New Chapell, in the honour of Clun, hard by the ditch of Offa, and goeth by Bucknell. The Clun iſſueth out of the ground betwéene Lhan Uehan and Paiſton, and going on by Bucton, Cluncaſtell, Clundon, Purſlaw, and Clunbirie, it croſſeth with a broke that runneth along by Kempton and Brampton. Thence going forth by Clunbirie, Brome, Abcot and Parlow, it méeteth with the Bardwell, and ſo in the Temde, not verie far from Temderton. I ſuppoſe that Leland calleth the Bardwell by the name of Dwke, but I will not abide by it bicauſe I am not ſure of it. After theſe confluences therefore, our Temde goeth by Tripleton, Dounton, Burrington, and Bromefield, where it méeteth with the Dneie, which is an indifferent ſtreame, and increaſed with ſundrie waters, whereof I ſaie as followeth.

Temde.

Clude.

Barfield Clun.

Dwke.

Dneie.

The firſt of all is called the Bow. It riſeth (as I learne) in the hilles betwéene Hiſlington and Shelue, and from thence commeth downe by Lindleie and Hardwyc, where it croſſeth the Warren that iſſueth out of the ground about Rotlie chappell, and runneth by Adſton and Wentnor. After the confluence alſo going on by Choulton and Cheintes, it taketh in the Dueneie and Strabroke both in one chanell, whereof the firſt riſeth at Lebotwod, and commeth downe by the Strettons, till it paſſe by Fellanton. The ſecond mounteth about Longuill, and goeth by Rushburie, Newhall, Yarton, and Alcaſter, from whence it is not long yer it fall into the Dueneie, and ſo by Stratford into the Dneie, which hath borne that name ſince the confluence of the Bow and Warren at Hardwyc, whereof I ſpake before. Finallie, the Dneie which ſome call the Somergill being thus increaſed, it runneth on to Yalford chappell, Oneibirie, Bromefield, and ſo into Temde, and next of all to Ludlow. The Temde being thus brought to Ludlow, méeteth with the Corue, which commeth thorough Coruedale from aboue Broctor by Morehouſes, Shipton, Hungerford, and a little beneath taking in a rill that commeth by Tugford, and Brencoſt caſtell, goeth on to Corſham caſtell, and there croſſing another from ſaint Margarets Clée, it hieth to Stanton Lacie, and ſo likewiſe to Ludlow.

Warren.

Dueneie and Strabroke.

Somergill.

Corue.

From Ludlow in like ſort it goeth to Ludford, the Aſhfordes, little Hereford, Burrington, and at Burkford vniteth it ſelfe with the Ladwich that commeth beneath Milburne ſtoke, from betwéene Browne, Cléehill, and Stittertons hill, to Middleton, Yenleie, Ladwich, Conam, and ſo into Temde, which beneath Temdbirie receiueth another rill on the other ſide, and the ſecond on the left hand called Rhe, that commeth from aboue Ricton, Staterton, Hound, Nene, Clebirie, Knighton, and then into the Temde. From hence the Temde doeth goe by Aſham,

Ladwich.

Rhe.

Langherne.

Swiuerhus.

Souus.

Kinell.

Leame.

Stoure.

Auon 4.

Arow.

Alne.

Pludor.

Vincelus.

Piddle.

Chilus.

Leadon.

Strowd.

Aſtham, Lingridge, Shelleie Welch, Clifton, Whitburne (and croſſing a water that commeth from the Sapies) to Knightwyc and Bradwaies. Hereabout againe it interteineth a rill that deſcendeth from about Kidburie on the right hand, and goeth by Collomatherne, Credeleie, Aufrike, and ſo into Temde, and then proceeding forward, the ſaid ſtreame runneth to Braunford, and yer long (taking in the Langherne that riſeth about Hartleie, and paſſeth by Kengewyc) it goeth to Powyc, and ſo into the Sauerne before it come at Wickeceſter.

Thus haue I brought all ſuch ſtreames before me that fall into the Sauerne from the head, vntill I come to Powyc, wherof (as you may eaſily perceiue) the Temde is the moſt excellent. Now it reſteth that I proceed with the reſt of the diſcourſe intended concerning this our riuer. Certes, from Powyc mils which are about halfe a mile beneth Worceſter, the Sauerne runneth on to Kempſeie and Cleueld, whence after it hath croſſed a broke comming from Cowleie, it haſteth firſt to Stoke, and ſo to Upton, which is eleuen or twelue miles from Gloceſter, whither it floweth manie times at high tides, but yer it come there, it drowneth another fall deſcending from Maluerne hilles by Blackemore parke, & ſone after the third growing by two branches, wherof one commeth alſo from Maluerne hils by little Maluerne and Welland, the other from Elderford by Pendocke and Longdon. After theſe confluences in like ſort, it runneth to Bulhelleie, and Tewkeſburie, where it receiueth the Auon, that followeth next of all in order to be deſcribed, before I proceed anie further in my diſcourſe of Sauerne.

The Auon riſeth at Nauelbie in the borders of Northhamptonſhire, a little ſide hand of Gilleſborow and fot of the hils whereon Nauelbie ſtandeth, and euen out of the church yard of the ſaid village. From hence it goeth to Welford, Stamford, Lilburne, Clifton, and Rugbie, by north whereof it croſſeth a water called Swift, which commeth from aboue Kimcote, to Lutterworth, Browne ouer and Colſford. From thence alſo it goeth to Newbold, Wolſton, Kuington, and betweene the Stonlies taketh in the Sow. This Sow is a pretie water comming from aboue Calendon to Whitleie, and ſone after meeting with a riueret from Couentrie, which ſome do call Shirburne water, it goeth thence to Bagginton, where it taketh in a rill called Kinell, as I haue red from Kenelſworth, from whence it runneth to Stonleie, & ſo into the Auon. After this confluence the Auon proceedeth on to Stonleie abbeie, Aſhehow, Hiluerton, Edmonds cote, and appace to Warwiſe.

But yer it come there, it meeteth from ſouth eaſt with two waters in one chanell, whereof the leaſt commeth to Marton from Biſhops Itchington, by Herburbirie and Thorpe, where it croſſeth a rill from Southam. The other is called Leame, or Lime that deſcendeth from about Helladon, or neere vnto Cateſbie in Northamptonſhire, and going by Duencote, Braunſton, Lemington and Hertun, it ioineth with the other, and then go from thence togither vnder the name of Leame, to Hunnington, Cobbington, and ſo into the Auon, as I gaue notice before. At Warwike alſo the Auon taketh in a water running northweſt from Groue parke. Thence it goeth on to Bereford, and there croſſing another from Shirburne, it paſſeth forth to Biſhops Hampton, meeting finallie with the third, from Kineton that runneth by Walton and Charlecote. After this laſt rehearſed confluence, it haſteth to Stretford vpon Auon, and then to Luddington ward, where it taketh in the Stoure that riſeth aboue Cherington, & whoſe courſe from thence is ſuch, as that being once paſt the head, it goeth by Weſton, and yer long croſſing a water from Campden, hanging Aſton, & Todnam, it runneth to Barcheſton, Aldermaſton, Clifford, & ſo into the Auon.

From hence then the ſaid Auon goeth to Luddington, Burton, Bitford, and Cleue, and being parted from the ſaid towne, yer it come at Salford, it receiueth the Arow or Aur, which riſing in the blacke hils in Worcheſterſhire, commeth by Alchurch, Beleie parke, Ppleie, Studleie, and then taking in another rill called Alne, out of Fecknam forreſt, and going by Coughton parke, it haſteth to Alceſter, Arow, Ragleie, Wheteleie, Bouington, Standford, and ſo into Auon, which after this confunction goeth to Ufkenton & then to Couesholme: but yer it come there it receiueth two waters in one chanell, whereof the firſt riſeth about Willerſeie, the other neere to Buckland, and ioining beneath Badſeie, they fall into Auon, vnder the name of Pludor brooke, before it come to Couesholme.

Being paſt Couesholme it croſſeth the Vincell, which riſing out of the hils ſomewhere about Sudleie, runneth two miles further to Winchelcombe, and Gretton, and taking in a rill by the waie from Hailes, proceedeth on (going within one quarter of a mile of Hailes abbaie) to Tuddington, or Woddington, beneath which when it hath croſſed another rill that commeth from Stanwaie, it goeth to Warmington, Sedgeborow, and receiuing there the laſt on the right hand alſo (as all aboue rehearſed) it falleth into the Auon, when it is come by Hinton, vnto a towne called Hampton, or (as ſome do write it) Ampton. After this confluence the Auon goeth to Charleton, to Crapthorne (and there taking in a rill on the left hand) to Fladbirie wike, and almoſt at Perſore bridge, meeteth with a branched water that commeth by Piddle, whereof one head is at Alberton, an other at Piddle. From Perſore it goeth to Birlingham, and ſone after carrieng a broke withall deſcending from Fakenham, by Bradleie, Himbleton, Huddenton, Crowleie, Churchhill, Pibleton, Beſſeford and Deſſeford, it fleeteth to Eckington, Bredon, Twining, Hitton, and Tewkeſburie, where it ioineth with the Sauerne.

Now to reſume the courſe of the Sauerne, you ſhall vnderſtand, that from Tewkeſburie it goeth to Derehirſt, the How paſſage, and ſone after receiuing the Chiltenham water that commeth thither by Bodenton, Sawton, and Norton, it runneth to Aſhelworth, Sainthirſt; and here it parteth it ſelfe till it come to Gloceſter, where it vniteth it ſelfe againe. But in the meane time the eaſterlie branch receiueth a forked chanell, whereof one head is not far frō Leke Hampton, the other about Witcombe, from whence it goeth to Brockworth. The other branch or arme taketh in the Leadon that commeth downe by Preſton, Dimmocke, Pantleie vpper Leadon, Leadon court, and there taking in one rill that commeth from Linton by Areknoll, and another beneath it from Tainton by Rudford, it falleth into the ſaid branch on the right ſide, before it come at Gloceſter.

The Sauerne therefore being paſt Gloceſter, it meeteth with a litle rill on the right hand, and thence holding on his courſe by Elmore, Minſterworth, Longneie, to Framilode, it receiueth yer it come at this latter the Strowd broke, which riſing not farre from Side, goeth by Paſſade, Edgeworth, Frampton, Strowd, and receiuing there a water that commeth from Panneſwyc Lodge, by Pitteſcombe on the one ſide, and another from Radbridge on the other, it proſecuteth his voiage to Stone houſe, Eſlington, white Piſen, & ſo toward Framilode, where the ſaid Strowd doth fall into the Sauerne. After the

the fall of Strowd, the Sauerne goeth from thence to Newenham, and Arlingham, and ſone after receiuing a water on each ſide, whereof one commeth from Vleie by Cham and Chambridge, the other by Blackneie and Catcombe, it goeth forth till it méet with another water on ech ſide, whereof that on the Engliſh halfe is forked, ſo that one head thereof is to be found about Borwell, the other at Horton, and méeting aboue Tortworthie, they run by Stone and Barkeleie caſtell, and ſo into the Sauerne. That on the Welſh halfe is named Newarne, which cõmeth from the forreſt of Deane, and ſo into the Sauerne.

Newarne.

Of ſuch waters as fall into the ſea in compaſſe of the Iland, betweene the Sauerne and the Humber.

Chap. 14.

THe Sauerne being thus deſcribed, it reſteth that I go forward with the names of thoſe that lie vpon the coaſt of Southwales, making my entrie at the ferrie ouer betweene Auſt in Glocesterſhire, and a village on the further banke of Sauerne, not farre from Tarendacus chappell, in the mouth of the riuer Wie, which ferrie is about three miles ouer (ſaith Leland) or elſe my memorie doth faile me. This riuer Guie or Wie beginneth (as I ſaid before) on the ſide of the hilles where the Sauerne doth ariſe, and paſſing through Wenceland, that is, ſoutheaſt by Raiader Guie to Buelt (where the Irwon meeteth withall) it goeth to Glaſburie, Hereford, Monmouth, and finallie into the Sauerne ſea at Chepſtow: for ſo they call Monhafren, which ſeuereth Wales from Sommerſetſhire, Deuonſhire, Cornewall: as for the Rhidoll which is the third ſiſter, it hath the ſhorteſt courſe of all, for it runneth northward, and into the ſea at Aberiſtwith, which is not farre off, as the writers do report.

Wie mouth.

Guie alias Wie.

Leland writing of this riuer Guie or Wie ſaith thus; The Wie goeth thorough all Herefordſhire by Bradwarden caſtell, belonging to ſir Richard Vehan, and ſo to Hereford eaſt, thence eight miles to Roſſe, a market towne in Herefordſhire: and in this riuer be vmbers, otherwiſe called graylings. It is alſo found by common experience, that the ſalmon of this riuer is in ſeaſon, when the like fiſh to be found in all other riuers is abandoned and out of vſe; whereof vs of the eaſt parts do not a little maruell. But let vs not ſtaie vpon theſe deſcriptions, ſith an other is come to my hand more exact than either of theſe.

Vmber a fiſh onelie in the Wie.

The Guie therefore riſeth out of the blacke mountaines of Wales, out of which the Sauerne ſpringeth in Radnorſhire, and comming by Lhangerike, and Raiadargoie, it receiueth one rill from the weſt called Darnoll, and another from by northeaſt comming by ſaint Harmon. Thence it goeth to Lhanuthell, and in the waie betwixt Raiader and Lhanuthell, it ioineth with the Elland, whoſe head is néere to Comeriſtwith, and taketh likewiſe into him the Clardwen that diuideth for a ſeaſon Radnorſhire from Brecknoch, which Clardwen is likewiſe increaſed by the Clarthie within three miles of his head and leſſe, hauing his courſe from ſouthweſt & hillie ſoile adiacent. From Lhanuthell it goeth weſt of Diſſart, where it receiueth the Ithan, a riuer riſing aboue Lhanbiſter, and from whence it runneth to Landwie, and Lambaderne vawr: beneath which it croſſeth a water on ech ſide, whereof that on the right hand conſiſteth on the Duleſſe and the Cluedoch, after their confluence: the other hight Lomaron, whoſe head is aboue Lanthangle, and in the forreſt of Blethwag. After theſe confluences, it runneth on crinkeling in ſtrange manner, vnder the name of Ithor, till it come to Diſſart, taking in the Hawie on the left ſide yer it come there, and then into the Wie on the north ſide, which directeth his courſe further to Bealt, where it receiueth the Irwon, a notable ſtreame, deſcending from the hilles aboue Lanthangle Abergweſſen, and thence coming downe by Lanurid Lang marſh, Lanauan, Aechan, Langantan, and ſo to Beth or Bealt, being inlarged by the waie with ſundrie faire waters, as the Weuereie, whoſe head is about Lanauan more, the Dulaſſe, or (as ſome call it) the Dowlaſſe, that commeth from the hilles weſt of the head of Weuereie. The Comarch whoſe head and courſe is weſt of the Dowlaſſe on the north ſide, and likewiſe by two other on the ſouthweſt, and Dilaſſe from by ſouthweſt, which laſt rehearſed falleth into him halfe a mile and more aboue the influence of the Comarch which lieth on the other ſide. After this our Irwon goeth to Lhanuareth, where it croſſeth the Dehon on the ſouthweſt ſide, then to Aberedwie, and there receiueth the Edwie on the northeaſt, which ariſeth in the hilles aboue Botins chappell, and commeth downe by Crigend and Lanhaderne, thence the Guie goeth on to Lanſtephan, and there (for a little aboue) taketh in the Machawein that commeth by caſtell Paine, and ſo going on in proceſſe of time with the Leuenni, whereof Leland in his commentaries doth write as here inſueth.

Lamaron.
Hawie.
Irwon.
Weuereie.
Dulaſſe.
Comarch.
Duleſſe.
Dehon.
Edwie.
Machawein.
Leuenni.

The Leuenni, otherwiſe called the Euer or Euerie, is a farre ſtreame riſing in Welch Talgarth hard by Blaine Leuenni, among the Atterill hilles, from whence it goeth to Brecknoch mere, which is two miles long, and a mile broad, and where men do fiſh in Vniligneis or botes of one peece, as they do in Lhin Seuathan, which is foure miles from Brecknoch. Finallie, bringing great ſtore of red ſand withall, and there with the Brennich water (that hath his originall iſſue at Mennithgader, and is increaſed with the Truſtrin) it falleth into the Wie aboue Gleſbirie three miles from Haie, at a place that of the onelie fall of this brooke is named Aberleuenni, after this the Guie. Being come to Haie, a prettie towne where much Romane coine is found, which they call Iewes monie: and after it hath paſſed or croſſed a little brooke, which commeth from Lanigon, it méeteth with the Duleſſe that commeth alſo from the Atterill by Kerſop, and from thence goeth to Clifford caſtell (being now entred into Herefordſhire, and leauing Radnor, whereunto it hath for a long courſe béene march) then to the Whitneies, Winferton, Letton, Bradwarden, Broberie, Moonington, Biford, Bridgeſalers, Eaton, Brinton, and Hereford, without anie influence of riuer worthie of memorie, and yet with manie windleſſes, & there méeteth with a water riſing ſhort of Wormeleie, which goeth by Maunſell, Lacie, Brinſop, Crednell, Stretton, and Huntington, and ſone after into the Wie, beſide a little rill that runneth betweene them both euen into Hereford towne. From hence in like ſort the Wie haſteth to Rotheras church, Hampton, and Mordeford, where it taketh in ſundrie waters in one chanell, of which the Lug or Lute is the principall, and next of all to be deſcribed, before I go anie further with the courſe of the Wie, whereinto it diſchargeth the chanell. It riſeth in the edge of the forreſt of Kemples aboue Langunlo: from whence it goeth to Womonacht, Pilleth Whitton, Fuldibrooke, Preſtaine, ſo into Herefordſhire, where betweene Bonie & Beton, or Bitton, it receiueth in the Somergill, whoſe crotched head being march

Duleſſe.
Cluedoch.
Darnoll.
Elland.
Clardwen.
Ithan.
Lug.

to

to Radnor forreſt, directeth his ſtreame betweene the new and old Radnors, to Knill, to Naſh, and ſo into the Lug, which preſentlie paſſeth by Kinſham, Shirleie, Ailmiſter, Kingſland, Eaton chapell, and ſo into Lemiſter, where it croſſeth the Dneie (a ſtreamelet riſing ſhort of Shobden, and going by Chorleſter) a little before it come to the weſt ſide of the towne.

At Lemiſter it ſelfe in like ſort three waters dw met, and almoſt inuiron the towne, that is to ſaie, the Lug, the Pinfulleie or Pinſell (a riueret riſing at Kingſland two miles from Lemiſter) & the Kenbrooke, which commeth out of the blacke mounteins, from Lemiſter, otherwiſe called Leofminſter, of the builder, and alſo Leomminſter, the Lug or Luie goeth on to Eaton, and there taketh in a rill beneath Hampton, and aboue Hope, whereof one head is betweene Hatfield and Bickleton, another neere vnto Marſton, and meeting of both at Humber. From Hampton it goeth to Bodenham, Wellington, Morton, Sutton, Shelwie, Lugwardin, and Longward, where it croſſeth the Fromeie or Frome, a prettie water, and worthie to be remembred. It riſeth about Wolferelaw, from whence it commeth downe toward the ſouthweſt by Edwinſloch to Bromyard, Auenburie, Biſhops Frome, Caſtell Frome, Can Frome, to Stretton vpon Frome, and there taking in a water called Loden, comming from aboue Biſhops Grendon, by Pencombe, Colwarne, Stoke Lacie, Colwarne, and Engleton, our Frome goeth on to Parkeleie, Dorrington, and Longward, and ſo into the Lug, betweene Longward and Sutton, which runneth forthwith to Mordford, or Northford, and there into the Wie, vnto whoſe deſcription I now returne againe.

Pinſell. Kenbrooke. Fromete. Loden alias Auon.

Being come therefore vnto Mordford, it goeth to Fawnehope, Hamlacie, Ballingham, Capull *regis*, where it receiueth a water called Treſke, from little Berch by Treſke, Fawleie, How, Capull Inkeſton, Foie, Brampton, Bridſtow, Wilton caſtell, the Roſſe, and there a rill from Biſhops Uptonward by Rodhall, Were ſend, Yam, Glewſton, Godderich, here in like ſort meeting with another that commeth from Eccleſwall in the confines of Gloceſterſhire, by Penlard caſtell & Coughton, to Welch Bicknor, Engliſh Bicknor, Huntelham, including a parcell of Monmouthſhire, being an outliggand, as ye may find in that parcell of Herefordſhire which buttech vpon Gloceſterſhire (as you ſhall find the like peece of Herefordſhire in the confines of Salop and Worceſter, wherein Rochford ſtandeth, beſide manie other which I haue elſewhere ſpoken of) Whitchurch, where it taketh in Gainar water that commeth from Much Birch, by Lanwarne, Michaell church, and at Langarran croſſeth the Garran brooke, that riſeth in Gregwood, ſhort of Arcop, ſix miles from Monemouth by northwell: after which theſe two dw runne as one to Marſton, and almoſt Whitchurch, and ſo into the Wie, which goeth from thence to Gunnarew, S. Michaell, Dirton, and Monemouth, where I will ſtaie a while, till I haue deſcribed the Mone, next of all to be remembred here.

Treſke, Gainar. Garran.

The Mona or Monbecke, riſeth in the forreſt of Dene, twentie miles from Monemouth by weſt in Cirſland, and going by Creſwell, or Craſwall chappell not farre from the marches of Brecknocke, and northeaſt of Yatuill hils, which after it hath run a good diſtance from the head receiueth firſt the Eſkle, and paſſeth by Lanthangle and the old Court, from northweaſt, then the Olcon, from ſouthweſt, which meeteth withall neere Cledoll or Knedoch, & paſſing by the old towne, it haſteth to Altrinis, where it becommeth march betweene Hereford and Monemouth ſhires, and taketh in a water comming by Trewin, & likewiſe the Horowie or Hodneie which riſeth in Brecknocke, among the Saterelles, & runneth by Capell a fin, Lantonie, Cumroie, Michaell church in Monemouthſhire, and ſoineth with our Mona at Altrinis, which after this confluence haſteth to Walderſtone, Lanſillo Langua, betweene which and Kinechurch it ſoineth with the Doure that riſeth about the Wache aboue Dourſton, which is ſix miles aboue Doure abbie, ſo that it runneth through the Gilden dale, by Peterchurch, Fowchurch, Morehampton, Newcourt, Doure, and beneath Doure taketh in the Duleſſe, from ſouthweſt and Lanthangle, by Yarleſwas caſtell on the one ſide, and per long the Wormelbecke, deſcending from aboue Kenernall by Didleie, Deueror, Workebridge, and Kenderchurch on the other, and ſo running all in one chanell vnto Mona, that riuer goeth on to Kinech church, Griſmond, Cardwaie, Skenfrith, Warnethall, Perthire, and ſo to Monemouth, where it meeteth with the Wie, ouer each of which riuers Monemuth towne hath his particular bridge.

Hodneie. Doure. Duleſſe. Wormelbecke

The Guie or Wie therefore being increaſed with thus manie brookes and waters, paſſeth on from hence, and going toward Landogo, it meeteth with the Trollie becke, whoſe head is aboue Lannam ferrie in the north part of Monemouth ſhire, and goeth from thence by Lhantellio, Lanthangle, Gracedieu, Diggeſtow, Monaſtow, Troie, and ſo into Wie, that runneth alſo by Wies wood chaſe, taking in there the Elwie that commeth from aboue Landelwie by Langowen, Lannilſen, Penclaſe, Trilegh, and Langogo, where meeting with the aforeſaid ſtreame, the Wie directeth his courſe from thence by Tinterne abbeie (where it croſſeth a rill from Trile grange) Chapell hill, Parcaſicke, Penterie chapell, Lancante, Chepſtowe, and ſo into the ſea, leauing the Treacle (a chapell ſtanding on a rocke) on the hand betweene it & Sauerne, ouer againſt the point that lieth ſouth of Betteſlie. Next vnto the Wie, I find a rill of no great courſe, comming downe from Mounton chapell, by a place of the biſhops of Landaffe. Then paſſing by Charſton rocke, and the point whereon Trinitie chapell ſtandeth, I come vnto the fall of Trogie, which riſeth ſhort of Trogie caſtell, and runneth toward the ſea, by Landuair, Dewſton, Calicot, and ſo into the Ocean, ouer againſt the Charſton rocke. The next fall is of a water that commeth from aboue Penho by ſaint Brides, north and by weſt of Dennie Iland, which lieth midwaie betweene that fall & Porſhot point, and before I touch at Goldcliffe point, I croſſe another fall of a freſh brooke, whoſe head is aboue Landuelgo in Wencewood, and courſe by Lhanbed, Langſton, Lhanwarne, and through the More to Witſton.

Elwie. Trollie. Trogie. Dennie Iland in the middeſt of the Sauerne, and likewiſe another litle one called Beneſage.

Next vnto this is the Aberwith, or Wiſke, in Latine Oſca, whereon Caerleon ſtandeth, ſometime called Cheſter and Ciuitas legionum, becauſe the Romans ſoiourned there, as did afterward Arthur the great, who alſo held a noble parlement in the ſame, whereof Galfride maketh mention Lib. 7. cap. 4. affirming thereto, that in thoſe daies the maieſtie thereof was ſuch, as that all the forefronts of their houſes were in maner laid ouer with gold, according to the Romane vſage. There was in the ſame in like ſort a famous vniuerſitie, wherein were 200 philoſophers; alſo two goodlie churches erected in the remembrance of Julius and Aaron, two Britiſh martyrs, whereby it might well be reputed for the third metropoliticall ſee in Britaine. But to our water, whereof I read that it is furthermore one of the greateſt in Southwales, and huge ſhips might well come to the towne of Caerleon, as they did in the time of the Romans, if Newport bridge were not a let vnto them; neuertheleſſe, big botes come thereto. It is eight Welſh or twelue Engliſh miles from Chepſtow

Wilke.

Mona. Elkon. Eſkill. Hodneie.

Chepstow or Strigull, and of some thought to be in base Wenceland, though other be of the contrarie opinion. But howsoeuer the matter standeth, this riuer is taken to be the bounds of Brechnockshire, as Kenni is middle to Wenceland & Glamorganshire. But to leaue these by-matters, and come to the description of the water.

Wike. You shall vnderstand that the Aske or Wike, in Latin Vica riseth in the blacke mountens ten miles aboue Brechnocke toward Carmardine, the hill being properlie called Pmmioh Duy out of which it falleth, and situate in the verie confines betweene Brechnocke and Carmardine shires, from whence winding into the northeast, it commeth to Treca-stle, and in the vale betweene it and Capell Kid-burne, it taketh in the Traie brooke, on the right hand before it come to Kidburne chappell. Going also from thence toward Denuocke, it crosseth the Den-reie on the same side (which riseth aboue Capell Dennele next of all the Cambias, & at Aberbraine, the Braine, or the Brennich, whose head is three miles from Brechnocke, and running by Lanhangle, it meeteth I late with the Aske, about master Awbries manor. Beneath Aber Pfer, it receiueth the Pfer, which riseth northwest aboue Martyr Kinoch, and commeth by Battell chappell, and going from thence by Lanspithed and Newton, it runneth in the end to Brechnocke, where it taketh in the Rodneie or Hon-thie on the one side, whose head is in Blaine Rod-neie, and comming downe from thence by Defrune chappell, Lanhangle and Landuilog, it meeteth with the Aske or Brechnocke townes end, which of the fall of his water was sometime called Aberhodni, as I haue beene informed: on the other halfe likewise it receiueth the Tertarith that riseth among the Baue hils, fiue miles from Brechnocke, and commeth like-wise into the verie suburbs of the towne, beneath Tenewith, or new Troie, whereby it taketh the course.

After these confluences, the Aske proceedeth on toward Aberkenrike, or the fall of a water whose head is in the cots of Menuchdennie hill, and passage by Camreke. Hence it goeth by Lanhamlaghe, Penkethicie castell, Lansandreid, Landertie, Lan-gonder, and some after receiuing the Riangall (which riseth about the hill whereon Dinas castell standeth, and runneth by Lanhangle and Treroure) it passeth betweene Laugattocke and Gerighho-well, to Langroutie, and there about crosseth the Crouue brooke, that descendeth from Monegather, Arthur hill by Peter church, as I find. When the Aske is past this brooke, it taketh in three other short rils, from by south within a little distance, whereof the first hight Cledoch Maur, the second Fidan, and the third Cledochvehan. Of these also the last faileth in verie to Lanwenarth. From hence the Aske run-neth to Abergeuenni towne, where it meeteth with the Hebbie water from by north, that riseth short of Bettus chappell aboue the towne, and the Geuennie that descendeth from aboue Landilobartholl beneath not farre from Colbroke, and so goeth on to Hard-wike, beneath which it crosseth three nameless rilles, on the right hand or southwest side before it come at Lanhangle vpon Aske, of whose courses I know not anie more than that they are not of anie length, nor the chanell of sufficient greatnesse seuerallie to intreat of. Betweene Kemmeis and Trostreie it meeteth with such an other ril that commeth downe by Bettus Newith. Thence it goeth to Caer Aske or Kenbigeie (whose bridge, I meane that of Aske, was ouerthrowne by rage of this riuer, in the six and twentith yeare of king Henrie the eight, vpon saint Hughes date after a great snow) but per it come there, it receiueth the Birthan on the right hand, which is a prette water, descending from two heads, whereof the first is northwest of Manhilot, as the other is of Lanhangle and Pentmorell.

Next vnto this it ioineth with the Elwie aboue Lanbadocke, whose head is east of Penclase, and running westwards by Penclase, Lanillen, Lan-gowen (and beneath Landewie taking in a brooke from Kagland castell, that commeth downe thither by Kagland parke) it bendeth southwest, vntill it come at the Aske, which crinkling towards the south, and going by Lanhowell, meeteth with three rilles before it come to Marthenie chappell, whereof the first lieth on the right hand, and the other on the left: the middlemost falling into the same, not farre from Lantressen, as I haue beene informed. From the mouth of the Komeneie to the mouth of the Taffe are two miles. Certes the Taffe is the grea-test riuer in all Glamorganshire, called (by Prole-mie Rhatostathybius, as I gesse) and the citie Taffe it selfe of good countenance, sith it is indued with the cathedrall see of a bishop. The course of the water in like maner is verie swift, and bringeth aft such logs and bodies of trees withall from the woodie hilles, that they do not seldome crush the bridge in peeces, but for so much as it is made with timber it is repai-red with lighter cost, whereas if it were of hard stone, all the countrie about would hardlie be able to a-mend it. It riseth in Brechnockshire among the wo-die hilles, from two heads, whereof one is in Mo-nuchdenie, the other west of that mountene, of which the first called Taffe vaure, goeth by Capell Ian ve-han, Mainor, and Morlais, the other by Capell Man-tie, and ioining at southwest beneath Morlais castle, they go to Martyr Tidull, and toward Lannabor, but by the vale it taketh in from northwest a brooke called Cunnon, which commeth out of Brechnock-shire by Abardare, and afterward the Rodneie com-ming out of the same quarter (but not out of the same shire) which runneth by Eskrinmodoch, a crot-ched brooke, & therefore diuided into Rodneie vaure, & Rodneie behan, that being ioined with the Taffe, doth run on withall to Eglesilian, castle Coch, Whit-church, Landaffe, Cardiffe, and so into the sea, not far from Pennarth point, where also the Late doth bid him welcome into his chanell or streame. Further-more, from Marthellie it hasteth to Kemmeis, and yer it come at Caerleon or Chester in the south, ta-keth in two waters on the right hand, of which the first commeth downe from the north betweene Landgwie, Landgweth, and by Lhan Henoch, with-out anie further increase: but the other is a more beautifull streame, called Auon, and thus described as I find it among my pamphlets. The Auon riseth in the hilles that seeme to part Monemouth and Brechenocke shires in sunder, and after a rill recei-ued from Blorench hill on the northside of the same, running downe from thence by Capell Newith and Triuethin, it receiueth a water from by south almost of equall course, and from that quarter of the coun-trie, and in processe of time another little one from the same side, yer it come to Lanurgwaie and La-nihangle, from whence it goeth to Cuennocke and Penrose, & so in Aske before it go by Caerleon. But here you must note, that the course of this streame ioining beneath Quenocke chappell, with the other which descendeth (as I said) from the hilles about foure miles aboue Landgwaie and Langweth, doth make an Iland aboue Caerleon, where Penrose standeth, & much Romane coine is found of all sorts, so that the influence of the one into the other seemeth to me to be but a draine deuised by man, to keepe the citie from the violence of such water as other-wise would oft annoie the same.

Being past Caerleon it runneth to Crindie, where

maister

Ebon

Romen

Late.

Dunelais
Methcoid
Pedware.

Late.

Thawan.

Sellele.

Barrie.

Cledoch vaur.
Fidan.
Cledochvehan.

Kebbie.
Geuenni.

Birthan.
Caer Aske standeth on one side of Aske, and Caerleon on the other, but Caer Aske by diuerse miles further into the land.

maiſter Harbert dwelleth, and there carieng another brooke withall, that riſeth north of Tomberlow hill, and deſcendeth by Henlis and Bettus chappell, it runneth forth to Newport (in Welch caſtle Newith) and from thence vnder a bridge, after three or foure miles courſe to the ſea, taking the Ebowith water withall, which meeteth with the ſame almoſt in the verie mouth or fall, and riſeth in the edge of Brecknoch ſhire, or (as Leland ſaith) high Winceland, from two heads, of which one is called Eberith Vchan, the other Eberith Mawr, as I haue beene informed. The courſe of the firſt head is by Blamgrent, and after the confluence they paſſe togither by Lanhileth, and comming by weſt of Tomberlow hill (croſſing a rill, from north eaſt by the waie) it taketh in thereabout the Serowie, that runneth by Treſtrent, & is of leſſe race hitherto than the Ebowith, and from that ſame quarter. After this confluence it goeth to Riſleie, Rocheſton caſtell, next of all thorough a parke, and ſo by Greeneſield caſtell, and is not long yer it fall into the ſea, being the laſt iſſue that I doo find in the countie, which beareth the name of Monemouth, and was in old time a part of the region of the Silures.

Ebowith.

Serowie.

Romeneie. The Romeneie or (as ſome corruptlie call it) the Nonneie, is a goodlie water, and from the head a march betweene Monemouth & Glamorgan ſhires. The head hereof is aboue Egglins Tider bap Hoell otherwiſe called Fanum Theodori, or the church of Theodorus, whence commeth manie ſprings, & taking one bottome, the water is called Canoch and not Romeneie till it be come to Romeneie. It receiueth no water on the eaſt ſide, but on the weſt diuerſe ſmall beckes, whereof three (and one of them called Ifra) are betweene the riſing and Brathetere chappell, the fourth cõmeth in by Capell Gledis, and Bethligaire, the fift from betweene the Faldraie and Lanuabor, the ſixt & ſeuenth before it come to Bedwas, and the eight ouer againſt Bedwas it ſelfe from chappell Martin, Cairfillie caſtell, and Thauan, after which confluences it runneth on by Maghan, Reuen, Mableie and Romeneie, & yer long croſſing a becke at north weſt that commeth from aboue Liſuan, Lamſſen and Roch, it falleth into the ſea, about ſix miles from the Wiſbe, and albeit the mouth therof be nothing profitable for ſhips, yet is it alſo a march betweene the Silures and Glamorganſhire.

Romeneie.

Laie. The Laie falleth into the ſea a mile almoſt from the Taffe, and riſeth in the hilles aboue Lantriſſent (for all the region is verie hillie.) From whence comming by Lantriſſent and Auercaſtell, it runneth by Coit Marchan parke, Lambedder, S. Brides, Lhanthangle, ſaint Fagans and Elaie, Leckwith, Landowgh, Cogampill, and ſo into the ſea, without anie maner increaſe by anie rils at all ſauing the Dunelais, which riſeth foure miles from his fall, eaſt north eaſt, and meeteth withall a little more than a quarter of a mile from Pont Uelin Vaur, and likewiſe by weſt, the Methcoid that commeth from Glinne Rodeneie, and wherein to the Pedware diſchargeth that ſmall water gathered in his chanell. Here will I ſtaie a little and breake off into a diſcourſe, which Leland left alſo as parcell of this coaſt who toucheth it after this maner.

Laie.

Dunelais.
Methcoid.
Pedware.

Laie. From Taffe to Laie mouth or Ele riuer a mile, from Laie mouth (or rather Penarth, that ſtandeth on the weſt point of it) to the mouth of Thawan riuer (from whence is a common paſſage ouer vnto Pineheued in Summerſetſhire of 17 miles) are about ſeuen Welſh miles, which are counted after this maner. A mile and a halfe aboue Thawan is Scilleie hauenet (a pretie ſuccour for ſhips) whoſe head is in Wenno paroch two miles and a halfe from the ſhore. From Scilleie mouth to Aber Barrie a mile, and thither commeth a little rill of freſh water into Sauerne, whoſe head is ſcant a mile off in plaine ground by northeaſt, and right againſt the fall of this becke lieth Barrie Iland a flight ſhot from the ſhore at the full ſea. Halfe a mile aboue Aber Barrie is the mouth of Come kidie, which riſeth flat north from the place where it goeth into the Sauerne, and ſerueth oft for harbour vnto ſea-farers. Thence to the mouth of Thawan are three miles, wherevnto ſhips may come at will.

Laie.

Thawan.

Scilleie.

Barrie.

This Ile went fiftie yeares agone for x. pounds.

Come kidie.

Two miles aboue Thawan is Colhow, whither a little rill reſorteth from Lau Ituit, thence to the mouth of Alen foure miles, that is a mile to ſaint Dinothes caſtell, and three miles further. The Alen riſeth by northeaſt vp into the land at a place called Lhes Brolmith, or Skirpton, about foure miles aboue the plot where it commeth by it ſelfe into Sauerne. From thence to the mouth of Ogur *alias* Gur three miles. Then come they in proceſſe of time vnto the Kenſike or Colbrooke riuer, which is no great thing, ſith it riſeth not aboue three miles from the ſhore. From Kenſike to Aber Auon two miles, and herein doo ſhips moleſted with weather oftentimes ſeeke harborough. It commeth of two armes, whereof that which lieth northeaſt is called Auon Vaur, the other that lieth northweſt Auon Vchan. They meet togither at Lhanuoie Yengle, about two miles aboue Aber Auon village, which is two miles alſo from the ſea.

Colhow.

Alen.

Ogur.

Kenſike.

Auon.

From hence to the Neth is about two miles and a halfe, thereon come ſhiplets almoſt to the towne of Neth from the Sauerne. From the mouth of Neth vnto the mouth of Crimline becke is two miles, and being paſſed the ſame we come vnto the Tauie, which deſcendeth from the aforeſaid hilles and falleth into the ſea by eaſt of Swanſeie. Being paſt this we come vnto the Lichwr, or Lochar mouth, and then gliding by the Wormes head, we paſſed to the Wandreſmouth, wherof I find this deſcription following in Leland. Both Vendraith Vaur and Vendraith Vchan riſe in a peece of Carmardineſhire, called Illekenen, that is to ſaie, the low quarter about Kennen riuer, and betwixt the heads of theſe two hils is another hill, wherein be ſtones of a greeniſh colour, whereof the inhabitants make their lime. The name of the hill that Vendraith Vaur riſeth in, is called Mennith Vaur, and therein is a poole as in a moriſh ground, named Lhintegowen, where the principall ſpring is, and this hill is eight or nine miles From Kidwellie: the hill that Vendraith Vchan ſpringeth out of, is called Mennith Vchan, and this water commeth by Kidwellie towne.

Neth.

Tauie.

Lochar.
Wandres.

Vendraith Vaur, Vendraith Vchan.

But about three or foure miles yer it come thither, it receiueth a brooke called Treſgirth, the courſe whereof is little aboue a mile from the place where it goeth into Vendraith, and yet it hath foure or five tucking milles and three corne milles vpon it. At the head of this brooke is an hole in the hilles ſide, where men often enter and walke in a large ſpace. And as for the brooke it ſelfe, it is one of the moſt plentifull and commodious that is to be found in Wales. All along the ſides alſo of Vendraith Vaur, you ſhall find great plentie of ſea-coles. There is a great hole by head of Vendraith Vchan, where men vſe to enter into vaults of great compaſſe, and it is ſaid, that they maie go one waie vnder the ground to Wormes head, and another waie to Cairkemen caſtell, which is three miles or more into the land. But how true theſe things are, it is not in me to determine; yet this is certeine, that there is verie good hawking at the Heron in Vendraith Vchan. There are diuerſe prints of the paſſage of certeine worms alſo in the caue, at the head of Vendraith Vchan, as the inhabitants doo fable: but I neuer heard of anie

man that ſaw anie woꝛme there, and yet it is beléeued that manie woꝛmes are there. Hitherto out of Leland. But now to returne to mine owne courſe.

Laie. Leauing the Laie, which ſome call Claie, and paſſing the Pennarth baie, that lieth betweéne the Pennarth and the Lauerocke points, we left Scillie Flet (which lieth on the mouth of Scillie hauen beſoꝛe deſcribed) and came vnto the Barrie, whoſe head is aboue Wrinſton caſtell, and from whence he runneth by Delinſpowis, Cadoꝛton, Barrie, and ſo into the ſea.

Barrie.

Aberthaw Being paſt the Barrie water, we come to a fall called Aberthaw, which riſeth two oꝛ thꝛée miles aboue Lanſanoꝛ, and going by Welch Newton, it commeth at length to Colbꝛidge, and from thence goeth to Lanblethian, Landoch, Beanpéere, Flimſton, Gilſton, and betwæne the eaſt and the weſt Aberthaw, & into the Sauerne ſea. But yer it come all there it receiueth a bꝛoke called Kenſan, oꝛ Karnſan, oꝛ Kenſech, on the eaſt ſide, whoſe head is eaſt of Wolſton, & comming by Charnelhold, Lhancaruan, & Lancadle, it falleth into the foꝛmer aboue either of the Thawans. Leland ſaith, that Kenſan hath two heads, whereof the moꝛe noꝛtherlie called Bꝛane, lieth in Luenlithan, and runneth ſeauen miles beſoꝛe it méet with the other. Leauing this water we ſailed on, caſting about the Naſh point, omitting two oꝛ thꝛee ſmall waters (whereof Leland hath alreadie as ye ſe made mention) becauſe I haue nothing moꝛe to add vnto their deſcriptions, except it be, that the Colhow taketh in a rill from Lan Iltruit, of whoſe courſe (to ſaie the truth) I haue no manner of knowledge.

Kenſan.

Ogur. The Ogur oꝛ Gur, which ſome call the Ogmur, is a well faire ſtreame (as we were woont to ſaie in our old Engliſh) whoſe head is in the ſame hilles, where the Rodeneies are to be found, but much moꝛe weſterlie, and running a long courſe yer it come to anie village, it goeth at the length beneath Languineuere oꝛ Langonodoch, to S. Bꝛides vpon Ogur, then to Newcaſtell, and Narthermaure, beneath which it méeteth the Mennie, halfe a mile from Ogur oꝛ Ogmur caſtell on the eaſt ſide of the banke. It riſeth fiue oꝛ ſix miles from this place, among the hilles, and comming downe at laſt by Lanharne, it croſſeth a rill yer long from noꝛtheaſt, and the confluence paſſeth foꝛth by Coitchurch, Ogur caſtell, & ſo into the Ogur. Leland wꝛiting of the waters that fall into this Ogur ſaith thus. Into the Ogur alſo reſoꝛteth the Garrow two miles aboue Lanſanſride bꝛidge, deſcending from Blaingarow. It taketh furthermoꝛe (ſaith he) another called Leuennie riſing in the parith of Glin Coꝛug, at noꝛthweſt, and then running two miles loꝛwer, vniteth it ſelfe with the Coꝛug bꝛoke, a little ſhoꝛt thing, and woꝛthie no longer ſpeach. From this confluence the Leuennie goeth ſeauen miles further yer it mæte with the Ogur on the weſt ſide, at Lanſanſride, two miles aboue Penbowt. And ſo far Leland. But I wot not what he meaneth by it.

Wennie.

Garrow.

Leuennie.

Coꝛug.

Kenſig. Next vnto the Ogur is the Kenſig water, that commeth downe by the Pile and Kenſig caſtell, and being paſt the ſame we croſſe the Margan rill, where ſir Edward Manrell dwelt, and ſo vnto Auon, which hauing two heads (as is ſaid) the moꝛe eaſterlie of them commeth downe by Hauodapoꝛt chappell, the other by Glin Coꝛug, Michaell church, Aber Auon, and ſo into the ſea, yéelding alſo in time of néed a good harbour foꝛ ſhips to lodge and ride in. From hence we went along by the Cole pits to the mouth of the Neth. The Neth is a faire water, riſing of diuerſe heads, whereof the moꝛe eaſterlie named Nethuehan riſeth not farre from the head of the Kennon, and comming downe by Penedoꝛin to Aberpirgwin, it receiueth Nethuaur, a little aboue the towne, which riſing not farre ſoutheaſt of the head of Tauie in Bꝛecknoch ſhire (as all the reſt doo) receiueth the Trangarth, the Neltaie and the Hepſaie, all which are accounted as members of his head in one chanell, about a mile oꝛ moꝛe before it ioine with Nethuehan. Foꝛ as Trangarth riſeth eaſt of Nethuaur, ſo the Nelta riſeth by eaſt of Trangarth, and ioineth with the ſame aboue Iſtrad wealthie, and a little beneath the ſame towne taketh in the Hepſaie. So that albeit their ſeuerall riſings be halfe oꝛ a whole mile in ſunder, yet haue they (in a maner) like diſtance from Aberpirgwin, and their finall confluence in the edge of Glamoꝛganſhire, which they directlie doo croſſe. After theſe confluences, the maine ſtreame runneth in and out by ſundꝛie miles, and thꝛough the woddie ſoiles, till it meet with Cledaugh, which ioineth with the ſame beneath the Reſonlaie, and goeth withall to Laniſked, where it taketh in the Duleſſe, whoſe head is aboue Chappell Krenaunt, in the marches of Bꝛecknoch. Thence it goeth to Cadoꝛ towne, oꝛ betwéene it and Lanniſtide, then to Neth towne, whither ſmall veſſels often come: and beneath the ſame receiuing the Cledoch that runneth by Kelebebilch (and alſo Neth abbeie where maiſter Crumwell dwelleth) it goeth on by Coitſranke foꝛreſt, Nethwood, Bꝛiton ferrie, and ſo into the ſea.

Nethuaur. Trangarth. Neltaie. Hepſaie. Duleſſe. Cledoch.

Tauie. The Tauie riſeth in the thickeſt of the blacke mounteines in Bꝛecknochſhire weſt of Nethuaur, and comming downe weſt of Calwen chappell, it receiueth on the eaſt banke a rill named Coiell that runneth thither by Coielburne chappell: and being thus vnited, the chanell paſſeth foꝛth by Iſtradgunles, and then méeting with the Turch oꝛ Toꝛch water that cõmeth from the foꝛt of the blacke mounteines, and is march to parcell of Caermardinſhire, it runneth to Langoge, Lanſamled, ſaint Johns, Swanſeie, and ſo into the Baie. Being paſt this, we come by another little fall, whoſe water runneth thꝛée oꝛ foure miles yer it come into Swanſeie baie, but without name. Thence we go to the Crimline becke, whoſe deſcription I neither haue, noꝛ find anie great want therof. Wherfoꝛe going about by Diſtermont caſtell, and Numbles point, we paſſe foꝛth toward the ſouthweſt by Penmarch point, till we come to Iſkon water, whoſe head is not farre within the land; and yet as it commeth thoꝛough the woodland, and downe by Penmarch caſtell, a rill oꝛ two doth fall into the ſame. Then caſting about by Oꝛwich point, we go onward there by, and ſailing flat noꝛth by the Holme (hauing paſſed the Woꝛmeſtead and S. Kennets chappell) and then noꝛtheaſt by Whitfoꝛd point, we went at length to the Lochar oꝛ Loghoꝛ, oꝛ as Lhoyd nameth it, the Lichwꝛ, whoſe indꝛaught foꝛ a certene ſpace is march betwéene Caermardine and Glamoꝛgan ſhires. It riſeth aboue Gwenwie chappell, from whence it goeth to Landbea, and aboue Bettus receiueth a rill named Amond that entreth thereinto from noꝛtheaſt. Being paſt Bettus, it paſſeth by Laneddie, Arthelas bꝛidge, and ouer againſt Landilo Talabout, it croſſeth from by weſt, the Combwilie by weſt of Parkreame, and afterward the Moꝛlais aboue Langnarch on the ſame ſide. Then comming to Loghoꝛ caſtell, it taketh in on the eaſt ſide, the Lhu, whoſe courſe is not aboue fiue miles, and thence loſing the name of Lochar, it is called Burraie, as ſome geſſe, vntill it come to the ſea, where it parteth it ſelfe going on each ſide of Bachannie Iland, a ſmall thing, and not woꝛthie (foꝛ anie thing I read thereof) as yet to be particularlie deſcribed. From this water we paſſed (I ſaie) by Bachannies Ile, to the Aberlheddie water, whoſe head being in the hilles aboue Pꝛenacrois, it paſſeth by

Taule. Coilus. Toꝛch. Iſkon. Amond. Combwilie. Moꝛlais. Lhu. Burraie.

by Lhanelcheie, and thence into the ſea. Then went we to the Duleſſe a little rill, whoſe head is not farre from Trinſaren: thence by the Pembꝛaie and Calicoit points, till we came about to the Wandꝛes oꝛ Uendꝛaith mouth, whoſe deſcription is partlie touched alreadie; but bicauſe it is not ſuch as I would wiſh it to be, I will here after my owne maner deale somewhat further withall. Gwendꝛath oꝛ Uendꝛaith vaur riſeth in the lower ground, oꝛ not far from the hill Kenneth Uaur, whereon caſtell Careg ſtandeth, and deſcending by a pꝛetie long courſe vnder ſundꝛie bꝛidges, commeth at the laſt to Glin, then to Capull Lanberie, and ſo vnto the ſea, being little augmented with influences by the waie. Uendꝛaith Uehan riſeth a mile higher towards the noꝛth than Uendꝛaith Uaur, but out of the ſame ſoile, & thence directing his courſe toward the ſouthweſt, it goeth by Lancharog, Langendarne, Capull Langell, Bithon, Leighdenie, Kidwillie, and ſo into the ſea, about one mile from the fall of Uendꝛaith Uaur.

Duleſſe. wandꝛes.

Towie.

The Towie riſeth in the mounteines of Elennith foure miles by ſoutheaſt from Lintiue, and two from Lingonon, in a moꝛiſh ground foure & twentie miles from Caermardine, and in a foꝛreſt called Biſhops foꝛreſt, midwaie betwixt Landwibꝛeuie & Landanuerie caſtell. Foꝛ fiſh, in my opinion, this is much better than the Taw oꝛ Taffe, whoſe head bꝛeedeth no fiſh, but if it be caſt into it, they turne vp their bellies, flote aloft, and die out of hand. It parteth Bꝛecknoch from Cardigonſhire alſo foꝛ a certeine ſeaſon, till it come by the water of Trauſnant, that falleth thereinto from by eaſt out of the confins of Bꝛecknoch, vnto Pilin capell, and ſo to Iſkrodefine, where it méeteth with the Tothæ that commeth thither from Lhinuerwin where it riſeth, and ſo thꝛough Reſcoth foꝛreſt, vniting it ſelfe by the waie with the Peſcotter, which mounting out of the ground in the edge of Cardigonſhire, runneth along as a limit and march vnto the ſame, till it ioine with the Tothée, and both come togither beneath Iſkrodefine into Towie, which we haue now in hand. After this confluence it commeth to Lhanuair Awbꝛeie, Lanthowell, and Lanimphꝛie, and here it receiueth two waters in one chanell, whereof the firſt is called Bꝛane, the other Gutherꝛie (which lieth moꝛe ſouthꝛlie of the two) and fall (as I ſaid) into Towie beneath Landonuereie, which runneth on till it méet with the firſt Duleſſe that goeth by Lenurdie, then with the Moꝛlais, and theſe on the noꝛthweſt. Certes the Bꝛane is a pꝛetie bꝛooke riſing two oꝛ thꝛée miles aboue Capell Newith, and deſcending by Lanbꝛane and Uſtradwalter, it méeteth (I ſaie) with the Gutherꝛie, whoſe head is weſt of Tridcaſtell in Bꝛecknochſhire, and thereby it is not a little increaſed. But to pꝛoceed with the Towie, which being paſt Lanimphꝛie and a rill that méeteth with the ſame, deſcending from noꝛthweſt of Lanurdan, it taketh in the influences of diuerſe waters in one chanell, of which the greateſt is called Modewie, and thereof I find this deſcription.

Trauſnant. Tothée. Peſcotter. Bꝛane. Gutherꝛie. Duleſſe. Moꝛlais.

Modewie.

The Modewie, oꝛ (as ſome pꝛonounce it) Motheuie, riſeth of two heads, which ioining aboue Lanthangle, the ſtreame runneth on till it méet with the Cledoch on the left hand, pꝛocéeding alſo further toward Langadocke, it receiueth not far from thence the Sawthele, whoſe two heads deſcend from the blacke mounteines oꝛ eaſt edge of Carmardineſhire (as mine infoꝛmation leadeth me.) After this confluence the ſecond Duleſſe doth méet with the Towie, whoſe head is in the hilles aboue Talthogate abbeie, noꝛthweſt from Langadocke full fiue miles: then comming downe by Landilobaur, Newton, Dinefar caſtell, and Golden groue, it receiueth the third Duleſſe from by noꝛth that commeth in by Lanthangle and Dꝛillan caſtell, and after that the Cothie, whoſe race is ſomewhat long, and therefoꝛe his deſcription not vtterlie to be paſſed ouer.

Modewie. Cledoch. Sawthele. Duleſſe. 2. Duleſſe. 3.

Cothie.

Not farre from the head (which is thꝛée miles from Landanbꝛeuie, vnder the hulke of Blame Icoꝛne, a narrow paſſage, and therein manie heaps of ſtones) and ſomewhat beneath Lana Pinſent chappell, it taketh in the Turche becke that runneth thither from aboue Lanacroies: thence it goeth to Lanſawell, Abergoꝛlech, Bꝛeghuangothie, Lannigod, and ſo into Towie, which hatking foꝛward by chappell Dewie, receiueth the Rauelthie from by noꝛth, then the Gwilie from noꝛthweſt, whoſe head is aboue Lanie Pinſent, and race by Canwell, Eluert, Comewilie, and Merling hill, as I haue often heard. After this confluence with the Gwilie, the Towie goeth to Caermardine, then to Lanigang, then to Lanſtephan, S. Ismaels, and ſo into the ſea.

Turche. Rauelthie. Gwilie.

Next vnto the Towie is the Taue, whoſe head is in the blacke mounteines, as at the roots of Wrenni vaur hill in Pembꝛokeſhire, from whence it runneth by Lanuurnach, Langludien, Lanualteg, and taking in the Dudderie from ſouthweſt, out of the ſame countie by Lanbederuelfraie, and Lindwie, it goeth to Egleſware chappell, beneath which it croſſeth the Marlais by noꝛth that runneth by Lanbedie and Whitland. Thence meeting with one rill called Uenni, as I take it, that commeth thꝛough Cardith foꝛreſt on the one ſide, and the Caire on the other that runneth into it weſt of Landowꝛoꝛ, it hasteth to S. Clares, where it taketh in the Carthkinnie, oꝛ Barthkinnie (as Leland calleth it) and the Gow oꝛ Tow both in one chanell, of which the firſt riſeth aboue Capell Bettus, from whence it runneth by Talacouthe, Kilſant, and Langinnin, the other iſſueth out of the ground aboue Trologh Bettus, by Midꝛun, & ioining with the foꝛmer a little aboue S. Clares, they run into the Taue, and from thence to Lanthangle, and betwéene it and Abercowen, admitteth finallie the Gowen oꝛ Gow ſtreame, which comming likewiſe from the blacke mounteines, goeth by Ebbernant, & ſo into the Taue, who directeth his courſe by Lancharne caſtell, and then into the ſea.

Taue. Dudderie. Marlais. Uennie. Caire. Carthkinnie. Gow. Gowen.

The next water that we come to is the Gwair, which is but a ſmall thing riſing aboue Lambeder Uelfraie, and going from thence by eaſt of caſtell Merhie hill, Crumuier and Argwaire, it is not long yer it fall into the ſea, and ſo we leaue Cairdinſhire, and go ouer into Penbꝛoke. Then paſſed we by an other comming out of Rathe foꝛreſt called Coit Rathe, the water it ſelfe riſing about Templeton. Thence leauing the Monkeſton rocke, we came to Tenbie oꝛ Dinbechie Piſcod, and paſſing into the poꝛt betwéene the caſtell and S. Katharines rocke, we found it ſerued with two little backe waters, of ſo ſmall countenance, that they are not woꝛthie of anie further talke to be ſpent in their deſcriptions: yet the one ſéemeth to be called Flocence bꝛooke, the other Freſko, Gunfreſton ſtanding betwéene them both, whereby their sight cannot periſh. After this we paſſed betwéene Londie and an other Ilet oꝛ rocke lieng by noꝛthweſt of the ſame, to Ludſop point, & ſo to Abertrewent, where I found a ſillie freſh water named Trewend that riſeth a mile oꝛ thereabout within the land. From thence we went ſouthwards by Bꝛode hauen, till we came to S. Golwans point. Then gathering weſt and by noꝛth before we came at Shepe Iland, we found another freſh water, that riſeth ſhoꝛt of Kiriog Paharen, and running ſouth of Uggarſton, Windmill hill, oꝛ betwéene it and Caſtell Moꝛton and Gupton, it holdeth on flat weſt all the waie till it come to the Ocean.

Bꝛechnocke. From London to Caldie thirtie miles. Trewent.

Being paſſed this water, we caſt about toward the noꝛthweſt, by the Poptons and Pennar, till we

Pennar. came to the Pennar mouth, out of which the ſalt water iſſueth that in maner inuironneth Penbroke. From this (omitting ſundrie ſalt creekes on both ſides of the hauen, not appertinent to our purpoſe) we came to the fall of two waters in one chanell, aboue whoſe confluence Williamſon parke ſtandeth, and whereof one (a meere ſalt courſe) incloſeth three parts of Carew caſtell. The other riſing neere to Coit Rath foreſt is a freſh, & going by Geffraſton, Creſwell & Lawrenie, it leaueth the parke on the ſouth ſide, & goeth into the hauen after confluence with the former.

Now come I to the two ſwords, or hauen of Milford, whereinto two riuers direct their courſe from the northeaſt called Dugledu or the two ſwords, and betweene them both is a rill which they call alſo Cultlell (that is to ſaie) the knife. Hereof riſeth a merrie tale of a Welſhman, that lieng in this place abroad all night in the cold weather, and peraduenture not verie well occupied, was demanded of his hoſteſſe (where he did breake his faſt the next morrow) at what inne he laie in the night precedent, becauſe he came ſo ſone to hir houſe per anie of hir maids were vp: Oh good hoſteſſe (quoth he) be contented, I laie to night in a dangerous eſtate, for I ſlept betweene two ſwords with a long knife at my heart; meaning indeed that he laie betweene theſe two riuers, and his breſt towards the ſouth neere to the head of Cultlell. But to paſſe ouer theſe ieſts. Here Leland ſpeaketh of a riuer called Gwilie, but where it riſeth or falleth, he maketh no certeine report: wherefore it is requiſit that I proceed according to my purpoſe.

Dugledu. Cultlell. Gwilie.

The one of theſe ſwords is called Clotheie or Clothie, of which I find this ſhort and breefe deſcription. The Clothie riſeth at the foot of Wrennie baure hill and comming downe to Monachlodge, Langelman, Lannakeuen, and Egremond, it receiueth a rill from by northweſt before it come at Lanhaddon caſtell, which commeth from aboue the more by Clarbaſton and Bletherſton, his head ariſing in the hill weſt of Wancloghaie, as Leland doth informe me. Per long alſo and beneath Lanhaddon it taketh in another on the eaſt ſide from Narbarth caſtell, comming by Robeſton, then going by Cunaſton, Slebach, Picton caſtell, Siſter houſes, Minware & Martheltwie, at Riſe caſtell point weſt of Coit Benles (as I haue beene informed) it taketh in the other ſword, named Dugledie, wherof I read as followeth. The head of the Dugledie is ſomwhere at northweſt, betwixt S. Laurences & S. Dogwels, from whence it runneth to Trauegarne, Redbarton, & taking in a rill by the waie from Camroſe at the weſt, it goeth to Hauerford or Hereford weſt, and there vniteth it ſelfe with a water, which peraduenture is the ſame that Leland called Gwilie. Certes it riſeth ſhort of Walton, and comming by S. Leonards chappell and Pendergeſt, it falleth I ſaie into the Dugledie, ouer againſt the towne of Hauerford or Herford weſt, but in Welſh Hulford; as Lhoid doth ſet it downe. Beneath Herford it taketh in another water from ſouth weſt, whoſe head is ſhort of S. Margarets chappell, and enterance betweene Harraldſton and Herford, which Harraldſtone receiueth the name of Harrald the ſucceſſour of Edward the confeſſour as ſome call him, who was a greeuous mall vnto the Britons that remained in the time of the ſaid Edward; as I haue noted elſewhere. Then the Dugledie ſtill deſcending taketh in the Freſe frō Freſethorpe, a rill of no great accompt, and therefore I go from it making haſt vnto Cultlell, & omitting two rils betweene it and the Clotheie on the ſouthſide, of no great weight and moment. The Cultlell commeth into the Dugledie beneath Bolſton, with a ſtreight courſe from by north, of three or foure miles, riſing by weſt of Slebach, and comming by Bowlſton, after whoſe vnition with the aforeſaid water, they run on as one till they meet with the Clothie, caſting out by the waie ſundrie ſalt creekes, as the maine chanell doth from thence forth vntill it paſſe the Sandie hauen, the Dale rode (whither a ſillie freſh rill commeth of ſmall value) & be come about againe to the large Ocean.

Dugledie. Clotheie. Gwilie.

Hauing thus ſhewed the courſes of thoſe few freſh waters that come to Milford hauen, we caſt about by the Blockehouſe and S. Annes chappell to Gateholme Ile, that lieth betweene S. Annes and the Willocks point, directlie ouer againſt Stockeholme Iland that is ſituat further off into the ſea, toward the ſouthweſt, and is full halfe ſo great as the Scalmeie that I elſewhere deſcribed. Betweene the Willocke point alſo and the Scalmeie, directlie weſt is the Midland Ile, full ſo great as the Gateholme. As for the two rocks that lie by north and ſouth of the Scalmeie, of which the one is called the Pardland ſtone, the other Newſtone, it ſhall not be greatlie requiſit to ſtand on their diſcourſes, ſith they are ſuch as may hardlie be taken for Ilands, and euen in like ſort we may iudge of S. Brides Ile, which is ſouthweſt of Calthrop rode, & likewiſe of the Greſholme, whereof I find this ſhort deſcription. The Greſholme lieth directlie weſt of Scalmeie, from whence if you ſaile thither on the ſouth ſide, you muſt needs paſſe by the Newſtone rocke: if on the north of Scalmeie, you muſt leaue the Pardland ſtone on your left hand. Wherto if you note well the ſituation of theſe Ilands alreadie named, and confer them with the Ramſeie and S. Dauids land, you ſhall find them to produce as it were two dangerous points, including the Bard baie, wherein (notwithſtanding the greatneſſe) are 1000 perils, and no freſh brookes for me to deale withall. Finallie, hauing doubled the Willocke point, we thought it not good altogether to leaue that baie vnſearched, at leaſtwiſe to ſee what Ilands might there be found, & long entred into the ſame, we beheld one which the men of the countrie call S. Brides Iland, a verie little place and ſituate neere the land, before I came at Galtroie rode. From thence we went about by the little hauen, Doluach hauen, Carnaie hauen, Shirelace rocke, Carnbuddie, and Carnaie baies, Portelais, and ſo into the ſound betweene Ramſeie and the point. In this ſound likewiſe is a little Ile, almoſt annexed to the maine: but in the middeſt thereof, I meane of the ſound, is a rocke called the horſſe (a mile and more by north of Ribbie rocke, that lieth ſouth eaſt of Ramſeie) and more infortunate than ten of Setans colts, but thanked be God I neuer came on his backe. Thence paſſing by S. Stephans, and Whiteſand baies, we ſaluted the Biſhop and his clerks, as they went in proceſſion on our left ſide (being loth to take anie ſalted holie water at their hands) and came at laſt to the point called S. Dauids head, which Ptolomie calleth *Octapitanum promontorium*, except I be deceiued. But here gentle reader giue me leaue to ſtaie a while, and inſert the words of Leland touching the land called S. Dewies or S. Dauids land, whereof ſome men may peraduenture haue vſe, his words are theſe. Being therefore paſt this hauen and point of Demetia, in caſting about the coaſt we come to S. Dewies or S. Dauids land, which Ptolomie calleth *Octapitanum promontorium*, I read to be ſeparated from the reſt of the countrie much after this maner, although I grant that there may be and are diuerſe other little creekes betwixt Newgale and S. Dauids head, and betwixt S. Dauids and Fiſchard, beſide thoſe that are heere mentioned out of a regiſter of that houſe.

Gateholme Ile. Stockeholme Ile. Midland Ile. Greſholme. S. Brides Iland. A ſort of dangerous rocks lieng on a row vpon the weſt end of South-Wales called the Biſhop & his clerkes. S. Dewie or Dauid all one.

As we turne therefore from Milford, S. Dauids land beginneth at Newgale, a creeke ſerued with a backe freſh water. Howbeit there is a baie before this creeke betwixt it and Milford. From hence about

Saluach. bout foure miles is Saluach creke, otherwiſe called Sauerach, whither ſome freſh water reſorteth: the mouth alſo thereof is a good refcue for baitingers, as it (I meane the regiſter) ſaith. Thence go we to Portelais three miles, where is a little portlet, whither the Alen that commeth through ſaint Dewies cloſe doth run. It lieth a mile ſouthweſt from S. Dewies, ſaint Stinans Chappell alſo is betweene Portelais, and Portmaw. The next is Port Maw, where I found a great eſtuarie into the land. The Pendwie halfe a mile from that: Lhand Uehan is three miles from Pendwie, where is a ſalt creke, then to Tredine three miles, where is another creke to Langunda, foure miles, and another creke is there in like ſort where fiſhermen catch herrings. Heere alſo the Gwerne riuer diuideth Penbidiane from Fiſcherdine Kemmeis land. From Langunda to Fiſchard at the Gwerne mouth foure miles, and here is a portlet or hauenet alſo for ſhips. And thus much of S. Dauids land.

Portelais. Alen. Portmaw Maw. Pendwie. Lanuchan. Tredine. Langunda. Fiſchard. Gwerne.

Beſides this alſo, Leland in a third booke talketh of lhinnes and poles, but for aſmuch as my purpoſe is not to ſpeake of lakes and lhinnes, I paſſe them ouer as haſting to Teiſie, in Latine Tibius, and after Ptolomie Tuerobius or Tiuirobius, which is the next riuer that ſerueth for my purpoſe. And yet not forgetting to touch the Gwerne, for after we came from ſaint Dauids head, we coaſted along toward the ſoutheaſt, till wee came ouer againſt ſaint Catharins, where going northwards by the broad hauen, and the Strombles head, we ſailed thence northeaſt, and by north, to Langlas head, then flat ſouth by the Cow and Calfe (two cruell rockes) which we left on the left hand, & ſo coaſted ouer to Abergwin or Fiſchard, where we found a freſh water named Guin, or Gwerne, whoſe courſe is in maner directlie out of the eaſt into the weſt, from Wremie hils by Pont Vaunt and Lanichair, vntill it come within a mile of the foreſaid towne. It riſeth flat north of the Perſelie hill, from whence it goeth by Pont vaine, Lauerillidoch, Lanchar, Landilouair, & ſo to Abergwine, or Abergwerne, for I read both. From Abergwine, we caſt about by Dinas head, till we come to the fall of Neuerne, where Newport ſtandeth. The head of this riuer is aboue Capell Nantgwin, from whence it runneth by Whitchurch, but yer it come at Kilgwin, it taketh in a little water that riſeth ſhort of Wrenie baure, and thence go forth as one vntill they come to Newport. Cardigan hauen is the next fall that I did ſtumble on, wherein lieth a litle Iland ouer againſt the north point. Hereinto alſo commeth the Teiſie, a noble riuer which riſeth in Lintiuie, and is fraught with delicate ſamons, and herein and not elſewhere in all the riuers of Britaine, is the Caſtor or Beuer to be found. But to proceed. The verie hed thereof (I ſaie) is foure miles aboue Stradflore in Lultinie, and after it hath run from thence a little ſpace, it receiueth a broke from ſoutheaſt that commeth out of Lin Legnant, and then after the confluence runneth on to Stradflore abbeie, beneth which it meeteth with the Piricke water (that riſeth aboue Stradmirich) and ſone after with the Landurch (both from the northweſt) and finallie the Bremich aboue Tregaron, that commeth in by the eaſt; as Leland hath ſet downe.

Gwerne. Neuerne. Teiſie or Tine. Piricke. Landurch.

Heere to Landwibreuie alſo it croſſeth the Bronnis by eaſt northeaſt, and then goeth to Landuair, Cledogh, Kellan, and ſone after taking in the Patherne from by eaſt, that parteth Cardigan partlie from Carmardine ſhire, and likewiſe that Dulas aboue Lanbedder (which riſeth aboue Langibbie, and goeth thence to Bettus) on the northweſt, it goeth next of all to Lanbedder towne, then to Lanuair, beneath which it croſſeth the Grauelth, thence to Pencarocke, Lanbether, Lanlonie, Lanthangle, and Sandiſſell, and there it vniteth it ſelfe with the Clethor or Dettor, which commeth downe thither by Lantiſiliued chappell, Lanfraine, and finallie Landiſſell from by north, as I doo here affirme. After this confluence it proceedeth on to Landuaie, Alloine, Bangor, Langeler, Landcureog and Newcaſtell, yer long taking in the Kerie from by north, whoſe head is not farre from that of Clethor, and whoſe courſe is ſomewhat inlarged by ſuch rilles as deſcend into the ſame. For weſt of Kenwith two becks in one chanell doo fall into it, which be nameleſſe, and but of a litle length.

Bronnis. Patherne. Dulas. Grauelth. Clethor. Kerie.

Beneath Tredwair alſo it croſſeth another from by weſt, that runneth along by Bettus, Euan, and finallie meeting with the Teiſie, they run as one by Kennarth (ſtill parting Cardigon ſhire from Carmardin, as it hath done ſith it met with the Patherne) and ſo forth on till they ioine with the Cheach, which yſſing ſoutheaſt aboue chappell Euan, doth part Carmardine and Brechnocke ſhire in ſunder, till it come vnto the Teiſie. From this confluence, and being ſtill a limit vnto Cardigon ſhire, it goeth by Marierdine, and ſo to Cardigon, taking in one rill from by north deſcending by Penneralt, by north of Monardiue or Marierdine, and two other from by ſouthweſt, of which the one commeth in beneath Kilgaron caſtell, the other from Lantiwod northweſt of Oſcold Portemer, which lieth ſoutheaſt of Cardigan, and then going forward betweene S. Dogmaile, & Langoidinere, it is not long yer it fall into the Iriſh ſea, flat weſt and by north from his byrſt, and ſending vs forth from Penbroke into Cardigon ſhire, wherevnto it hath become march euer ſithence it came from Kellam, or confluence with the Patherne.

Cheach.

Being come into Cardigon ſhire, and hauing paſſed the Cardigon point, an Iland of the ſame denomination lieng by weſt thereof, we came vnto the fall of Atron three miles beneath Lancleere, it riſeth in the mounteines by a chappell called Blam Penſall belonging to Landwie breuie about three or foure miles from Tiue banks, & runneth on by Lamberwoddie, Langitho, Tregrigaron hill, Treuilian, Talaferne, and ſone after taking in a rill from by ſouth from Siliam by Lanleir it runneth by Iſtrade, Kilkennen, Lanicharin, and finallie into the ſea, croſſing by the waie the Bidder broke, which comming from Dehelwide, doth fall into the ſame, betweene Lanchairin, and Henuennete. The Arth which is the next fall is no great thing, neither of anie long courſe, yet ſomewhat crotched, and it riſeth three or foure miles or more within the land ſlopewiſe, and comming by Lambaderne, and Treueglois, it falleth into the ſea, northeaſt of Aberarth.

Atron. Bidder. Arth.

Being paſt the Arth, & hauing ſtaied there a while bicauſe we found ſome harborough, we came next of all vnto the Werete, which riſeth of two heads, aboue whoſe confluence ſtandeth a towne, named Lanhaugle, Redrod, and from whence it goeth by Langruthen to Lariſted, & ſo into the Ocean. Then went we to the Yſtwith, which riſeth in the blacke mounteins aboue Comerſtwith, from whence it runneth certeine miles, vntill it come vnto Iſpittie, Iſtwith, Lananon, Laniler, Lan Machairne, and ſo into the ſea, taking withall firſt the Meleuen, then the Ridall or Redholl not farre from the ſhore, whereof I haue this deſcription. The Ridall riſeth in the top of Plimlimmon hill out of a lake named Lin Ridall, from whence going toward Spittie Kinwen, it croſſeth one water on the north, and another beneth it on the ſoutheaſt, and ſo goeth on by Lanbeder baure, till it come to Aberiſtwith, the Iſtwith, and ſo into the Ocean. Hauing thus viewed the Iſtwith, and taken

Ris alias Werete. Iſtwith. Redholl.

our ſelues againe to the ſea, we croſſed the Salke or Salique brooke, whereof I find this memoriall.

Salique.

The Salique brooke deſcendeth in like ſort from the blacke mounteins, & going from Ammaboue, toward Gogarth, or Gogirthar, it receiueth the Maſſalique, and from thence goeth into the ſea, ſouthweſt from his originall. From hence we went to the Lerie, an indraught of no great quantitie, neither commodious as I geſſe (yet I may be deceiued) for anie ſhip to harborough in. It riſeth toward the lower ground of the blacke hils, and going by Lanihangle, caſtell Gwalter, it runneth from thence northeaſt into the Ocean, receiuing a rill by the waie from the hilles which lie by northeaſt of his courſe. But what ſtand I vpon trifles?

Maſſalique.

Lerie.

Thus haue I brought my ſelfe out of Caerdigan ſhire vnto the Wie, which is limit betweene it and Perioneth for a certeine ſpace, & being entred in the mouth thereof we gat vp to the head, minding in the deſcription of the ſame to come downeward as in the reſt, which we will do in ſuch good manner as for the time and want of ſome information is poſſible to be performed. It ariſeth in the ſouth part of Snowdonie, and goeth on forth right to Lammothwie, by Powdhewie, Mathan laith, and comming downe to Dinas Mathew, it receiueth two rilles from northweſt, and the third comming by Mallroid called Cludoch from northeaſt, & ſo holdeth on croſſing the Angell water at the weſt, which boundeth Mongomerie ſhire in part, till it come to Romis, beneath which water it taketh in the Towin that paſſeth by Lambrin mawr from Talgarth, and then goeth to Mathrauerue, croſſing another from by north and ſo forth to Lanworing, where it meeteth with the Kerig on the one ſide, and the Gwidall which commeth from Dorowen on the other.

Wie.

Romis.

After this, our maine riuer goeth by Pengos, and beneath the ſame taketh in an influence from ſoutheaſt, called the Dulas, and another from the northweſt. From thence it haſteth on to Magenillet, or Machenlet, firſt croſſing the Leuennie from ſoutheaſt, ſecondlie the Peniall from northweſt, thirdlie the Einon, fourthlie the Kinar, fiftlie the Cleidor, theſe three laſt rehearſed falling into it from ſoutheaſt, & the laſt hauing his courſe by Langwinhelin and ſo into the ſea, as mine inſtruction vpholdeth. It ſeemeth in ſome mens iudgements to part Northwales and Weſtwales in ſunder, and the ſame which in Latine hight Deuus, in Welſh or Britiſh Diſi or Dewie, whereof the Latine doth ſeeme to fetch his ſound. But to proceed with the reſt of ſuch falles and waters as are to be found in this countie. Going therfore northweſtward, we come to a fall frõ the north called Towen Merionneth which is the mouth of the Diſonnie ſtreame, a pretie riuer riſing in the hilles aboue Lanihangle, and weſt of caſtell Traherne receiueth the Kidrric, which commeth from Chadridric hill, by Tallillin caſtell, Treherie, and ſo into the Diſonnie from ſoutheaſt, fetching his courſe by Lanegrin, and ſo into the ſea within fiue miles thereof.

Being paſt this we did caſt about by the Sarnabigh point, till we came to the Lingouen becke, and ſo to the Barre, which is a faire water, and therefore worthie to be with diligence deſcribed, yet it is not called Bar from the head, but rather Moth or Derie, for ſo are the two chiefe heads called out of which this riuer deſcendeth, and are about ſix miles weſt of the Lin, out of which the Dee hath his iſſue, and betweene which the Karan daure hilles are ſituat and haue their being. After the ioining of the two heds of this Barre, as I name it from the originall, it receiueth a rill from northeaſt called Cain, & another beneath the ſame, comming from Beurose wood, and ſo holdeth on towards the ſouth betweene Laniltid and Kemmor abbaie, till it meet a little by weſt of Dolgelth with the Auon daure, which comming alſo out of the Woodland ſolle, & taking in a rill from Gwannas, haſteth northweſtward (by Dolgelth) to ioine with the Barre, and being met they receiue the Kelſilgun, then the Hirgun, & after a courſe of foure to fiue miles it falleth into the ſea, hauing watered the verie hart & inward parts of this ſhire. From hence we croſſe the Skethie which runneth by Corſogdale and Lanthwie, *alias* Lanthonie, then the Lambader which receiuing the Artro aboue Lambader, doth fall into the ſea, ſoutheaſt of the point, and flat ſouth of Landango, which is a towne ſituat on the other ſide of the turning.

After this we paſſed by Aberho, ſo named of the riuer Ho, that falleth there into the ſea, and commeth thither from the Alpes or hils of Snowdonie, mounteins no leſſe fertile for graſſe, wood, cattell, fiſh and foule, than the famous Alpes beyond the ſeas, whereof all the writers do make ſo honorable report. From hence we ſailed by Abermawr or mouth of Mawr, which commeth in like ſort from Snowdonie, and taketh diuerſe riuers with him whoſe names I do not know. Then vnto the Artro a brooke, whoſe head commeth from by north eaſt, and in his courſe receiueth the Gedar on the north ſide, and ſo holdeth on till it fall into the ſea, after a few windleſſes which it maketh as it paſſeth. After this we come to Traith vehan, which is the fall of the Drurid, a pretie riuer comming from the marches of Caernaruonſhire, which paſſing by Feſtimog, ſome after taketh in the Cunwell, then the Uelenrid; and ſo holdeth on to Deckoin, where it falleth into the ſaid Traith. For of the other two rilles that lie by ſouth hereof, and haue their iſſue alſo into the ſame, I make but ſmall accompt, becauſe their quantitie is not great. Next vnto this we haue Traith mawr, whereinto the Farles hath his iſſue, a riuer proceeding from Snowdonie or the Snowdon hils, deſcending by Bethkelerke and Lanwrothen, without mixture of anie other water in all his courſe and paſſage. It is parcell of the march alſo betweene Merioneth and Caernaruon ſhires. From Traith mawr we paſſe by the Krekith, and come to another water deſcending from the north by Lanſtidwie, and after that to the Moie, whoſe mouthes are ſo neere together, that no more than halfe a mile of the land doth ſeeme to keepe them in ſunder.

Ho.

Mawr.

Artro.

Farles.

Then come we vnto the Erke, a pretie brooke deſcending from Madrin hils, into whoſe mouth two other of no leſſe quantitie than it ſelfe do ſeeme to haue their confluence, and whoſe courſes do come along from the weſt and northweſt; the moſt ſoutherlie being called Girch, and the other the Yellie: except my memorie do faile me. Then caſting about toward the ſouth (as the coaſt lieth) we ſaw the Aberſoch or mouth of the Soch riuer vpon our right hand, in the mouth whereof, or not farre by ſouth thereof lie two Ilands, of which the more northerlie is called Tudfall, and the other Penrin: as Leland did obſerue. I would ſet downe the Britiſh names of ſuch townes and villages as theſe waters paſſe by; but the writing of them (for want of the language) is ſo hard to me, that I chooſe rather to ſhew their falles and riſings, than to corrupt their denominations in the writing: and yet now and then I vſe ſuch words as our Engliſhmen do giue vnto ſome of them, but that is not often, where the Britiſh name is eaſie to be found out and ſounded.

Erke.

Soch.

After this, going about by the point, and leauing Gwelin Ile on the right hand, we come to Daron riuer, whereupon ſtandeth Aberdaron a quarter of a mile from the ſhore betwixt Aberdaron and Mortigerns

Daron.

gernes vale, where the compaſſe of the ſea gathereth in a head, and entereth at both ends. Then come we about the point to Edarne becke, a mile and more ſouth of Newin. And ten or twelue miles from hence is the Vennie brooke, whoſe courſe is little aboue ſo manie miles; and not farre from it is the Liuan, a farre leſſe water, comming alſo from the eaſt: and next vnto that another, wherinto the Willie by ſouth and the Carrog by north after their coniunction do make their common influence. Hauing paſſed this riuer, we caſt about toward the north eaſt, and enter at Abermenaie ferrie, into the ſtreicts or ſtreame called Menaie, betweene Angleſeie and the maine, méeting firſt of all with the Gornaie, which commeth from the Snowdonie out of the Treuennian lake, and paſſeth by Lanunda into the ſea or Menaie ſtreame at South crocke. Next of all we meet with the Saint, which commeth from Lin Lanbereie, paſſeth by Lanihangle, and ſo falleth into the Menaie at Aberſaint, which is on the ſouthweſt ſide of Caernaruon: on the other ſide alſo of the ſaid towne is the Skeuernocke, whereby it ſtandeth betweene two riuers, of which this hath his head not farre from Dinas Dreg.

Edarne beck.

Conte.

Gegeine.

Torronnen.

Dgwine.

Auon.

Lannar Uchan.

Duegeuelth.

Then come we (ſaith Leland) to Gwinſwith ni- rith (or Hoſſe brooke) two miles from Moilethon, and it riſeth at a Well ſo called full a mile from thence. Moilethon is a bowe ſhot from Aberpowle, from whence ferrie botes go to the Termone or Angleſeie. Aberpowle runneth three miles into the land, and hath his head foure miles beyond Bangor in Menei ſhore: and here is a little comming in for botes bending into the Menei. Aber Gegeine commeth out of a mounteine a mile aboue, and Bangor (thorough which a rill called Torronnen hath his courſe) almoſt a mile aboue it. Aber Dgwine is two miles aboue that; it riſeth at Tale linne, Dgwine poole, fiue miles aboue Bangor in the eaſt ſide of Withow. Aber Auon is two miles aboue Aberogwene, and it riſeth in a poole called Lin man Auon, three miles off. Auon lan var Uchan riſeth in a mounteine therby, and goeth into the ſea, two miles aboue Duegeuelth. Auon Duegeuelth is three miles aboue Conweie, which riſing in the mounteins a mile off, goeth by it ſelfe into Menei ſalt arme. On the ſaid ſhore alſo lieth Conweie, and this riuer doth run betwixt Penmaine Daur, and Penmaine Uchan. It riſeth about three miles from Penmaclon hils which lie about ſixtie miles from Conweie abbeie, now diſſolued out of a lake called Lin Conweie, and on the north and weſt of this riuer ſtandeth the towne of Conweie, which taketh his name thereof.

Tare.

This riuer (which Ptolomie calleth Toeſobius, as I take it) after the deriuation thereof from the head, paſſeth on the weſt ſide by Spittieuan and Tiherio, beneath which it taketh in a ſtreame comming from the eaſt out of Denbighſhire, deriued from three heads, and of the greateſt called Nag. Sone after alſo another, and then the third, which commeth in from the weſt by Lanpen Mawr: next of all the Leder on the ſame ſide, which commeth by Dolathelan caſtell: and aboue that from a Lin of the ſame denomination. Beneath this and ſelfe hand lieth likewiſe the Ligow or Ligwie, proceeding from two lakes, that is, the Dumber and the Ligow. On the right hand as we ſtill deſcend, is the Coid, then the Glin, & a little lower we meet with the Lin Gerioneth: and after we be paſt another on the right ſide, we come to the Perloid, which commeth out of Lin Cowlid, to the Pgan, to the Idulin, to the caſtell Water on the left, & then to the Melandider on the right, without the ſight of anie other, till we come almoſt to Conweie, where we find a notched ſtreame comming from by weſt, and called Guffen or Gyffin into the ſame by one chanell on the northeaſt ſide of the towne, beneath Guffin or Gyffin, and ouer againſt Lanſanfraid in Denbighſhire; ſo farre as I now remember. Some part of Carnaruonſhire ſtretcheth alſo beyond Aber Conweie, or the fall of Conweie, & it is called Drmelhed point, wherein alſo is a rill, whoſe fall into the ſea is betweene Penrin and Landright. And thus we haue made an end of the cheefe waters which are to be found in this countie.

Ligow.

Drmelhed.

The next is a corner of Denbigh, by which we do as it were ſtep ouer into Flintſhire, and whoſe firſt water is not great, yet it commeth from ſouthweſt, and falleth into the north or Iriſh ſea called Virginium, beneath Landilas; as the next that commeth ſouth from Wettas doth the like three miles beneath Abergele, and is not onelie called Gele (as the name it ſelfe importeth) but alſo noted to take his courſe through the Canges. Hauing thus gone ouer the angle of Denbighſhire, that lieth betweene thoſe of Carnaruon and Flint, we come next of all vnto Aber Cluide, or the fall of Clotha or Glota, which is a ſtreame not to be ſhortlie intreated of. It riſeth among certeine hilles, which lie not far diſtant from the confines of Merioneth and Denbighſhires. Southeaſt from his fall, and hauing run foure or fiue miles from the head, it commeth about to Darwen, taking in the Maniton on the left hand, and the Melpin on the right: and ſone after the third from bi-weſt, whoſe head is not farre from Gloucanocke. Beneath Ruthen alſo it taketh in the Leueneie: and after that another, and the third, all on the right hand, and ſo holdeth on till it meet with the Cluedoch, then with the Pſtrade, which paſſeth by Whitchurch on the left hand. After which we come to the Wheeler on the right, and ſo to his ioining with the Elwie, which is beneath S. Aſaphes, a biſhops ſee that is inuironed with them both. This Elwie riſeth aboue Gwitherne, & beneath Lanuair taketh in the Alode, which commeth from lin Alode, by Lanſannan, and ioineth with him fiue miles beneath Langrenew. The Cluda therefore and the Elwie being met, the confluence paſſeth on to the ſea by Rutland caſtell, where it taketh in the Sarne, which commeth from bi eaſt, and hath a courſe almoſt of ſixteene miles. From hence we toke ſea toward the Dee mouth: and as we paſſed by the reſt of the ſhore, we ſaw the fall of a little brooke neere Baſing Werke, of another neere to Flint, of the third at Powleie caſtell, which with his two armes in maner includeth it; and the fourth beneath Hawarden hold, which in like ſort goeth round about the ſame, & from whence we came to the Dee, where we landed and toke vp our lodging in Cheſter. In this place alſo it was no hard matter to deliuer & ſet downe the names of ſuch riuers and ſtreames as are alſo to be found in Angleſeie, finding my ſelfe to haue ſome leaſure and fit opportunitie for the ſame: and imagining a tourneie thither alſo, as vnto the other places mentioned in this deſcription, whither as yet it hath not beene my hap to trauell: I thought it not amiſſe to take it alſo in hand, and performe it after this maner.

Gele.

Maniton.

Cluedoch.

Elwie.

Ferrieng therefore ouer out of Carnaruonſhire to Beaumariſe, I went by land without croſſing of anie riuer or ſtreame worthie memorie, till I came to the Brant, which hath his fall not farre from the ſouthell point of that Iland. This Brant riſeth farre vp in the land, not farre from Lauredenell, and holding on his courſe ſouthward to Lanthoniell Maall, it goeth on to Bodoweruch, Langainwen, and ſo into the ſea.

The next fall we came vnto was called Maltrath, and it is produced by the confluence of two riuers, the

the Geuennie and the Gint, who ioine not farre from Langreſtoll. This alſo laſt rehearſed hath his head neere to Penmoneth, the other being forked riſeth in the hillie ſoile aboue Tregaton and Langwithlog: ſo that part of the Iland obteineth no ſmall commoditie and benefit by their paſſage. Next vnto this we came vnto the Fraw, whoſe head is neere to Langinewen, and paſſage by Cap Maer; after which it falleth into a lake, from whence it goeth eaſt of Aberfraw, and ſo into the ſea. The next riuer hath no name to my knowledge: yet hath it a longer courſe than that which I laſt deſcribed. For it riſeth two or three miles aboue Yanegloſſe: and paſſing from thence to Trevalghmaie, after the deſcent of foure miles, it falleth into the ſea. After this we came to an other, which riſeth more to Cap legan ferwie, and falleth into the ſea ſoutheaſt of the little Iland, which is called Ynis Wealt. It is nameleſſe alſo as the other was, and therefore hauing ſmall delight to write thereof, we paſſed ouer the ſalt creeke by a bridge into Cair Kibie, which by the ſame, is as it were cut from the maine Iland, and in ſome reſpect not vnworthie to be taken for an Ile. In the north ſide therefore of Cair Kibie is a little rill or creeke: but whether the water thereof be freſh or ſalt, as yet I doo not remember.

Fraw.

This place being viewed, I came backe againe by the aforeſaid bridge, into the maine of Angleſeie, and going northwards I find a fall inforced by three riuerets, each one hauing his courſe almoſt ſouth from other; and the laſt falling into the confluence of the two firſt, not halfe a mile from the weſt, where I firſt eſpied the ſtreame. The name of the moſt northerlie is Linon, of the ſecond Allo; but the third is altogither nameleſſe for aught that I can learne, wherefore it ſhall not be neceſſarie to ſpend anie time in the further ſearching of his courſe. Being paſt this, we went northwards till we came to the point, and then going eaſtward, we butted vpon the fall of a certeine confluence growing by the ioining of the Pathanon and the Geger, which meet beneath and neere to the Langechell. And after the ſame we paſſed on ſomewhat declining ſouthward by the Hillarie point, toward the ſoutheaſt, till we came to the Duleſſe, and from thence to Pentraeth water: after which we turned northward, then eaſtward; and finallie ſouthward, till we came to Langurduy; from whence vnto Beaumariſe (where began our voiage) we find not anie water worthie to be remembred. And thence I go forward with the deſcription of the Dee.

Linon.
Allo.

Dee or Deua.

The Dee or Deua (as Ptolomie calleth it) is a noble riuer, a breeder of the beſt trout, whoſe head is in Merioneth ſhire, about three miles aboue the lake, ſituate in the countie of Penthlin, and called Lin Tegnis, whoſe ſtreame yet verie ſmall, by reaſon of the ſhortneſſe of his courſe, falleth into the ſaid lake, not far from Lanullin. There are ſundrie other waters that come alſo into the ſaid lake, which is foure or fiue miles in length, and about two miles ouer; as one from by ſouth, whoſe fall is eaſt, and not manie furlongs from the Dee: another hath his iſſue into the ſame by Langower: the third on the north ſide of Lanullin, named Leie: the fourth at Glanlintegid called the Iauerne, the lake it ſelfe ending about Bala, and from thence running into the Trowerin, a preetie ſtreame, and not a little augmented by the Kelme and Monach which fall by north into the ſame, and ioineth with the Dee ſouth of Lanuair; from whence forth it loſeth the name, and is afterward called Dee. Eaſt of Bala in like ſort it receiueth the Ruddoch, then the Cleton, and ſo paſſing on by Landright to Langar, it meeteth with a confluence proceeding from the Alwen and the Giron, of which this riſeth in the hils aboue Langham, the other in the mounteins about fiue or ſix miles by northweſt of Lanihangle in Denbighſhire, where (as I geſſe) it falleth into the ground; and afterward riſing againe betweene Lanihangle and Bettus, it holdeth on about two miles, and then ioineth with the Giron, full ſix miles aboue Dole, and before it come to the Dee. From hence the Dee goeth by Lanſanfraid, and the marches of Merioneth into Denbighſhire, and ſo to Langellon, Dinas, Bren, &c: keeping his courſe by certeine windleſſes, till he receiue the Griſtioneth, deſcending by Ruabon, then another eſt of the ſame; the third, from by weſt called Keriog (whoſe head is not farre from the bounds of Merioneth and courſe by Lanarmon, Lanſanfraid, and Chirke) the fourth from ſouth eaſt out of Shropſhire, called Morlais, and ſo paſſeth as bounds betweene Denbighſhire, and the outliggand of Flintſhire, to wit by Billocke on the one ſide and Bangor on the other, till it come to Wrothenburie: whereabout it receiueth a chanell deſcending from foure influences, of which one commeth by Penlie chapell, the ſecond from Hannere, which goeth downe by Emberhall, and falleth in a little by eaſt of the other; the third from Blackmere (by Whitchurch) &c: and the fourth from betweene Chad and Worſall. Theſe two later meeting aboue nether Durtwich, doo hold on to Talerne, as mine information inſtructeth me.

Griſtioneth.
Keriog.

From Wrothenburie the Dee goeth northweſtwards toward Shocklige, meeting by the waie with the confluence of the Cluedoch (or Dedoch originall mother to thoſe trouts for which the Dee is commended) and deſcendeth from Capell Woinglath) and the Gwinrogh, that runneth through Wrerham, both ioining a mile and more beneath Wrerham, not far from Hantwerne. Some after alſo our maine riuer receiueth another becke from by eaſt, which is bound on the northweſt ſide to the outliggand of Flintſhire, and ſo paſſeth on betweene Holt caſtell and Ferneton, Almere and Pulton, as march betweene Denbighſhire and Cheſhire, and then taketh in the Alaunus or Alen; a preetie riuer and worthie to be deſcribed. The head of this Alen therefore is in Denbighſhire, and ſo diſpoſed that it riſeth in two ſeuerall places, ech being two miles from other, the one called Alen Mawr, the other Alen Uehan, as I doo find reported. They meet alſo beneath Landegleie, and run northwards till they come beyond Lanuerres, where meeting with a rill comming from by weſt, it runneth on to the Mold to Horſheth, and ſo in and out to Greſeford, taking the Cagidog from ſouthweſt with it by the waie; then to Traue Alen, and ſo into the Dee, a mile and more aboue the fall of Powton becke, which alſo deſcendeth from southweſt out of Flintſhire, and is march vnto the ſame, euen from the verie head. After which confluence the Dee hauing Cheſterſhire on both ſides, goeth to Aldford with a ſwift courſe, where it meeteth with the Beſton brooke, whereof I doo find this deſcription following.

Cluedoch.
Gwinrogh.
Alaunus.

Troweryn.
Ruddoch.
Cleton.

The Beſton water riſeth in the woddie ſoile betweene Spurſton and Beſton caſtell with a forked head, and leauing Beſton towne on the northeaſt, it goeth to Tarneton, and to Hakeſleie, where it diuideth it ſelfe in ſuch wiſe, that one branch thereof runneth by Totnall, Goldburne, and Leehall, to Alford, and ſo into the Dee, the other by Stapleford, Terwine, Barrow, Picton, and Therton, where it branceth againe, ſending forth one arme by Staneie poole, and the parke ſide into Perſeie arme, toward the northweſt, and another by ſouthweſt, which commeth as it were backe againe, by Stoke, Croughton, Backeford, Charleton, Upton, the Waites, and ſo vnder a bridge to Cheſter ward, where

Beſton.

neth.

ch.

ogh.

is.

Winer.

“ where it falleth into the Dée arme at Flockes bꝛoke,
“ excluding Mirall on the noꝛthweſt as an Iland,
“ which lieth out like a leg betwéene the Merſeie and
“ the Dée armes, and including and making another
“ freſh Iland within the ſame, whoſe limits by noꝛth-
“ weſt are betwéene Thoꝛneton, Cheſter, & Aldfoꝛd, on
“ the noꝛtheaſt Thoꝛneton and Hakeſleie, and on the
“ ſoutheaſt Hakeſleie and Aldfoꝛd, whereby the foꝛme
“ thereof doth in part reſemble a triangle. And thus
much of the Dée, which is a troubleſome ſtreame when the wind is at ſouthweſt, and verie dangerous, in ſo much that few dare paſſe thereon. Sometimes alſo in harueſt time it ſendeth downe ſuch ſtoꝛe of water, when the wind bloweth in the ſame quarter, that it dꝛowneth all their graſſe and coꝛne that groweth in the lower grounds néere vnto the bankes thereof. Certes it is about thꝛée hundꝛed fot, at his departure from the Tignie, and woꝛthilie called a litigious ſtreame; becauſe that by often alteration of chanell, it inforceth men to ſéeke new bounds vnto their lands, foꝛ here it laieth new ground, and there tranſlateth and taketh awaie the old, ſo that there is nothing moꝛe vnconſtant than the courſe of the ſaid water. Of the monaſterie Bangoꝛ alſo, by which it paſſeth after it hath left Dꝛton bꝛidge, I find this note, which I will not omit, becauſe of the ſlaughter of monks made ſometime néere vnto the ſame. Foꝛ although the place require it not, yet I am not willing altogither to omit it.

The ſituation of ỹ monaſterie of Bangoꝛ.

This abbeie of Bangoꝛ ſtood ſometime in Engliſh Mailoꝛ, by hither and ſouth of the riuer Dée. It is now ploughed ground where that houſe ſtood, by the ſpace of a Welſh mile (which reacheth vnto a mile and an halfe Engliſh) and to this day the tillers of the ſoile there dꝛow plow vp bones (as they ſaie) of thoſe monks that were ſlaine in the quarrell of Auguſtine, and within the memoꝛie of man ſome of them were taken vp in their rotten wœds, which were much like vnto thoſe of our late blacke monks, as Leland ſet it downe: yet Eraſmus is of the opinion, that the apparell of the Benedictine monks was ſuch as moſt men did weare generallie at their firſt inſtitution. But to pꝛoceed. This abbeie ſtood in a valleie, and in thoſe times the riuer ran hard by it. The compaſſe thereof likewiſe was as the circuit of a walled towne, and to this daie two of the gates may eaſilie be diſcerned, of which the one is named Poꝛt Hogan lieng by noꝛth, the other Poꝛt Clais ſituat vpon the ſouth. But the Dée hauing now changed his chanell, runneth thꝛough the verie middeſt of the houſe betwixt thoſe two gates, the one being at the left a full halfe mile from the other. As foꝛ the ſquared ſtone that is found hereabout, and the Romane coine, there is no ſuch neceſſitie of the reherſall therof, but that I may paſſe it ouer well inough without anie further mention.

Being paſt the Dée we ſailed about Mirall, paſſing by Hilbꝛie oꝛ Hilbꝛée Iland, and Leuerpole, Naſſe, making our entrie into Merſeie arme by Leuerpole hauen, where we finde a water falling out betwéene Seacombe and the Ferie, which doth in maner cut off the point from the maine of Mirall. Foꝛ riſing néere to the noꝛthweſt ſhoꝛe, it holdeth a courſe directlie toward the ſoutheaſt by Wallaſeie and Poton, and ſo leaueth all the noꝛth part beyond that water a peninſula, the ſame being thꝛée ſquare, inuironed on two ſides with the Ocean, & on the third with the afoꝛeſaid bꝛoke, whoſe courſe is well néere thꝛée miles except I be deceiued. Frō hence entring further into the hauen, we find another fall betwéene Webington and Bꝛombꝛo chappell, deſcending from the hilles, which are ſéene to lie not farre from the ſhoꝛe, and thence crolling the fall of the Beſton water, we come next of all vnto the Winer, than the which I read of no riuer in England that fetcheth moꝛe oꝛ halfe ſo many windleſſes and crinklings, beſoꝛe it come at the ſea. It riſeth at Buckle hilles, which lie betwéene Ridleie and Buckle townes, and ſone after making a lake of a mile & moꝛe in length called Ridleie poole, it runneth by Ridleie to Chalmondlie.

Thence it goeth to Mꝛenburie, where it taketh in a water out of a moꝛe that commeth from Marburie: and beneth Sandfoꝛd bꝛidge the Combꝛus from Combermer oꝛ Comber lake: and finallie the third that commeth from about Moneton, and runneth by Langerſlaw, then betwéene Shenton and Atherlie parkes, and ſo into the Winer, which watereth all the weſt part of England, and is no leſſe notable than the firſt Auon oꝛ third Duze, whereof I haue ſpoken alreadie. After theſe confluences it haſteth alſo to Audlem, Hawklow, and at Barderton croſſeth the Betleie water, that runneth by Duddington, Middenberie, and ſo by Barderton into the afoꝛeſaid ſtreame. Thence it goeth to Nantwich, but ꝑ it come at Marchfoꝛd bꝛidge, it mœteth with a rill called Salopbꝛoke (as I geſſe) comming from Caluerleie ward, and likewiſe beneath the ſaid bꝛidge, with the Lée and the Wuluarne both in one chanell, whereof the firſt riſeth at Weſton, the other goeth by Copnall. From thence the Winer runneth on to Minchion and Cardeſwiſe, and the next water that falleth into it is the Aſhe (which paſſeth by Darnall Grange) and afterward going to Warke, the vale Rotall, and Eaton, it commeth finallie to Noꝛthwich where it receiueth the Dane, to be deſcribed as followeth. The Dane riſeth in the verie edges of Cheſter, Darbiſhire, & Staffoꝛdſhire, and comming by Wharneſoꝛd, Swithamleie and Boſleie, is a limit betwéene Staffoꝛd and Darbie ſhires, almoſt euen from the verie head, which is in Marwell foꝛeſt.

It is not long alſo ꝑ it do mét with the Bidle water, that commeth by Congerton, and after the confluence goeth vnto Swetham, the Heremitage, Cotton and Croxton, there taking in two great waters, whereof the one is called Whelocke, which comming from the edge of the countie by Moꝛton to Sandbach, croſſeth another that deſcendeth from church Cawhlton, and after the confluence goeth to Warmingham, ioining alſo beneath Midlewiſh with the Croco oꝛ Croꝛſton, the ſecond great water, whoſe head commeth out of a lake aboue Bꝛuerton (as I heare) and thence both the Whelocke and the Croco go as one vnto the Dane, at Croxton, as the Dane doth from thence to Boſtocke, Dauenham, Shebꝛuch, Thurlach, and at Noꝛthwich into the foꝛeſaid Winer. After this confluence the Winer runneth on to Barneton, and there in like ſoꝛt receiueth two bꝛokes in one chanell, whereof one commeth from aboue Alloſtocke, by Holme & Laſtocke, the other from beyond Birtles mill, by Chelfoꝛd (where it taketh in a rill called Piuereie) thence to ouer Peuer, Holfoꝛd, and there crolling the Waterleſſe bꝛoke (growing of two becks and ioining at nether Tableie) it goeth foꝛth to Winſhambꝛidge, and then méeting with the other, after this confluence they pꝛocéed till they come almoſt at Barneton, where the ſaid chanell ioineth with a pꝛetie water running thoꝛough two lakes, whereof the greateſt lieth betwéene Comberbach, Rudwoꝛth and Marburie. But to go foꝛward with the courſe of the maine riuer. After theſe confluences our Winer goeth to Warham, Actonbꝛidge, and Dutton, ouer againſt which towne, on the other ſide it méeteth with a rill, comming from Cuddington: alſo the ſecond going by Noꝛleie, and Gritton, finallie the third ſone after from Kimſleie, and then pꝛocéedeth on in his paſſage by Atheton chappell, Frodeſham, Rockeſauage, and ſo

Combꝛus.
Betlete.
Salop.
Lée and Wuluarne.
Aſhe.
Dane.
Pluereie.
Waterleſſe.

ſo into the ſea: and this is all that I dow find of the Winer, whoſe influences might haue bæne moze largelie ſet dowme, if mine iniunctions had bæne amplie deliuered, yet this I hope may ſuffice foz his deſcription, and knowledge of his courſe.

Merſeie. The Merſeie riſeth among the Peke hils, and from thence going dowme to the Woodhouſe, and taking ſundzie rilles withall by the waie, it becommeth the confines betwæne Cheſter and Darbiſhires. Going alſo toward Goitehall, it mæteth with a faire bzoke increaſed by ſundzie waters called Goite, whereof I find this ſhozt and bziefe deſcription. The Goite riſeth not far from the Shire mære hill (wherein the Doue and the Dane haue their oziginall) that parteth Darbiſhire and Cheſterſhire in ſunder, and thence commeth dowme to Goite houſes, Duerton, Tarhall, Shawcroſſe, and at Weibzidge taketh in the Frith, and beneath Berdhall, the Set that riſeth aboue Therſethall and runneth by Duerſet. After this confluence alſo the Merſeie goeth to Goite hall, & at Stockford oz Stopford towne mæteth with the Tame, which diuideth Cheſterſhire and Lancaſterſhire in ſunder, and whoſe head is in the verie edge of Yozkelhire, from whence it goeth ſouthward to Sadleworth Firth, then to Pukelhirſt, Stalie hall, Aſhdon Underline, Dunkenfield, Denton, Reddiſh, and ſo at Stockford into the Merſeie ſtreame, which paſſeth forth in like ſozt to Diddelbirie, receiuing a bzoke by the waie that commeth from Lime parke, by Bzumhall parke and Chedle.

Goite. Frith. Set. Tame.

From Diddelbirie it pzocedeth to Nozden, Aſhton, Aiſton, Flixton, where it receiueth the Irwell a notable water, and therefoze his deſcription is not to be omitted before I dow go forward anie further with the Merſeie, although it be not nauigable by reaſon of ſundzie rockes and ſhalowes that lie diſperſed in the ſame. It riſeth aboue Bacop, and goeth thence to Roſendale, and in the waie to Aitenfield it taketh in a water from Haſelden. After this confluence it goeth to Newhall, Bzandleſham, Bzurie, and aboue Ratcliffe toineth with the Rache water, a faire ſtreame and to be deſcribed when I haue finiſhed the Irwell, as alſo the nert vnto it beneath Ratcliffe, bicauſe I would not haue ſo manie ends at once in hand wherewith to trouble my readers. Being therfoze paſt theſe two, our Irwell goeth on to Cliſton, Hollond, Edgecroft, Strengwaies, and to Mancheſter, where it vniteth it ſelfe with the Pzke, that runneth therinto by Roiton Pidleton, Heaton hill, and Blackeleie. Beneath Mancheſter alſo it mæteth with the Medlocke, that commeth thither from the noztheaſt ſide of Oldham, and betwæne Claiton and Garret Halles, and ſo betwæne two parkes, falling into it about Holne. Thence our Irwell going forward to Wodſall, Whicleſwze, Scies, Barton, and Deuelhom, it falleth nære vnto Flirton, into the water of Merſeie, where I will ſtaie a while withall, till I haue bzought the other vnto ſome paſſe, of which I ſpake before.

Irwell. Reus, oz Rache. Leland ſpeaketh of the Tozne water about Mancheſter; but I know nothing of his courſe. Yrke. Medlocke.

The Rache, Reche oz Riſh conſiſteth of ſundzie waters, whereof ech one in maner hath a pzoper name, but the greateſt of all is Rache it ſelfe, which riſeth among the blacke ſtonie hils, from whence it goeth to Littlebzough, and being paſt Clegge, receiueth the Betle, that commeth thither by Wilneraw chappell. After this confluence alſo, it mæteth with a rill nære vnto Rachedale, and ſone after with the Spzotton water, and then the Sudleie bzoke, whereby his chanell is not a little increaſed, which goeth from thence to Griſehirſt and ſo into the Irwell, before it come at Ratcliffe. The ſecond ſtreame is called Bzadſha. It riſeth of two heds, aboue Tureton churth, whence it runneth to Bzadſha, and yer long taking in the Walneſleie becke, they go in one chanell till they come beneath Bolton in the Moze. From hence (receiuing a water that commeth from the rots of Rauenpike hill by the way) it goeth by Deane and Bolton in the Moze, and ſo into Bzadſha water, which taketh his waie to Leuermoze, Farnwozth, Leuerleſſe, and finallie into the Irwell, which I befoze deſcribed, and whereof I find theſe two verſes to be added at the laſt:

Rache. Betle. Spzotton. Sudleie. Bzadſha. Walneſleie.

Irke, Irwell, Medlocke, and Tame,
When they meet with the Merſeie, do looſe their name.

Now therefoze to reſume our Merſeie, you ſhall vnderſtand that after his confluence with the Irwell, he runneth to Partington, and not farre from thence interteineth the Gles, oz Gleſbzoke water, increaſed with ſundzie armes, wherof one commeth from Lodward, another from aboue Houghton, the third from Hulton parke, and the fourth from Shakerleis: and being all vnited nære vnto Leigh, the confluence goeth to Holcroft, and aboue Holling græne into the ſwift Merſeie. After this increaſe the ſaid ſtreame in like ſozt runneth to Rigſton, & there admitteth the Bollein oz Bolling bzoke water into his ſocietie, which riſing nære the Chamber in Marwell foreſt goeth to Ridge, Sutton, Bollington, Pzeſtbirie, and Newton, where it taketh in a water comming from about Pot Chappell, which runneth from thence by Adlington, Wodford, Wilmeſleie, Ringeie, and Athleie, there receiuing the Birkin bzoke that commeth from betwæne Allerton and Marchall, by Mawberleie, and ſone after the Marus oz Mar, that commeth thereinto from Mar towne, by Rawſkozne, and after theſe confluences goeth on to Downham, and ouer againſt Kirton beneath Croſford bzidge into the Merſeie water, which pzocæding on, admitteth not another that mæteth with all nære Lim before it go to Thelwall. Thence alſo it goeth by Bzuche and ſo to Warrington, a little beneath croſſing a bzoke that commeth from Par by Bzowſeie, Bzadleie, and Saukeie on the one ſide, and another on the other that commeth thither from Gropenhall, and with theſe it runneth on to nether Walton, Acton grange, and ſo to Penkith, where it interteineth the Bold, and ſone after the Grundich water on the other ſide, that paſſeth by Pzeſton, and Mareſbirie. Finallie our Merſeie going by Poulton, it falleth into Lirepoole, oz as it was called of old Liuerpoole hauen, when it is paſt Runcozne. And thus much of the Merſeie, comparable vnto the Wiuer, and of no leſſe fame than moſt riuers of this Iland.

Gles. Bollets bzoke. Birkin. Mar. Bold. Grundich.

Being paſt theſe two, we come nert of all to the Tarbocke water, that falleth into the ſea at Harbocke, without finding anie mo, till we be paſt all Wirall, out of Lirepoole hauen, and from the blacke rockes that lie vpon the nozth point of the afozeſaid Iland. Then come we to the Altmouth, whoſe freſh riſing not far into the land, commeth to Feſton, and ſone after receiuing another on the right hand, that paſſeth into it by Aughton, it is increaſed no moze befoze it come at the ſea. Neither find I anie other falles till I meet with the mouth of the Parrow and Dugleſſe, which haue their recourſe to the ſea in one chanell as I take it. The Dugleſſe commeth from by weſt of Rauenſpike hill, and yer long runneth by Andertonford to Wozthington, and ſo (taking in two oz thzee rilles by the waie) to Wigen, where it receiueth two waters in one chanell, of which one commeth in ſouth from Bzin parke, the other from noztheaſt. Being paſt this, it receiueth one on the nozth ſide from Standiſh, and another by ſouth from Hollond, and then goeth on toward Rukford chappell taking the Taud withall, that deſcendeth from aboue Skelmerſdale towne, and goeth thzough Lathan parke, belonging (as I heare) vnto the earle of Derbie.

Tarbocke. Alt oz Alk. Dugleſſe oz Dulelle. Taud oz Skelmere.

Derbie. It meeteth alſo on the ſame ſide, with Merton meres water, in which mere is one Iland called Netholme beſide other, and when it is paſt the hanging bridge, it is not long yer it fall into the Parrow.

Parrow. Bagen. The Parrow riſeth of two heads, whereof the ſecond is called Bagen broke, and making a confluence beneath Helbie wood, it goeth on to Burgh, Egleſtan, Croſton, and then ioineth next of all with the Dugglesſe, after which confluence, the maine ſtreame goeth forth to Bankehall, Charleton, Holw, Heſket, and ſo into the ſea. Leland writing of the Parrow, ſaith thus of the ſame, ſo farre as I now remember. Into the Dugglesſe alſo runneth the Parrow, which commeth within a mile or thereabout of Chorleton towne, that parteth Lelandſhire from Derbieſhire. Under the foot of Chorle alſo I find a rill named Ceorle, and about a mile and a halfe from thence a notable quarreie of ſtones, whereof the inhabitants do make a great boaſt and price. And hitherto Leland.

Ribble. The Ribble, a riuer verie rich of ſalmon and lamprete, doth in manner inuiron Preſton in Andernesſe, and it riſeth neere to Ribbeſdale aboue Giſborne, from whence it goeth to Sawleie or Salleie, Chathburne, Wodington, Clithero caſtell, and beneath Pitton meeteth the Odder at northweſt, which riſeth not farre from the croſſe of Greet in Yorkeſhire, and going thence to Shilburne, Newton, Radholme parke, and Stonie hirſt, it falleth yer long into the Ribble water. From hence the Ribble water hath not gone farre, but it meeteth with the Calder from ſoutheaſt. This broke riſeth aboue Holme church in Yorkeſhire, which lieth by eaſt of Lancaſterſhire, and goeth by Towleie and Burncleie, where it receiueth a trifling rill, thence to Higham, and yer long croſſing one water that commeth from Wicoler by Colne, and another by and by named Pidle broke, that runneth by New church in the Pidle, it meeteth with the Calder, which paſſeth forth to Pantam; and thence receiuing a becke on the other ſide, it runneth on to Altham, and ſo to Hartholme, where the Henburne broke doth ioine withall, that goeth by Akington chappell, Dunkinhalgh, Riſhton, and ſo into the Calder, as I haue ſaid before. The Calder therefore being thus inlarged, runneth forth to Reade, where maiſter Nowell dwelleth, to Whallie, and ſone after into Ribble, that goeth from this confluence to Saliſburie hall, Ribcheſter, Oſbaſtin, Samburie, Reuerden, Law, Ribbles bridge, & then taketh in the Darwent, before it goeth by Pontwarth or Pentwarth into the maine ſea. The Darwent diuideth Lelandſhire from Andernesſe, and it riſeth by eaſt aboue Darwent chappell; and ſone after uniting it ſelfe with the Blackeburne, and Rodleſworth water, it goeth through Houghton parke, by Houghton towne, to Walton hall, and ſo into the Ribble. As for the Sannocke broke, it riſeth ſomewhat aboue Longridge chappell, goeth to Broughton towne, Cotham, Lee hall, and ſo into Ribble. And here is all that I haue to ſaie of this riuer.

Odder. Darwent. Blackeburne Rodleſworth. Sannocke.

Wire. Calder. 2. Plimpton. Parton. The Wire riſeth eight or ten miles from Garſtan, out of an hill in Wireſdale forreſt, from whence it runneth by Shireſhed chappell, and then going by Wadland, or Waddiler, Grenelaw caſtell (which belongeth to the erle of Darbie) Garſtan, and Kirkland hall, it firſt receiueth the ſecond Calder, that commeth downe by Edmerſeie chappell, then another chanell increaſed with ſundrie waters, which I will here deſcribe before I proceed anie further with the Wire. I ſuppoſe that the firſt water is called Plimpton broke, it riſeth ſouth of Goſner, and commeth by Calford hall, and yer long receiuing the Barton becke, it proceedeth forward till it ioineth with the Broke rill that commeth from Bowland forreſt, by Claughton hall, where maſter Brokehales dwelleth, & ſo through Merſco forreſt. After this confluence the Plime or Plimpton water meeteth with the Caiber, and then with the Wire, which paſſeth forth to Michaell church, and the Kaw cliffes, and aboue Hogheton croſſeth the Skipton that goeth by Potton, then into the Wire rode, and finallie through the ſands into the ſea, according to his nature. When we were paſt the fall of the Wire, we coaſted vp by the ſalt cotes, to Coker mouth, whoſe head, though it be in Wereſdale forreſt, not far from that of the Wire, yet the ſhortneſſe of courſe deſerueth no deſcription. The next is Cowdar, which is comming out of Wire dale, as I take it, is not increaſed with anie other waters more than Coker, and therefore I will rid my hands thereof ſo much the ſoner.

Broke. Skipton. Coker. Cowdar.

Being paſt theſe two, I came to a notable riuer called the Lune or Loine, or (as the booke of ſtatutes hath) Lonwire *Anno* 13 Ric. 2 cap. 19, and gineth name to Lancaſter, Lonecaſter, or Lunecaſter, where much Romane monie is found, and that of diuerſe ſtamps, whoſe courſe doth reſt to be deſcribed as followeth; and whereof I haue two deſcriptions. The firſt being ſet downe by Leland, as maſter Moore of Catharine hall in Cambridge deliuered it vnto him. The next I exhibit as it was giuen vnto me, by one that hath taken paines (as he ſaith) to ſearch out and view the ſame, but verie lateſie to ſpeake of. The Lune (ſaith maſter Moore) of ſome commonlie called the Loine, riſeth at Croſſeho, in Dent dale, in the edge of Richmondſhire out of three heads. North alſo from Dent dale is Garſdale, an vplandiſh towne, wherein are ſeene manie times great ſtore of red deere that come downe to feed from the mountains into the vallies, and thereby runneth a water, which afterward commeth to Sebbar vale, where likewiſe is a broke meeting with Garſdale water, ſo that a little lower they go as one into Dent dale becke, which is the riuer that afterward is called Lune, or Lane, as I haue verie often noted it. Beſide theſe waters alſo before mentioned, it receiueth at the foot of Sebbar vale, a great broke, which commeth out of the North, betweene Weſtmerland and Richmondſhire, which taking with him the aforeſaid chanels, doth run ſeauen miles yer it come to Dent dale foot. From hence it entreth into Lanſdale, corruptlie ſo called, peraduenture for Luneſdale, & runneth therein eight or nine miles ſouthward, and in this dale is Kirbie. Hitherto maſter Moore, as Leland hath exemplified that parcell of his letters. But mine other note writeth hereof in this manner. Burbecke water riſeth at Wuſtall head, by weſt, and going by Wuſtall foot to Skaleg, it admitteth the Breder that deſcendeth thither from Breder dale. From hence our Burbecke goeth to Breder dale foot, & ſo to Tibarie, where it meeteth with foure rilles in one bottome, of which one commeth from beſides Dixton, another from betweene Raſebecke and Sunbiggin, the third and fourth from each ſide of Langdale: and after the generall confluence made, goeth toward Roundſwath, aboue which it uniteth it ſelfe with the Barrow. Thence it runneth to Holwgill, Delaker, Firrebanke, and Killington, beneath which it meeteth with a water comming from the Nozuill hilles, and afterward croſſing the Dent broke, that runneth thither from Dent towne, beneath Sebbar, they continue their courſe as one into the Burbecke, from whence it is called Lune. From hence it goeth to Burbon chappell, where it taketh in another rill comming from by eaſt, then to Kirbie, Lanſdale, and aboue Whittenton croſſeth a broke comming

Lune. Broke. Burbecke. Breder. Barrow. Dent.

Greteie. comming from the countie ſtone by Burros, and ſone after beneath Tunſtall and Greteie, which deſcending from about Ingelborow hill, palleth by Twiſelton, Ingleton, Thorneton, Burton, Wratton, and neere Thurland caſtell, toucheth finallie with the Lune, which brancheth, and ſone after vniteth it ſelfe againe. After this alſo it goeth on toward New parke, and receiueth the Wennie, and the Hinburne both in one chanell, of which this riſeth north of the croſſe of Greteie, and going by Benthams and Roberts hill, aboue Wraie taketh in the Rheburne that riſeth north of Wulfecrag. After this confluence alſo aboue New parke, it maketh his gate by Aughton, Laughton, Skirton, Lancaſter, Ercliffe, Awcliffe, Soddaie, Orton, and ſo into the ſea. Thus haue you both the deſcriptions of Lune, make your conference or election at your pleaſure, for I am ſworne to neither of them both.

Wennie. Hinburne. Rheburne.

Docker. Kerie. The next fall is called Docker, and peraduenture the ſame that Leland doth call the Kerie, which is not farre from Wharton, where the rich Kitſon was borne, it riſeth north of Docker towne, and going by Warwyc hall, it is not increaſed before it come at the ſea, where it falleth into the Lune water at Luneſands. Next of all we come to Witham becke, which riſeth not far from Witham towne and parke, in the hilles, where about are great numbers of goates kept and mainteined, and by all likelihood reſorteth in the end to Linſands.

Being paſt this, we find a forked arme of the ſea called Kenſands: into the firſt of which diuerſe waters do run in one chanell, as it were from foure principall heads, one of them comming from Grarrig hall, another frō by weſt of Whinfield, & ioining with the firſt on the eaſt ſide of Skelmere parke.

Sprota. The third called Sprot or Sprota riſeth at Slodale, & commeth downe by weſt of Skelmer parke, ſo that theſe two brookes haue the aforeſaid parke betweene them, & fall into the fourth eaſt of Barneſide, not verie farre in ſunder. The fourth or laſt called Ken, commeth from Kentmers ſide, out of Ken moore, in a pole of a mile compaſſe, verie well ſtored with fiſh, the head whereof, as of all the baronie of Kendall is in Weſtmerland, & going to Stauelope, it taketh in a rill from Chappleton Inges. Then leauing Colnehead parke by eaſt, it palleth by Barneſide, to Kendall, Helſton, Sigath, Siggeſwic, Leuenbridge, Milnethorpe, and ſo into the ſea. Certes this Ken is a pretie deepe riuer, and yet not ſafelie to be aduentured vpon, with boates and balingers, by reaſon of rolling ſtones, & other huge ſubſtances that oft annoie & trouble the middeſt of the chanell there. The other peece of the forked arme, is called Winſtar, the hed wherof is aboue Winſtar chappell, & going downe almoſt by Carpmaunſell, & Nether-ſlake, it is not long yer it fall into the ſea, or ſands, for all this coaſt, & a gulfe from the Ramſide point to the Dealenaſſe, is ſo peſtered with ſands, that it is almoſt incredible to ſee how they increaſe. Thoſe alſo which inuiron the Kenmouth, are named Kenſands: but ſuch as receiue the deſcent from the Foſſe, Winander, and Sparke, are called Leueſands, as I find by ſufficient teſtimonie. The mouth or fall of the Dodon alſo is not farre from this impechment: wherefore it is to be thought, that theſe iſſues will yer long become verie noiſome, if not choked vp altogither. The Winander water riſeth about Cunbalraſſtones, from whence it goeth to Cangridge, where it maketh a meere: then to Ambleſide, and taking in yer it come there, two rilles on the left hand, and one on the right that commeth by Clapergate, it maketh (as I take it) the greateſt meere, or freſh water in England; for I read it is ten miles in length. Finallie, comming to one ſmall chanell aboue Newbridge, it reacheth not aboue ſix miles yer fall into the ſea. There is in like ſort a water, called the Foſſe that riſeth neere vnto Arneſide, and Tillerthwates, and goeth forth by Griſdale, Satrethwate, Rulland, Powbridge, Bowth, and ſo falleth with the Winander water into the maine ſea. On the weſt ſide of the Foſſe alſo commeth another through Furneſſe felles, and from the hilles by north thereof, which yer long making the Thurſtan lake not far from Hollinhow, and going by Bridge end, in a narrow chanell, palleth forth by Nibthwaits, Blareth, Cowlton, & Sparke bridge, and ſo into the ſea. Hauing paſſed the Leuen or Toniſands, or Coniſtoneſands, or Winander fall (for all is one) I come to the Lew, which riſeth at Cewike chappell, and falleth into the ſea beſide Plumpton. The Rawther deſcending out of low Furneſſe, hath two heads, whereof one commeth from Penniton, the other by Ulmerſtone abbeie, and ioining both in one chanell, they haſten into the ſea, whither all waters direct their voiage. Then come we to another rill ſouthweſt of Aldingham, deſcending by Glaiſton caſtell; and likewiſe the fourth that riſeth neere Lindell, and running by Dawlton caſtell and Furneſſe abbeie, not farre from the Barrow head, it falleth into the ſea ouer againſt Waueie and Waueie chappell, except mine aduertiſements miſleade me.

Foſſe. Sparke. Lew. Rawther.

Dodon. The Dodon, which from the head is bound vnto Cumberland and Weſtmerland, commeth from the Shire ſtone hill bottome, and going by Blackehill, Southwake, S. Johns, Aſkaie parke, & Broughton, it falleth into the ſaltwater, betweene Kirbie, and Wallum caſtell. And thus are we now come vnto the Rauenglaſſe point, and well entred into Cumberland countie.

Denocke. Comming to Rauenglaſſe, I find hard by the towne a water comming from two heads, and both of them in lakes or poles, whereof one iſſueth out of Denocke or Deuenocke meere, and is called Denocke water, the other named Eſke from Eſke pole which runneth by Eſkedale, Dalegarth, and ſone after meeting with the Denocke, betweene Mawburthwate and Rauenglaſſe, falleth into the ſea. On the other ſide of Rauenglaſſe alſo commeth the Mite brooke, from Miterdale as I read. Then find we another which commeth from the hils, and at the firſt is forked, but ſone after making a lake, they gather againe into a ſmaller chanell: finallie meeting with the Brenge, they fall into the ſea at Carleton ſouth-eaſt, as I weene of Drig. The Cander, or (as Leland nameth it) the Calder, commeth out of Copeland forreſt, by Cander, Sellefield, and ſo into the ſea. Then come we to Euer water, deſcending out of a pole aboue Coſwaldhow, and thence going by Euerdale, it croſſeth a water from Arladon, and after proceedeth to Egremond, S. Johns, and taking in another rill from Hide, it is not long yer it meeteth with the ſea.

Eſke. Mite. Brenge. Cander.

The next fall is at Porteſbie, whereof I haue no ſkill. From thence therefore we caſt about by ſaint Bees to Derwentſet hauen, whoſe water is truelie written Dargwent or Deruent. It riſeth in the hils about Borrodale, from whence it goeth vnto the Grange, thence into a lake, in which are certeine Ilands, and ſo vnto Keſwic, where it falleth into the Bure, whereof the ſaid lake is called Burſemere, or the Burthmere pole. In like ſort the Bure or Burthmere water, riſing among the hils goeth to Tegburtheſworth, Forneſide, S. Johns, and Threlcote: and there meeting with a water from Griſdale, by Makethwate, called Griſe, it runneth to Barneſſe, Keſwic, and there receiueth the Darwent. From Keſwic in like ſort it goeth to Thorneſwate (and there making a plaſh) to Armanſwate, Iſell, Puthwate and Cokermouth, and here it receiueth the Cokar, which

Dargwent. Burthmere. Griſe. Cokar.

which riſing among the hils commeth by Lowſe-water, Wrakenthwate, Lorton, and ſo to Cokar-mouth towne, from whence it haſteth to Bridge-ham, and receiuing a rill called the Wire, on the ſouth ſide that runneth by Dein, it leaueth Sam-burne and Wirketon behind it, and entereth into the ſea.

Wire. Leland ſaith that the Wire is a creeke where ſhips lie oft at rode, and that Wirketon or Wirkington towne doth take his name thereof. He addeth alſo that there is iron and coles, beſide lead ore in Wire-dale. Neuertheleſſe the water of this riuer is for the moſt part ſore troubled, as comming thorough a ſud-die or ſoddie more, ſo that little good fiſh is ſaid to liue therein. But to proceed. The Elme riſeth in the mines aboue Amautree, and from Amautre goeth to Pereſbie, Yarbie, Brow, and there taking in a rill on the left hand comming by Torpennie, it goeth to Hatton caſtell, Alwarbie, Birthie, Dereham, and ſo into the ſea. Thence we go about by the chappell at the point, and come to a baie ſerued with two freſh wa-ters, whereof one riſing weſtward goeth by War-ton, Rabbie, Cotes, and ſo into the maine, taking in a rill withall from by ſouth, called Croco, that com-meth from Crockdale, by Bromefield. The ſecond is named Wampole broke, & this riſeth of two heads, whereof one is about Cardew. Thence in like ſort it goeth to Thureſbie, Croſton, Dwton, Gamleſbie, Wampall, the Larth, and betweene Whiteridge and Kirbie into the ſaltwater. From hence we double the Bowlneſſe, and come to an eſtuarie, whither three notable riuers do reſort, and this is named the Sol-ueie mouth. But of all, the firſt exceedeth, which is cal-led Eden, and whoſe deſcription doth follow here at hand.

Elmus. Croco. Vanias.

Eden. The Eden well fraught with ſamon, deſcendeth (as I heare) from the hils in Athelſtane more at the fot of Hallat Morell hill, where Swale alſo riſeth, and ſoutheaſt of Mallerſtang forreſt. From thence in like maner it goeth to Mallerſtang towne, Pen-dragon caſtell, Wharton hall, Nebie, Yartleie ca-ſtell, Kirkebie Stephan, and yer it come at great Pulgrane, it receiueth three waters, whereof one is called Yelbecke, bicauſe it commeth from the Derne and Elinge mounteins by a towne of the ſame de-nomination. The other is named Bellow, and deſcen-deth from the eaſt mounteins by Sowarſbie, & theſe two on the northeaſt: the third falleth from Rauen-ſtandale, by Newbiggin, Smardale, Soulbie, Bla-terne, and ſo into Eden, that goeth from thence by Warcop; and taking in the Orne about Burelles on the one ſide, and the Morton becke on the other, it ha-ſteth to Aplebie, thence to Cowlbie, where it croſſeth the Orebecke, thence to Bolton, and Kirbie, and there meeting with the Trowt becke, and beneath the ſame with the Liuenet (whereinto falleth an other water from Thurenlie meeting withall beneath Cle-bron) it runneth finallie into Eden. After the confluences alſo the Eden paſſeth to Temple, and ſone af-ter meeting with the Milburne and Blincorne wa-ters, in one chanell, it runneth to Winderwarth and Hornebie, where we will ſtaie till I haue deſcribed the water that meeteth withall neere the aforeſaid place called the Ulſe.

Helbecke. Bellow. Orne. Morton. Orebecke. Trowt becke. Liuenet. Milburne. Blincorne. Ulſe.

Warke. This water commeth out of a lake, which is fed with ſir rils, whereof one is called the Warke, and neere the fall thereof into the plaſh is a towne of the ſame name; the ſecond hight Yarteſhop, & runneth from Yarteſhop hall by Depedale; the third is Pa-terdale rill; the fourth Glent Roden, the fift Glenk-guin, but the firſt runneth into the ſaid lake, ſouth of Towſhwate. Afterward when this lake commeth to-ward Pole towne, it runneth into a ſmall chanell, & going by Barton, Dalumaine, it taketh in a rill by the waie from Daker caſtell. Thence it goeth to Stockebridge, Ponewoth, and ſone after meeteth with a pretie broke called Loder, comming from Thornethwate by Bauton, and heere a rill; then by Yelton, and there another; thence to Aſkham, Clif-ton, and ſo ioining with the other called Ulſe, they go to Brougham caſtell, Nine churches, Hornebie, and ſo into Eden, taking in a rill (as it goeth) that com-meth downe from Pencath. Being paſt Hornebie, our Eden runneth to Langunbie, and ſone after re-ceiuing a rill that commeth from two heads, and ioi-ning beneath Wingſell, it haſteth to Laſenbie, then to Kirke Oſwald (on ech ſide whereof commeth in a rill from by eaſt) thence to Nonnete, and there a rill, Anſtable, Cotehill, Corbie caſtell, Wetherall, New-bie: where I will ſtaie, till I haue deſcribed the Ir-ding, and ſuch waters as fall into the ſame before I go to Carleill.

Loder. Paterdale. Roden. Glenkguin.

Irding. The Irding ariſeth in a more in the borders of Tindale, neere vnto Horſſe head crag, where it is called Terne becke; vntill it come to Spicrag hill, that diuideth Northumberland and Gilleſland in ſunder, from whence it is named Irding. Being therfore come to Duerhall, it receiueth the Pultroſe becke, by eaſt, and thence goeth on to Duerdenton, Netherdenton, Leuercoſt, and Caſtelſtead, where it taketh in the Cambocke, that runneth by Kirke Cambocke, Aſkerton caſtell, Walton, and ſo into Irding, which goeth from thence to Irdington, Newbie, & ſo into Eden. But a little before it come there, it croſſeth with the Gillie that commeth by Tankin, and ſone after falleth into it. After theſe confluences, our Eden goeth to Linſtocke caſtell, (and here it interteineth a broke, comming from Cotehill ward by Aglionbie) and then vnto Car-leill, which is now almoſt inuironed with foure waters.

Terne. Pultroſe. Cambocke. Gillie.

Pedar alias Logus. For beſide the Eden it receiueth the Peder, which Leland calleth Logus from ſoutheaſt. This Peder riſeth in the hils ſouthweſt of Penruddocke, from whence it goeth to Penruddocke, then to Gra-ſtocke caſtell, Catelete, and Kenderſide hall, and then taking in a water from Unthanke, it goeth to Cath-wade, Pettrelwate, Newbiggin, Carleton, and ſo into Eden, northeaſt of Carleill. But on the north ſide the Bruferth broke doth ſwiftlie make his en-trance, running by Leuerdale, Scalbie caſtell, and Houſedon; as I am informed. The third is named Candan (if not Deua after Leland) which riſing about the Skidlow hils, runneth to Moſedale, Caldbecke, Warnell, Saberham, Roſe caſtell, Dawſton, Brounſton, Harrington, and weſt of Carleill falleth into Eden, which going from thence by Grimſdale, Kirke Andros, Beaumont, falleth into the ſea be-neath the Rowcliffe caſtell. And thus much of the E-den, which Leland neuertheleſſe deſcribeth after an-other ſort, whoſe words I will not let to ſet downe here in this place, as I find them in his commen-taries.

Bruckerth.

Ulſe after Leland. The Eden, after it hath run a pretie ſpace from his head, meeteth in time with the Ulſe water, which is a great broke in Weſtmerland, and riſing aboue Maredale, a mile weſt of Loder, it commeth by the late diſſolued houſe of Shappe priorie, three miles from Shappe, and by Brampton village into Loder or Lodon. Certes this ſtreame within halfe a mile of the head, becommeth a great lake for two miles courſe, and afterward waxing narrow againe, it runneth forth in a meane and indifferent bottome. The ſaid Eden in like ſort receiueth the Aimote a-bout three miles beneath Brougham caſtell, and in-to the ſame Aimote falleth the Dacor becke (alreadie touched) which riſeth by northweſt in Waterdale hils, foure miles aboue Dacor caſtell, and then going

Loder. Aimote. Dacor.

through Dacor parke, it runneth by eaſt a good mile lower into Eſmote, a little beneath Delamaine, which ſtandeth on the left ſide of Dacor. In one of his bookes alſo he ſaith, how Carleill ſtandeth betweene two ſtreames, that is to ſaie the Deua, which commeth thither from by ſouthweſt, and alſo the Logus that deſcendeth from the ſoutheaſt. He addeth moreouer how the Deua in times paſt was named Vala or Bala, and that of the names of theſe two, Lugibala for Carleill hath beene deriued, &c. And thus much out of Leland. But where he had the cauſe of this his coniecture as yet I haue not read. Of this am I certeine, that I vſe the names of moſt riuers here and elſe-where deſcribed, accordinglie as they are called in my time, although I omit not to ſpeake here and there of ſuch as are more ancient, where iuſt occaſion moueth me to remember them, for the better vnderſtanding of our hiſtories, as they doo come to hand.

Deua.

Vala.

Blacke Leuen and white Leuen waters, fall into the ſea in one chanell, and with them the Lamford and the Elke, the laſt confluence being not a full mile from the maine ſea. The white and blacke Leuen ioining therfore aboue Bucknelſe, the confluence goeth to Bracken hill, Kirkleuenton, and at Tomunt water meeteth with the Elke. In like ſort the Kirſop ioining with the Lidde out of Scotland at Kirſop foot, running by Stangerdike ſide, Yarlow, Yathwater, and taking in the Elke aboue the Note, it loſeth the former name, and is called Elke, vntill it come to the ſea.

Leuen.
Lamford.
Elke.

Tomunt.
Kirſop.
Lidde.

Hauing thus gone thorough the riuers of England, now it reſteth that we proceed with thoſe which are to be found vpon the Scotiſh ſhore, in ſuch order as we beſt may, vntill we haue fetched a compaſſe about the ſame, and come vnto Barwike, whence afterward it ſhall be eaſie for vs to make repaire vnto the Thames, from which we did ſet forward in the beginning of our voiage. The firſt riuer that I met withall on the Scotiſh coaſt, is the Elke, after I came paſt the Solueie, which hath his head in the Cheuiot hilles, runneth by Kirkinton, and falleth into the ſea at Borow on the ſands. This Elke hauing receiued the Ewis falleth into the Solueie firſt at Atterith. After this I paſſed ouer a little creeke from Kirthell, and ſo to Anand, whereof the vallie Anandale doth ſeeme to take the name. There is alſo the Nide, whereof commeth Nidſdale, the Ken, the Dee, the Crale, and the Bladnecke, and all theſe (beſides diuerſe other ſmall rilles of leſſe name) doo lie vpon the ſouth of Gallowaie.

Elke.

On the north ſide alſo we haue the Ruan, the Arde, the Caſtle Dune, the Burwin, the Cluide (whereupon ſometime ſtood the famous citie of Alcluide, and whereinto runneth the Carath) the Yamell, the Dourgleſſe, and the Lame. From hence in like maner we came vnto the Leuind mouth, wherevnto the Blake on the ſouthweſt and the Lomund lake, with his fleeting Iles and fiſh without finnes (yet verie holeſome) doth ſeeme to make his iſſue. This lake of Lomund in calme weather ariſeth ſometimes ſo high, and ſwelleth with ſuch terrible billowes, that it cauſeth the beſt marriners of Scotland to abide the leiſure of this water, before they dare aduenture to hoiſe vp ſailes on hie. The like is ſeene in windie weather, but much more perillous. There are certeine Iles alſo in the ſame, which moue and remoue, oftentimes by force of the water, but one of them eſpeciallie, which otherwiſe is verie fruitfull for paſturage of cattell.

Leue.
Long.
Goile,
Yeke.
Robinſeie.

Next vnto this is the Leue, the Kage, the Long, the Goile, & the Yeke, which for the exceeding greatneſſe of their heads, are called lakes. Then haue we the Robinſeie, the Foreland, the Tarbat, the Lean, and the Abir, wherevnto the Spanſeie, the Loine, the Louth, the Arke, and the Teſe doo fall, there is alſo the Sell, the Yord, the Owin, the Newiſſe, the Orne the Lang, the Orun, the Yew, the Wrun, the Kell, the Dowr, the Faro, the Neſſe, the Yerre, the Con, the Glaſſe, the Naur, the Urdall, the Fers (that commeth out of the Caldell) the Fairſoke, which two latter lie a little by weſt of the Orchades, and are properlie called riuers, becauſe they iſſue onelie from ſprings; but moſt of the other lakes, becauſe they come from linnes and huge poles, or ſuch low bottomes, fed with ſprings, as ſeeme to haue no acceſſe, but onelie receſſe of waters, whereof there be manie in Scotland.

Foylan.
Tarbat.
Lean.
Abir.
Arke.
Teſe.
Sell.
Yord.
Owin.
Newiſſe.
Orne.
Lang.
Orun.
Yew.
Wrun.
Kell.
Dowr.
Faro.
Neſſe.
Yerre.
Con.
Glaſſe.
Naur.
Urdall.
Fers.
Calder.
Wiſſe.
Wrowre.
Clin.
Twin.
Shin.
Sillan.
Carew.
Neſſe.
Narding.
Spaie.
Downe.
Dee.
Eſke.

But to proceed. Hauing once paſt Dungiſbie head in Cathneſſe, we ſhall yer long come to the mouth of the Wiſſe, a prettie ſtreame, comming by ſouth of the mounteins called the Maidens pappes. Then to the Wrowre, the Clin, the Twin (whereinto runneth three riuers, the Shin, the Sillan, and Carew) the Neſſe, which beſide the plentie of ſamon found therein is neuer froſen, nor ſuffereth yce to remaine there, that is caſt into the pole. From thence we come vnto the Narding, the Finderne, the Spaie (which receiues the Vine) the Fitch, the Builch, the Arrian, the Leuin, and the Bogh, from whence we ſaile vntill we come about the Buquhan head, and ſo to the Downe, and Dee: which two ſtreames bring forth the greateſt ſamons that are to be had in Scotland, and moſt plentie of the ſame. Then to the north Eſke, whereinto the Eſmond runneth aboue Brechin, the ſouth Eſke, then the Louen and the Taw, which is the fineſt riuer for water that is in all Scotland, and wherevnto moſt riuers and lakes doo run. As Farlake, Yrth, Goure, Loich, Cannach, Linell, Loion, Irewer, Erne, and diuerſe other beſides ſmall rillets which I did neuer looke vpon.

Then is there the lake Londors, vpon whoſe mouth ſaint Andrewes doth ſtand, the lake Lewin, vnto whoſe ſtreame two other lakes haue recourſe in Fifland, and then the Firth or Fortha, which ſome doo call the Pictiſh and Scotiſh ſea, whither the kingdome of the Northumbers was ſometime extended, and with the riuer laſt mentioned (I meane that commeth from Londors) includeth all Fife, the ſaid Fortha being full of oiſters and all kinds of huge fiſh that vſe to lie in the deepe. How manie waters run into the Firth, called by Ptolomie Lora, it is not in my power iuſtlie to declare: yet are there both riuers, rills, & lakes that fall into the ſame, as Clacke, Alon, Dune, Kerie, Cambell, Cumer, Tere, Man, Torkeſon, Roſham, Mulſhell, Blene, and diuerſe other which I call by theſe names, partlie after information, and partlie of ſuch townes as are neere vnto their heads. Finallie, when we are paſt the Yate, then are we come vnto the Twede, whereinto we entred, leauing Barwike on the right hand and his appurtenances, wherein Yalidon hill ſtandeth, and conteineth a triangle of ſo much ground beyond the ſaid riuer, as is well neere foure miles in length, and three miles in breadth in the broad end: except mine information doo faile me.

Clacke.
Alon.
Dune.
Kerie.
Cambell.
Cumer.
Tere.
Man.
Torkeſon.
Roſham.
Mulſell.
Blene.
Twede.

The Twede (which Ptolomie nameth Toualſis or Toeſis, & betweene which and the Tine the countie of Northumberland is in maner incloſed, and watred with ſundrie noble riuers) is a noble ſtreame and the limes or bound betweene England & Scotland, wherby thoſe two kingdomes are now diuided in ſunder. It riſeth about Drimlar in Cuſbale (or rather out of a faire well (as Leland ſaith) ſtanding in the moſſe of an hill called Airſtane, or Yareſkan in Twede dale ten miles from Pibble) and ſo comming by Pibble, Lander, Dribiwgh, Leiſe, Marke,

Norham,

Noꝛham and Hagarſtone, it falleth into the ſea beneath Barwike, as I heare. Thus ſaith Leland. But I not contented with this ſo ſhoꝛt a diſcourſe of ſo long a riuer & briefe deſcription of ſo faire a ſtreame, will ad ſomewhat moꝛe of the ſame concerning his race on the Engliſh ſide, and rehearſall of ſuch riuers as fall into it. Comming therefoꝛe to Ridam, it receiueth betweene that and Carham a becke, which deſcendeth from the hilles that lie by weſt of Windꝛam. Going alſo from Ridam by Longbꝛidgham (on the Scotiſh ſide) and to Carham, it halleth immediatlie to Marke caſtell on the Engliſh, and by Spilaw on the other ſide, then to Coꝛnewall, Cald ſtreame, and Tilmouth, where it receiueth ſundꝛie waters in one botome which is called the Till, and whoſe deſcription inſueth here at hand.

Certes there is no head of anie riuer that is named Till, but the iſſue of the furtheſt water that commeth hereinto, riſeth not farre from the head of Uſwaie in the Cheuiot hilles, where it is called Bꝛennich, whereof the kingdome of Brennicia did ſometime take the name. From thence it goeth to Hartſhoꝛne, Ingram, Bꝛanton, Crawleie, Hedgeleie, Beueleie, and Bewiſe, beneath which it receiueth one water comming from Rodham by weſt, and ſone after a ſecond deſcending from the Middletons, and ſo they go as one with the Bꝛomiſh, by Chatton to Fowbꝛeie (where they croſſe the third water falling downe by noꝛth from Howboꝛne by Yeſelbꝛidge) thence to Woller, there alſo taking in a rill that riſeth about Middleton hall, and runneth by Hardleie, Whꝛeleie, and the reſt afoꝛe remembꝛed, whꝛby the water of Bꝛomis is not a little increaſed, and after this latter confluence beneath Woller, no moꝛe called Bꝛomis but the Till, vntill it come at the Tweed. The Till paſſing therefoꝛe by Weteland and Dedington, meeteth ſone after with a faire ſtreame comming from by ſouthweſt, which moſt men call the Bowbent oꝛ Bobent.

It riſeth on the weſt ſide of the Cocklaw hill, and from thence hafteth to Hattons, beneath the which it toineth from by ſoutheaſt with the Hellerboꝛne, and then goeth to Pudſton, Downeham, Kilham, and a little by noꝛth of Newton Kirke, and betweene it and weſt Newton, it taketh in another water called Glin, comming from the Cheuiot hilles by Heth pole, and from thenſefoꝛth runneth on without anie further increaſe, by Copland Enart, and ſo in the Till. The Till foꝛ his part in like ſoꝛt after this confluence goeth to Bꝛoneꝛidge, Fodcaſtell, Eatall caſtell, Heaton, & noꝛth of Tilmouth into the Tweed, oꝛ by weſt of Weſell, except my memoꝛie doth faile me. After this alſo our afoꝛeſaid water of Tweed deſcendeth to Grotehugh, the Newbiggins, Noꝛham caſtell, Foꝛd, Lungridge, & croſſing the Whitaker on the other ſide from Scotland beneath Cawmill, it runneth to Oꝛdo, to Barwike, and ſo into the Ocean, leauing (as I ſaid) ſo much Engliſh ground on the noꝛthweſt ripe, as lieth in manner of a triangle betweene Cawmils, Barwike, and Lammeton, which (as one noteth) is no moꝛe but two miles and an halfe euerie waie, oꝛ not much moꝛe; except he be deceiued.

Being paſt this noble ſtreame, we came by a rill that deſcendeth from Bowſden by Barington. Then by the ſecond which ariſeth betweene Middleton and Detcham oꝛ Dereham, and runneth by Eſkill and the Roſſe, nert of all to Warnemouth, of whoſe backe water I read as followeth. The Warne oꝛ Gwerne riſeth ſouthweſt of Crokelaw, and going by Warneford, Bꝛadford, Spindleſtone, and Budill, it leaueth Newton on the right hand, and ſo falleth into the Ocean, after it hath run almoſt nine miles from the head within the land, and receiued a rill beneath Yeſſington, which commeth downe betweene Newland and Dichester, and hath a bꝛidge beneath the confluence, which leadeth ouer the ſame. From Warnemouth, we ſailed by Bamboꝛow caſtell, and came at laſt to a fall betweene Bedwell and Newton. The maine water that ſerueth this iſſue, riſeth aboue Carleton from the foot of an hill, which ſeemeth to part the head of this and that of Warne in ſunder. It runneth alſo by Carleton, Conleie, Doꝛford, Bꝛunton, and Tuggell, and finallie into the ſea, as to his courſe apperteineth.

From this water we went by Dunſtanbugh caſtell, vnto the Chalne oꝛ Alnemouth, which is ſerued with a pꝛetie riueret called Alne, the head whereof riſeth in the hils weſt of Alnham towne, and called by Ptolomie, Celnius. From thenſe alſo it runneth by Rile, Bile, Eſlington, and Whittingham, where it croſſeth a rill comming from by ſouth, and beneath the ſame, the ſecond that deſcendeth from Eirchild at Bꝛone, & likewiſe the third that riſeth at Newton, and runneth by Edlingham caſtell and Lemmaton (all on the ſoutheaſt ſide oꝛ right hand) and ſo paſſeth on further, till it meet with the fourth, comming from aboue Shipleie from by noꝛth, after which confluence it goeth to Alnewiſe, & then to Demtie, receiuing there a rillet from by ſouth and a rill from by noꝛth, and thence going on to Bilton, betweene Ailmouth towne and Wooddon, it ſweepeth into the Ocean.

Ule, oꝛ Alne, alias Chalne.

The Cocket is a goodlie riuer, the head alſo thereof is in the roots of Rembleſpeth hils, from whence it goeth to Whiteſide, and there meeting with the Uſwaie (which deſcendeth from the noꝛth) it goeth a little further to Linbꝛidge, and there receiueth the Ridleie by ſouthweſt, and after that with another, called (as I thinke) the Yoc, which commeth from the Woodland and hillie ſoile by Allington, & falleth into the ſame, weſt of Parke head. It toineth alſo yer long with the Ridland, which commeth in noꝛth by Bilſtone, and then hieth to Sharpton, to Harbotle, where it croſſeth the Pardop water by ſouth, then to Woodhouſe, and ſwallowing in a litle becke by the waie from ſouthweſt, to Bickerton, to Toſſons, Newton, and running apace toward Whitton towꝛe, it taketh a bꝛoke withall that commeth in noꝛthweſt of Alnham, neere Elihaw, and goeth by Skarnewood, ouer nether Trewhet, Snitter, and Thꝛoꝛton, and ſone after vniteth it ſelfe with the Cocket, from whence they go together to Rethburie, oꝛ Whitton towꝛe, to Halie, to Bꝛinkehoꝛne, Welden, taking withall ſone after the Tod oꝛ burne called Tod, which falleth in from by ſouth, then to Elihaw, Felton (receiuing thereabout the Fareſlie bꝛoke, that goeth by Wintring by ſouth eaſt, and Sheldike water, that goeth by Halon, to Bꝛainſaugh by noꝛth) and from thence to Poꝛticke Warkwoꝛth caſtell, and ſo into the ſea.

Cocket. Uiwaie. Ridleie. Pardop.

It may be Leland miſtaketh Tickington water foꝛ one of theſe.

There is furthermoꝛe a little fall, betweene Hawkeſlaw and Druꝛith, which riſeth about Stokes wood, goeth by eaſt Cheuington, and Whittington caſtell, and afterward into the Ocean. The Lune is a pꝛetie bꝛoke riſing weſt of Eſpleie, from whence it goeth to Tritlington, Ughani, Linton, and yer long in the ſea. Wanſbecke (in old time Diua) is far greater than the Lune. It iſſueth vp weſt and by noꝛth of weſt Whelpington, thence it runneth to Kirke Whelpington, Wallington, Middleton, and Angerton. Heere it meeteth with a water running from about Farnelaw by the grange, and Hartburne on the noꝛth, and then going from Angerton, it runneth by Moſeden to Mitfoꝛth, and there in like maner croſſeth the Font, which iſſuing out of the ground about Newbiggin, goeth by Nonneie Kirke, Witton caſtell, Stanton, Nunriding, Newton, and ſo into the Wanſbecke, which runneth in like maner from Mitfoꝛd to Noꝛpheth caſtell (within two miles whereof it

Lune. Wanſbecke. Font.

ebbeth and flowеth) the neir Chapell, Bottle caſtell, Shepwaſh, and ſo into the ſea, three miles from the next hauen which is called Blithe.

Blithe. Blithe water riſeth about kirke Heaton, and goeth by Belſe, Ogle, and (receiuing the Port *alias* the Brocket, that ſpringeth eaſt of S. Oſwolds) paſſeth by Portgate, Whittington, Fennike hall, Hadſennes, Hawkewell, the Grange, & Diſſingtons. After it hath taken in the Pont from the eaſt (whoſe head is not farre from that of Hartleie ſtreame) and is paſt Barwiſe on the hill, it runneth by Harford, Bedlington, Colwpon, and at Blithes nuke, into the deepe Ocean. Hartleie ſtreamlet riſeth in Wæteſlade pariſh, goeth by Haliwell, and at Hartleie towne yeldeth to the ſea.

Hartleie.

North Tine. The Tine or Tinna, a riuer notablie ſtored with ſamon, and other good fiſh, and in old time called Alan, riſeth of two heads, whereof that called north Tine, is the firſt that followeth to be deſcribed. It ſpringeth vp aboue Belkirke in the hils, & thence goeth to Butterhawgh (where it receiueth a confluence of Kirſop and the Shele) thence to Cragſheles, Leapeliſh (receiuing on the ſouth a rill out of Tindale) then to Shilburne, againſt which it taketh in a becke that commeth out of Tindale called Shill, alſo two other on the ſame ſide, betweene Parro and Falſton hall, and the third at Thorneburne, and ſo goeth on to Greneſted, and there carrieth withall a fall, from by north alſo made by the confluence of one rill comming by Thecam, and another that paſſeth by Polinhead, and likewiſe another on the ſouth comming from Tindale, by Chuden, Dalacaſtell, and Brokes: after which our north Tine goeth by Hellaſide, to Billingham, and at Rhedes mouth meeteth with the Ridde, a verie prettie water, whoſe deſcription is giuen me after this maner.

Shele.

Ridde. The Ridde therefore riſeth within three miles of the Scotiſh march, as Leland ſaith, & commeth through Riddeſdale, whereunto it giueth the name. Another writeth how it riſeth in the roots of the Carter, and Redſquibe hilles, and yet hath gone farre from the head, beſide a few little rilles it taketh in the Spelhop or Petop from the north and the Chellop on the ſouth, beſide ſundrie other wild rils nameleſſe and obſcure, as one on the north ſide next vnto the Petop or Spelhop; another by ſouth out of Riddeſdale, the third weſt of Burdop, the fourth runneth by Mullaw to Rocheſter, then two from ſouthweſt, another from by north which goeth by Durtburne, and is called Durt or Durth, then the Smalburne from the weſt. Next to the ſame is the Otter or Otterburne on the north ſide alſo the Ducreie, and finallie the laſt which deſcendeth from Elleſdon hilles, by Punkrige and ioineth with our Ridde, northweſt of Nudhowgh, after which the ſaid Ridde goeth by Woodburne, Riſingham, Leame, and ſo into the Tine, a little lower than Belingham or Bilingham, which ſtandeth ſomewhat aloofe from north Tine, and is (as I take it) ten miles at the leaſt aboue the towne of Herham. After this confluence it paſſeth to Lèhall, to Carehouſe (croſſing Shitlington becke by weſt which alſo receiueth the Pare on the ſouth ſide of Shitlington) another alſo beneath this on the ſame ſide, made by the confluence of Workeſburne, and Middleburne, at Roſeburne, beſide the third called Worleis or Worlée aboue, and Simons burne beneath Shepechaſe, and likewiſe the Swine from by north that runneth by Swinburne caſtell, next of all the Riall from the northeaſt, which commeth by Errington, & ſo holding his courſe directlie ſouthwards, it goeth by S. Oſwolds through the Pictiſh wall, to Wall, and ſo into ſouth Tine, beneath Accam, and northweſt (as I dw wéene) of Herham.

Cheſhop. Chellop.

S. Barnes. Shitlington.

Tine. S. The ſouth Tine ariſeth in the Cheuiot hils, and per it hath gone farre from the head, it méeteth with Eſgill on the eaſt, and another rill on the weſt, and ſo going by the houſes toward Awſten more, it ioineth with Schud from by weſt, and ſome after with the Vent from by eaſt aboue Lowbier. From Lowbier it goeth to Whitehalton, to Kirke Haugh (croſſing the Gilders becke on the one ſide, and the Alne on the other) to Thornehope, where it is inlarged with a water on each ſide, to Williamſtone, and almoſt at Knareſdale, taketh in the Knare, and then runneth withall to Fetherſtone angle. At Fetherſtone angle likewiſe it méeteth with Hartleie water, by ſouthweſt comming from Sibins or Sibbenes, another a little beneath from ſoutheaſt, and thence when it commeth to Billeſter caſtell, it carieth another withall from by weſt, Thirlewall called Rippall which riſeth in the forreſt of Lowes, and goeth by the Waltowne, Blinkinſop, & Widon, and after which confluence it taketh in another from by north riſing weſt of Swinſheld, which goeth by Grenelegh to Haltweſtell: thence going by Unthanke, it croſſeth another rill from by ſouth, deſcending from the hilles that lie north of Todlewood, and then proceeding vnto Wilmotteſwike, it admitteth the Wilmots becke from the ſouth, and another running by Bradleie hall on the north ſide of Beltingham; after which it méeteth with the Alen a proper water, and deſcribed after this maner.

Eſgill. Vent. Gilders beck. Knare.

Cc

East Alen. The Alen or Alon hath two heads, whereof one is called eaſt Alen, the other weſt Alen. The firſt of them riſeth ſoutheaſt of Sibton Sheles, & going by Sundorp, it taketh in a rill withall from by eſt; after which confluence it runneth to Newſhele, Allington, Caddon, Old towne, & in the courſe to Stauertpele, méeteth with the weſt Alen. The weſt Alen riſeth in Killop low hilles aboue Wheteleie heles, from whence it goeth to Spartwell, Yalwcopole, Owſton, and taking in a rill thereabouts, it procéedeth on to Permandbie, and croſſing there another rill in like maner from by weſt, it goeth by Whitefield, and ioining ſome after with the eſt Alen, they run as one to Stauert pole, Plankford, and ſo into the Tine betweens Beltingham and Lées, from whence the Tine runneth on by Lées Yaddon, Wodhall, Dwmers, Whernebie, Coſtleie, & ſo by Warden, till it croſſe the north Tine, and come to Herham, from whence it goeth to Dilſtan, croſſing two waters by the waie, whereof one commeth from by ſouth, and is called the Wolſh, which holdeth his courſe by Stelehall, and Newbiggin receiueth another comming from Grimbridge: the other called Dill ſomewhat lower deſcending from Hedleie, and running by Riſing, till it fall into the ſouth ſide of our ſtreame from Dilſtan, it goeth to Bywell caſtell, ouer againſt which it receiueth a rill that runneth by Hindleie, thence it haſteth to Eltingham, Prudoe, Willam, (and there it meeteth with another becke) then to Keton, Blaidon, and next of all ioineth with the Darwent, from by ſouth.

Weſt Alen.

Darwent. This riuer riſeth aboue Knewdon, and Rudlamhope in Northumberland, from two heads: the northerlie being called Dere, and the ſoutherlie the Guent: and ioining ſo well yer long in chanell as in name, they runne on to Humſterworth, new Biggin, Blankeland, Acton, Aſperſheles, Blackheadlie, Brentfield ſide, Panſheles, Ebcheſter, and there taking in a water from Hedleie in Northumberland, neere to Blacke hall in the biſhoprike, it goeth on to Spen, Hollinſide, Wickham, Swalwell, and ſo into Tine, which paſſeth from thence by Elſwike, and méeting with another water comming from Shildraw, by Ravenſworth caſtell to Redhugh, it goeth on to Newcaſtell, Fellin, Netherhelworth, Walker, Waſwon, Hedburne, and next to Jerro or Girwie, where

where Beda dwelled in an abbeie; now a gentlemans place (although the church be made a parish church, whereunto diuerſe townes reſort, as monke Eaton where Beda was borne, which is a mile from thence, Southſheles, Harton, Weſthow, Hebburne, Hedworth, Wardeleie, Fellin, Follinſbie, the Heworthes) and from thence to the ſouth and Northſheles, and ſo into the ſea, fiue miles by northweſt of Weremouth, and (as I geſſe) ſomewhat more.

Beneath the confluence in like ſort of both the Tines, ſtandeth Corbridge, a towne ſometime inhabited by the Romans, and about twelue miles from Newcaſtell, and hereby doth the Corue run, that meeteth yer long with the Tine. Not farre off alſo is a place called Colcheſter, wherby Leland geſſeth that the name of the brooke ſhould rather be Cole than Corue, and in my iudgement his coniecture is verie likelie; for in the life of S. Oſwyn (otherwiſe a feeble authoritie) the word Colbridge is alwaies vſed for Corbridge, whereof I thought good to leaue this ſhort aduertiſement. In this countrie alſo are the three vales or dales, whereof men haue doubted whether theeues or true men do moſt abound in them, that is to ſaie, Riddeſdale, Tuidale, and Liddeſdale: this laſt being for the moſt part Scotiſh, and without the marches of England. Neuertheleſſe, ſithens that by the diligence cheefelie of maiſter Gilpin, and finallie of other learned preachers, the grace of God working with them, they haue beene called to ſome obedience and zeale vnto the word, it is found that they haue ſo well profited by the ſame, that at this preſent their former ſauage demeanour is verie much abated, and their barbarous wildneſſe and fierceneſſe ſo qualified, that there is great hope left of their reduction vnto ciuilitie, and better order of behauiour than hitherto they haue beene acquainted withall. But to proceed with the reſt.

Corue.

Ptolomie, writing of the Were, calleth it Uedra, a riuer well knowne vnto Beda the famous prieſt, who was brought vp in a monaſterie that ſtood vpon the bankes thereof. It riſeth of three heads in Kellop-peſlaw hill, whereof the moſt ſoutherlie is called Burdop, the middlemoſt Wallop, and the northerlieſt Kellop, which vniting themſelues about S. Johns chappell, or a little by weſt thereof, their confluence runneth through Stanhope parke, by eaſt Pare, and ſo to Froſterleie. But yer it come there, it receiueth three rilles from the north in Weredale, whereof one commeth in by Stanhope, another weſt of Wodcroft hall, and the third at Froſterleie afore mentioned. And a litle beneath theſe, I find yet a fourth on the ſouth ſide, which deſcendeth from ſouthweſt by Bollop, Biſhopſleie, Pilhouſes, and Landew, as I haue beene informed. Being therefore vnited all with the Were, this ſtreame goeth on to Walſingham, there taking in the Waſcropburne, beſide another at Bradleie, the third at Harpleie hall (and theſe on the north ſide) and the fourth betweene Witton and Witton caſtell called Bedburne, comming by Hamſterleie, whereby this riuer doth now wax verie great. Going therefore from hence, it haſteth to Biſhops Akeland, and beneath it receiueth the Garondleſſe, which (as Leland ſaith) riſeth fiue miles by weſt of Akeland caſtell, and running ſouth thereof, paſſeth by weſt Akeland, S. Helens Akeland, S. Andrewes Akeland, and biſhops Akeland, and then into the Were which goeth to Newfield, and Willington. Neere vnto this place alſo and ſomewhat beneath Sunderland, the Were, croſſeth one brooke from ſouthweſt by Het, Crorleie, Cronefurth, Turſdale, and Cordale, and two other from by northweſt in one bottome, whereof the firſt commeth from aboue Alh by Langleie: the other called Coue, from aboue Kinchleie by Newbiggin, Lancheſter, north Langlie, and through Beare parke, & ſo meeting beneath Relleie or Hedleie with the other, they fall both as one into the Were, betweene ſouth Sunderland and Burnall. From hence our riuer goeth on to Holwghwell, Shirkeleie, old Dureſme (and there taking in the Pidding brooke by northeaſt) it goeth to Dureſme, Finkelete, Harbarhouſe, Lumleie caſtell (where it meeteth with the Pilis, whoſe heads are vnited betweene Pelton and Whitwell (and after called Hedleie) and from thence to Lampton, Harroton, the Bedikes, Ulkerton, Hilton parke, Biſhops, Weremouth, and ſo into the ſea, betweene north Sunderland and north Weremouth towne, which now is called monke Weremouth of the monaſterie ſometime ſtanding there, wherin Beda read & wrote manie of his bookes, as to the world appeareth. This mouth of Were is eight miles from Durham, and ſix from Newcaſtell. Being thus paſſed the Were, & entered into the Biſhoprie, yer we come at the mouth of the Theſe, almoſt by two miles, ouer paſſing a rill that runneth by caſtell Eden, and Hardwrie, and likewiſe Hartlepoole towne, which lieth ouer into the ſea in maner of a byland or peninſula, we meet with a prettie fall, which groweth by a riuer that is increaſed with two waters, whereof one riſeth by northweſt about Noretons, and goeth by Stotfeld and Clarton, the other at Dawlton, going by Breerton, Dwtham, and Grettam, finallie ioining within two miles of the ſea, they make a prettie portlet: but I know not of what ſecuritie.

Were.
Wardop.
Wallop.
Kellop.

Pidding brooke.
Pilis.

The Theſe, a riuer that beareth and feedeth an excellent ſamon, riſeth in the Blacke lowes, aboue two miles flat weſt of the ſoutherlie head of Were called Burdop, and ſouth of the head of weſt Alen, and thence runneth through Tildale forreſt: and taking in the Langdon water from northweſt it runneth to Durtpit chappell, to Newbiggin, and ſo to Middleton, receiuing by weſt of each of theſe a rill comming from by north (of which the laſt is called Hude) and likewiſe the Lune afterward by ſouthweſt that riſeth at three ſeuerall places, whereof the firſt is in the borders of Weſtmerland and there called Arnegill becke, the ſecond more ſoutherlie, named Lunebecke, and the third by ſouth at Bandor Skarth hill, and meeting all aboue Arnegill houſe, they run togither in one bottome to Lathekirke bridge, and then into the Theſe. Hauing therefore met with theſe, it runneth to Pickelton (& there taking in the Skirkwith water) it goeth to Kombald kirke (croſſing there alſo one rill and the Bander brooke by ſouthweſt) and then going to Rozelwod hag, and Rozelwod parke, till it come to Bernards caſtell.

Thelis.

Hude.

Lune.
Arnegill.

Skirkewith.

Bander.

Here alſo it receiueth the Thureſgil water comming eaſt of Kere croſſe in Yorkeſhire, from the ſpittle in Stanmore by Crag almoſt ſouthweſt, and being vnited with the Theſe, it goeth by Stratford, Egleſdon, Rokeſbie, Thorpe, Wickliffe, Duington, Winſton, and betweene Barkurth and Gainfurth meeteth with another rill, that commeth from Langleie forreſt, betweene Rabie caſtell and Standorpe, of whoſe name I haue no knowledge. But to proceed. The Theſe being paſt Ramforth, runneth betweene Perſore and Cliffe, and in the waie to Croſs bridge taketh in the Skerne a prettie water, which riſeth about Trimdon, and goeth by Fiſhburne, Bradburie, Preſton, Brafarton, Skirmingham, the Burdons, Haughton and Darlington, & there finallie meeting with the Cocke becke or Dare, it falleth in the Theſe beneath Stapleton, before it come at Croſs bridge, and (as it ſhould ſeeme) is the ſame which Leland calleth Gretteie or Grettie. From thence it runneth to Sockburne, nether Dunſleie, Middleton row, Newſham, Parne (croſſing a brooke from Leuen bridge) called Leuen or Leuinus in Latine, whoſe crinkling

Kere croſſe.

Skerne.

Waſcrop.

Bedburne.

courſe is notable, and the ſtreame of ſome called Thorpe, which I find deſcribed in this maner.

Thorpe alias Leland.

The Thorpe riſeth of ſundrie heads, whereof one is aboue Pinching Thorpe, from whence it goeth to Nonnethorpe, and ſo to Stokeſleie. The ſecond hath two branches, and ſo placed, that Kildale ſtandeth betweene them both: finallie, meeting beneath Calbie they go by Caton, and likewiſe vnto Stokeſleie. The laſt hath alſo two branches, whereof one commeth from Ingleſbie, and meeteth with the ſecond beneath Broughton; ſ going from thence to Stokeſleie, they meet with the Thorpe aboue the towne, as the other fall into it ſomewhat beneath the ſame. From hence it goeth to Ridleie, and there taketh in

Crawthorne.

another rill comming from Potto, thence to Crawthorne brooke, Leuanton, Yilton, Yilton, Ingleſbie, and ſo into the Theſe, betweene Yarne and Barwne, whereof I made mention before. After this confluence our Theſe hasteth on to Barwyc, Preſton, Thorne abbeie, and Arlham, which ſtandeth on the ſoutheaſt ſide of the riuer almoſt betweene the falles of two waters, whereof one deſcendeth from weſt Hartburne by long Newton, Elton, ſ Stockton; the other from Stillington, or Shillington, by Whitton, Thorpe, Blackeſtone, Billingham, and Norton. From Arlham finallie it goeth to Bellaſis, Middleburgh, and ſo into the ſea. Leland deſcribing this riuer ſpeaketh of the Wiſke, which ſhould come thereinto from by ſouth vnder Wiſke bridge, by Danbie, and Northalarton, and ſhould ioine with a greater ſtreame: but as yet I find no certeine place where to beſtow the ſame.

Next of all we come vnto the high Cliffe water, which riſing aboue Hutton, goeth by Gilborow, and there receiueth another ſtreame comming from by ſoutheaſt, and then continuing on his courſe, it is not long yer it fall into the ſea. The next is the Scaling water, which deſcendeth from Scaling towne, from whence we come to the Yolemouth, not farre from whoſe head ſtandeth Yolgraue caſtell: then to

Eſke.

Sandford creeke, and next of all to Eſke mouth, which riſeth aboue Danbie wood, and ſo goeth to Caſtelton, there meeting by the waie with another rill comming from about Weſterdale by Danbie, and ſo they go on togither by Armar and Thwate caſtell, till they ioine with another water aboue Glaſdale chappell, thence to new Biggin, taking yet another brooke with them, running from Swdland ward,

Iſur.

and likewiſe the Iſur, and ſo go on without anie further increaſe by Buſworth, yer long into the ſea.

There is alſo a creeke on each ſide of Robin Whodes baie, of whoſe names and courſes I haue no skill, ſauing that Fillingale the towne doth ſtand betweene them both. There is another not far from Scarborow, on the north ſide called the Harwood brooke. It runneth through Harwood dale by Cloughton, Buntſon, and ſone after meeting with another rill on the ſouthweſt, they run as one into the ocean ſea. From Scarborow to Bridlington, by Flamborow head, we met with no more falles. This water therefore that we ſaw at Bridlington, riſeth at Dugglebie, from whence it goeth to Kirbie, Helperthorpe, Butterwyc, Boithorpe, Forhole, (where it falleth into the ground, and riſeth vp againe at Rudſton) Thorpe, Cathorpe, Bridlington, and ſo into the Ocean.

Being come about the Spurne head, I meete yer long with a riuer that riſeth ſhort of Witherſie, and goeth by Fodringham and Wiſked, from thence to another that commeth by Roſſe, Halſham, Carmingham: then to the third, which riſeth aboue Humbleton, and goeth to Elkerwyc, Yeddon, and ſo into the Humber. The fourth ſpringeth ſhort of Spro-

leie, goeth by Witton, and falleth into the water of Humber at Merſlete, as I heare.

Hull.

The next of all is the Hull water, which I will deſcribe alſo here, and then croſſe ouer vnto the ſoutherlie ſhore. The furtheſt head of Hull water riſeth at Kilham, from whence it goeth to Lewthorpe creeke, and ſo to Fodringham, a little beneath which it meeteth with ſundrie waters, whereof one falleth in on the northeſt ſide, comming from about Liſſet; the ſecond on the northweſt banke from Nafferton; the third from Emmeſwell and Kirkeburne: for it hath two heads which ioined beneth little Driffield, and the fourth which falleth into the ſame: ſo that theſe two latter run vnto the maine riuer both in one chanell, as experience hath confirmed. From hence then our Hull goeth to to Ratſeie, to Swdale-houſe, and then taking in a water from Horneſie mere, it goeth on through Beuerleie medowes, by Warron, Stoneferrie, Hull, and finallie into the Humber. Of the rill that falleth into this water from ſouth Netherwiſe, by Skirlow, and the two rilles that come from Cottingham and Woluerton, I ſaie no more, ſith it is enough to name them in their order.

The deſcription of the Humber *or Iſis, and ſuch water-courſes as* doo increaſe hir chanell.

Chap. 15.

Humber.

THere is no riuer called Humber from the hed. Wherfore that which we now call Humber, Ptolomie Abie, Leland Aber, as he geſſeth, hath the ſame denomination no higher than the confluence of Trent with the Ouze, as beſide Leland ſundrie ancient writers haue noted before vs both. Certes it is a noble arme of the ſea, and although it be properlie to be called Ouze or Ocellus euen to the Nuke beneath Ancolme, yet are we contented to call it Humber of Humbrus or Umar, a king of the Scithians, who inuaded this Ile in the time of Locrinus, thinking to make himſelfe monarch of the ſame. But as God hath from time to time ſingularlie prouided for the beneſit of Britaine, ſo in this buſineſſe it came to paſſe, that Humber was put to flight, his men ſlaine: and furthermore, whileſt he attempted to ſaue himſelfe by haſting to his ſhips (ſuch was the preaſe of his nobilitie that followed him into his owne veſſell, and the rage of weather which happened on his fatall daie) that both he and they were drowned togither in that arme. And this is the onelie cauſe wherefore it hath beene called Humber, as our writers ſaie; and wherof I find theſe verſes:

Dum fugit obſtat ei flumen ſubmergitur illic,
Deque ſuo tribuit nomine nomen aquæ.

This riuer in old time parted Lhoegres or England from Albania, which was the portion of Albanactus, the yongeſt ſonne of Brute. But ſince that time the limits of Lhoegres haue beene ſo inlarged, firſt by the proweſſe of the Romans, then by the conqueſts of the Engliſh, that at this preſent date, the Twede on the one ſide, & the Solue on the other, be taken for the principall bounds betweene vs and thoſe of Scotland. In deſcribing therefore the Humber, I muſt needs begin with the Ouze, whoſe water bringeth forth a verie ſweet, fat and delicat ſalmon, as I haue beene informed, beſide ſundrie other kinds of fiſh, which we want here on the ſouth

and

and ſouthweſt coaſts & riuers of our land, whereof I may take occaſion to ſpeake moꝛe at large hæraftꝛ.

Ure alias Uuze, oꝛ Iſis.

The Ure therfoꝛe riſeth in the furtheſt parts of all Richmondſhire, among the Coterine hilles, in a moſſe, toward the weſt fourteene miles beyond Middleham. Being therefoꝛe iſſued out of the ground, it goeth to Holbecke, Hardꝛaw, Hawlhouſe, Butterſide, Aſkebꝛidge (which Leland calleth the Aſkaran, and ſaith thereof and the Bainham, that they are but obſcure bꝛidges) then to Aſkarth, thꝛough Wanleſſe parke, Wenſeleie bꝛidge (made two hundꝛed yeares ſince, by Alwin, parſon of Winſlaw) New parke, Spennithoꝛne, Danbie, Geruiſe abbeie, Cliſton and Paſham. When it is come to Paſham, it receiueth the Burne, by ſouth weſt (as it did the Wile, from verie deepe ſcarrie rockes, befoꝛe at Aſkaran) and diuerſe other wild rilles not woꝛthie to be remembꝛed. From Paſham, it hafteth vnto Tanfield (taking in by the waie a rill by ſouthweſt) then to another Tanfield, to Newton hall, and Noꝛthbꝛidge, at the hither end of Ripon, and ſo to Huickes bꝛidge. But yet it come there ioꝛneth with the Skell, which being incoꝛpoꝛat with the ſame, they run as one to Thoꝛpe, then to Alboꝛow, and ſone after receiue the Swale.

Burne. Wile. Skell. Swale.

Here (ſaith Leland) I am bꝛought into no little feare, what to coniecture of the meeting of Iſis and Ure, foꝛ ſome ſaie that the Iſis and the Ure doo meet at Boꝛowbꝛidge, which to me doth ſeeme to be verie vnlikelie, ſith Iſurium taketh his denomination of Iſis and Vro, foꝛ it is often ſeene that the leſſe riuers doo mingle their names with the greater, as in the Thameſis and other is eaſie to be found. Neither is there any moꝛe mention of the Ure after his paſſage vnder Boꝛowbꝛidge, but onelie of Iſis oꝛ the Ouze in theſe daies, although in old time it held vnto Poꝛke it ſelfe, which of the Ure is truelie called Urewiſe (oꝛ Poꝛke thoꝛt) oꝛ elſe my perſuaſion doth faile me. I haue red alſo Ewerwiſe and Poꝛwiſe. But to pꝛoceed, and leaue this ſuperfluous diſcourſe.

From Boꝛowbꝛidge, the Ouze goeth to Aldborough, and (receiuing the Swale by the waie) to Aldwoꝛke, taking in Alburne water, from the ſouthweſt, then to Linton vpon Ouze, to Newton vpon Ouze, and to Munketun, meeting with the Mid yer long, and ſo going withall to the Redhouſes, to Popleton, Cliſton, Poꝛke (where it croſſeth the Foſſe) to Foulkoꝛth, Middlethoꝛpe, Acaſter, & Acaſter, Kelfleet, Welehall, Barelebie, Selbie, Turmonhall, Skurthall, Hokelath, Hoke, Sandhall, Redneſſe, Whitegift, Ulet, Blacketoft, Foꝛfleet, Bꝛownfleet, and ſo into Humber.

Foſſe.

Ouze.

The courſe of the Ouze being thus deſcribed, and as it were ſimplie without his influences, now will I touch ſuch riuers as fall into the ſame alſo by themſelues, contrarie to my foꝛmer pꝛoceeding, imagining a voiage from the Rauenſpurne, vntill I come neere to the head of Theſe, & ſo ſouthwards about againe by the bottome of the hillie ſoile vntill I get to Burſton, Sheffeld, Scrobie, & the verie ſouth point of Humber mouth, whereby I ſhall croſſe them all that are to be found in this walke, & leaue (I doubt) ſome eſpeciall notice of their ſeuerall heads and courſes. The courſe of the Hull, a ſtreame abounding with ſturgeon and lampꝛeie, as alſo the riuers which haue their iſſue into the ſame, being (as I ſay) alreadie deſcribed, I thinke it not amiſſe, as by the waie to ſet downe what Leland ſaith thereof, to the end that his trauell ſhall not altogither be loſt in this behalfe; and foꝛ that it is ſhoꝛt, and hath one oꝛ two things woꝛthie to be remembꝛed conteined in the ſame.

Hull oꝛ Huline.

The Huline (ſaith he) riſeth of three ſeuerall heads, whereof the greateſt is not far from Dꝛiefield, now a ſmall village ſixteene miles from Hull. Certes it hath beene a goodlie towne, and therein was the palace of Egbꝛight king of the Noꝛthumbers, and place of ſepulture of Alfred the noble king ſometime of that nation, who died there 727, the nineteene Cal. of Julie, the twentith of his reigne, and whoſe toombe oꝛ monument doth yet remaine (foꝛ ought that I doo know) to the contrarie with an inſcription vpon the ſame written in Latine letters. Neere vnto this towne alſo is the Daneſield, wherein great numbers of Danes were ſlaine, and buried in thoſe hils, which yet remaine there to be ſeene ouer their bones and carcaſſes. The ſecond head (ſaith he) is at Eſtburne, and the third at Emmeſwell, and meeting all togither not farre from Dꝛiffield, the water there beginneth to be called Hulne, as I haue ſaid alreadie.

From hence alſo it goeth thꝛough Beuerleie meadowes, and comming at the laſt not farre from an arme led from the Hulne by mans hand (and able to beare great veſſels) almoſt to Beuerleie towne, which in old time either hight oꝛ ſtood in Deiꝛwald, vntill John of Beuerlete (whom Leland nameth out of an old authoꝛ to be the firſt doctoꝛ oꝛ teacher of diuinitie that euer was in Oxfoꝛd, and (as it ſhould ſeeme alſo by an ancient monument yet remaining) to be of an hoſtell where the vniuerſitie college now ſtandeth; & therfoꝛe they write him, Somtime fellow of that houſe) began to be of fame, of whom it is called Beuerleie (as ſome affirme) to this daie. Indeed all the countrie betweene the Deiꝛwent & the Humber was ſometime called Deira, and the lower part Caua Deira in reſpect of the higher ſoile, but now it is named the eaſt Kiding. But what is this to my purpoſe? The Hulne therefoꝛe being come almoſt to Beuerleie towne, & meeting thereabout alſo with the Cottingham becke comming from Weſtwood by the waie, it hafteth to Kingſton vpon Hulne oꝛ Hull, and ſo into the Humber without anie maner impeachment.

Cottingham.

The Fowlneie riſeth about Godmanham, from whence it goeth by Wighton, Hareſwell, Seton, Williams bꝛidge, and ſone after ſpꝛeading it ſelfe, one arme called Skelfleet goeth by Cane Cawſeie to Bꝛownefleet and ſo into the Ouze. The other paſſeth by Sandholme, Gilberts dike, Scalbie chappell, Blacketoft, and ſo into the afoꝛeſaid Ouze, leauing a verie pꝛetie Iland, which is a parcell (as I heare) of Walding fen moꝛe, though otherwiſe obſcure to vs that dwell here in the ſouth.

Fowlneie. Skelfleet.

The Darwent riſeth in the hilles that lie weſt of Robin Whoodes baie, oꝛ two miles aboue Aiton bꝛidge, weſt from Scarboꝛow as Leland ſaith: and yet it hath run farre from the head, it receiueth two rilles in one bottome from by weſt, which ioine withall about Longdale end. Thence they go togither to Bꝛoreie, and at Hackneſſe take in another water comming from about Silſeie. Afterward it commeth to Aiton, then to Halbꝛidge, and there croſſeth the Kenfoꝛd that deſcendeth from Robertſton. After this alſo it goeth on to Poterſbꝛumton where it taketh in one rill, as it doth another beneath running from Shirburne, and the third yet lower on the further banke, that deſcendeth from Bꝛumton. From theſe confluences it runneth to Fowlbꝛidge, Aꝛbꝛidge, Yeldingham bꝛidge, & ſo to Cotehouſe, receiuing by the waie manie waters, & yeelding great plentie of delicate ſamons to ſuch as fiſh vpon the ſame. Leland reckoning vp the names of the ſeuerall bꝛookes, numbꝛeth them confuſedlie after his accuſtomed oꝛder. The Darwent (ſaith he) receiueth diuerſe ſtreames, as the Shirihutton. The ſecond is the Crambecke, deſcending from Hunderſkell caſtell (ſo called *Tanquam à centum fontibus*, oꝛ multitude of ſpꝛings

Kenfoꝛd. Shirihutton. Crambecke.

Rie. springs that rise about the same) and goeth to Rie, which comming out of the Blackemoze, passeth by Riuers abbeie, taking in the Ricoll on the left hand, then the Seuen, the Costeie, and Pickering broke.

Ricoll. Seuen. Costeie. Pickering.

The Scuin also (saith he) riseth in the side of Blackemoze, and thence goeth by Sinnington foure miles from Pickering, and about a mile aboue a certeine bridge ouer Rie goeth into the streame. The Costeie in like sort springeth in the verie edge of Pickering towne, at a place called Keld head, and goeth into the Rie two miles beneath Pickering, about Kirbie mussler. Finallie, Pickering water ariseth in Blackemoze, and halfe a mile beneath Pickering falleth into Costeie, meeting by the way with the Pocklington becke, and an other small rill or two, of whose names I haue no knowledge. Hitherto Leland. But in mine opinion, it had beene far better to haue described them thus. Of those waters that fall into the Darwent beneath Cotehouse, the first commeth from Swenton, the second from Ebberston, the third from Millerston, the fourth from Thorneton & Pickering, and the fift on the other side that commeth thither from Wintringham. For so should he haue dealt in better order, and rid his hands of them with more expedition, referring the rest also vnto their proper places.

Pocklington.

But to proceed after mine owne maner. Being past Cotehouse, & yer the Darwent come at Wickham, it crosseth the Rie, which riseth of two heads, and ioining west of Loton they run through Glansbie parke. Finallie, receiuing the Costeie, it meeteth at the last with an other streame increased by the fals of sir waters and more yer it come into the Darwent. The most easterlie of these is called Seuen, and riseth (as is aforesaid) in Blackemoze, from whence it goeth by Sinnington, Yurton, Normanbie, Newsound, Yow, and so into the Rie. The second named Dou hath his originall likewise in Blackemoze, and descending by Kalmoze, Keldon and Odston (where it receiueth the Hodgebecke, that commeth by Bernesdale, Kirkedale, & Welburne) it goeth to Sawlton, and there taketh in first the Ricoll, that goeth by Careton, and whereof Ridall (as some thinke, but falslie) doth seeme to take the name. Then Fesse, which riseth aboue Bilisdale chappell, and meeteth with the Rie at the Shaking bridge, from whence they go together vnder the Rie bridge, to Riuis abbeie, and thence (after it hath crossed a becke from the west) through a parke of the earle of Rutlands to Newton, Muniton, and so to Sawton or Sawlton, as I doo find it written. Here also it taketh in the Holbecke broke, that commeth thither from by west by Gilling castell, and Stangraue, from whence it goeth on to Yzabie, next into the Seuen, then into the Rie, and so into the Darwent, which from thence doth run to Wickham.

Rie. Costeie. Seuen. Dou or Dow. Hodgebecke. Ricoll. Fesse. Holbecke.

Being past Wickham, it meeteth with a water that commeth thereinto from Grinston to Setterington at southeast, and thence it goeth on to Malton and Malton (where the prouerbe saith that a bushell of rie and an other of malt is worth but sixpence, carie awaie whilest you may, so as you can keepe them from running through the sackes) Sutton, Wellam, Furbie, and Kirkeham, receiuing by the waie one rill on the one side and an other on the other, whereof this commeth from Burdsall, that other from Conistborpe. From Kirkeham it goeth to Cramburne and Dwsham bridge (crossing by the waie an other broke comming from saint Edwards gore, by Faston) then to Aldbie, Buttercram (*alias* Butterham) bridge, Stamford bridge, Kerbie bridge Sutton, Ellerton, Aughton, Bubwith, Wresill, Babthorpe, and so into the Duze, wherewith I finish the description of Darwent: sauing that I haue to let you vnderstand how Leland heard that an arme ran some time from the head of Darwent also to Scarborow, till such time as two hils betwixt which it ran, did shalder and so choke vp his course.

The Fosse (a slow streame yet able to beare a good vessell) riseth in *Nemore Calaterio*, that is, Galters wood or Cawood, among the woddie hilles, and in his descent from the higher ground, he leaueth Crake castell, on his west side: thence he goeth by Marton abbeie, Marton, Stillington, Farlington, Towthorpe, Erswyke, Huntington, & at Yorke into the Duze. The Kile riseth flat north at Newborow, from whence it goeth by Thorneton on the hill, Kuskell parke, Awne, Tollerton, and so into the Duze about Newton vpon Duze. The Swale is a right noble riuer, & march in some places betweene Richmondshire and Westmerland, it riseth not far from Pendragon castell in the hilles aboue Kirkedale, and from this towne it goeth to Keldc chappell, Carret house, Crackepot, Whiteside, and neere vnto Yalen taketh in the Barneie water, which commeth from the north east. Thence it goeth by Yarcaside to Reth (where it meeteth with the Arcleie) and so to Flemington, Grinton, Marrike (taking in the Holgate that commeth from by south: and in the waie to Thorpe, the Marske becke, or peraduenture Applegarth water, as Leland calleth it, that descendeth from the north) then to Thorpe, Applegarth, Richmond, Easbie and Brunton.

Lai. Fosse. Ald. Kile. Swale. Kirkl. Barnele. Arcleie. Holgate. Marske becke. Rauenswath. Rye. Wedall alias Leming. Wiske. Padsh Walsh Cockel Catwodbec Kebecke. Cuckwolds becke. Riu. Skell. Otterbr Wmterb

Here by north it interteineth two or three waters in one chanell, called Rauenswath water, whereof the two furthest dwoine not farre from the Dawltons, and so go by Rauenswath, Hartforth, Gilling, and at Skebie meet with the third, comming from Richmond beaconward. By west also of Brunton, the Swale meeteth with the Rye, running from Kesdale, and being past Brunton, it goeth to Caterisc bridge beneath Brunton, then to Ellerton, Kirkebie, Langton parua, Thirtoft, Anderbie steeple: and before it come vnto Gatenbie, it meeteth with the Bedall broke, *alias* Lemings becke, that commeth west of Bellirbie, by Cunstable, Burton, Langthorpe, Bedall, and Leming chappell. From Gattenbie likewise it goeth to Yawbie, & at Brakenbirie receiueth the Wiske, which is a great water, rising betweene two parkes aboue Swanbie in one place, and southeast of Mountgrace abbeie in another; and after the confluence which is about Sidlebridge, goeth on betweene the Kughtons to Appleton, the Smetons, Birtbie, Hutton Conters, Danbie, Wisc, Yafford, Warlabie, and taking in there a rill from Brunton Aluerton, it proceedeth to Otterington, Newlie, Kirbie Wiske, Newson, and Blackenburie, there meeting (as I said) with the Swale, that runneth from thence by Skipton bridge, Catton, Topcliffe, and Raniton, and aboue Eldmire meeteth with sundrie other rilles in one bottome, whereof the northwesterlie is called Calwodbec: the south easterlie Kebecke, which ioine eft of Thorneton more, and so go to Thorneton in the street, Kiluington, Thruske, Solwerbie, Grasswic, and soone after crossing another growing of the mixture of the Willow, and likewise of the Cuckewold beckes, which ioine aboue Bridforth, and running on till it come almost at Dawlton, it maketh confluence with the Swale, and go thence as one with all their samons by Thorneton bridge, Pitton vpon Swale, and so into the Duze.

The Skell riseth out of the west two miles from Founteines abbeie, and commeth (as Leland saith) with a faire course by the one side of Ripon, as the Vre doth on the other. And on the bankes hereof stood the famous abbeie called Founteines or Ad-fontes, so much renowmed for the lustie monks that sometimes

ſometimes diuided in the ſame. It receiueth alſo the Lauer water (which riſeth three miles from Kirbie, and meeteth withall neere vnto Ripon) and finallie falleth into the Vre, a quarter of a mile beneath Ripon towne, & almoſt midwaie betweene the North and Hutcke bridges.

Lauer.

Nidde.

The Nidde, which the booke of ſtatutes called Nidor (anno 13. Edw. 1.) and thereto noteth it to be inriched with ſtore of ſamon, as are alſo the Wheof and Aire, riſeth among thoſe hilles that lie by weſt northweſt of Gnareſborow, fiue miles aboue Pakeleie bridge, and going in ſhort proceſſe of time by Weſthouſes, Lodgehouſes, Wodhall, Newhouſes, Middeſmore, Raunſgill, Cowthouſe, Gowthwall, Bureleie, Brimham, Hampeſwale, and ſone after meeting with the Killingale becke, it goeth after the confluence by Wilton parke, Gnareſbridge, Walkford, Cathail, Willeſthorpe, Munketon, or Nonmocke, and ſo into the Duze, foureteene miles beneath Gnareſborow, being increaſed by the waie with verie few or no waters of anie countenance. Leland hauing ſaid thus much of the Nidde, addeth herevnto the names of two other waters, that is to ſaie, the Couer and the Burne, which doo fall likewiſe into the Vre or Duze. But as he ſaith little of the ſame, ſo among all my pamphlets, I can gather no more of them, than that the firſt riſeth ſix miles aboue Couerham by weſt, and falleth into the Vre, a little beneath Middleham bridge, which is two miles beneath the towne of Couerham. As for the Burne, it riſeth at More hilles, and falleth into the ſaid riuer a little beneath Maſſham bridge. And ſo much of theſe two.

Killingale.

Couer.

Burne.

Wharfe alias Gwerke.

The Wharfe or Gwerke ariſeth aboue Aghterſhaw, from whence it runneth to Beggermons, Roſemill, Hubberham, Backden, Starbotton, Kettlewell, Cunniſton in Kettlewell, and here it meeteth with a rill comming from Haltongill chappell, by Arnecliffe, and ioining withall northeaſt of Kilneſeie crag, it paſſeth ouer by the lower grounds to Girſington, and receiuing a rill there alſo from Creſeld parke, it proceedeth on to Burnſall bridge. Furthermore at Appletreewic, it meeteth with a rill from by north, and thence goeth to Barden towre, Bolton, Beth and Hilleie hall, where it croſſeth a rill comming from by weſt, thence to Addingham, taking in there alſo another from by weſt, and ſo to Ikeleie, and receiuing yer long another by north from Denton hall, it haſteth to Weſton Uauaſour, Oteleie, and Letheleie, where it taketh in the Padſide, & the Waſhburne (both in one ſtreame from Lindleie ward) and thence to Caſtleie chappell, and there it croſſeth one from by north, and another yer long from by ſouth, and ſo to Yardwood caſtell, Kerebie, Wodhall, Collingham, Linton, Wetherbie, Thorpatch, Newton, Tadcaſter, and when it hath receiued the Cockebecke from ſouthweſt, that goeth by Barwie, Aberforth, Leadhall, and Grimſton, it runneth to Epton, Kirbie Wharfe, Uſkell, Rither, Nunapleton, & ſo into the Duze beneath Calwod, a caſtell belonging to the archbiſhop of Yorke, where he vſeth oft to lie when he refreſheth himſelfe with change of aire and ſhift of habitation, for the auoiding of ſuch infection as may otherwiſe ingender by his long abode in one place, for want of due purgation and airing of his houſe.

Padſide.

Waſhburne.

Cockebecke.

Aire.

The Air or Arre riſeth out of a lake or tarne ſouth of Darnbrooke, wherein (as I heare) is none other fiſh but red trowt, and perch. Leland ſaith it riſeth neere vnto Orton in Crauen, wherfore the odds is but little. It goeth therefore from thence to Mawlam, Hamlith, Kirbie, Woldale, Calton hall, Arreton, and ſo forth till it come almoſt to Gargraue, there croſſing the Otterburne water on the weſt, and the Winterburne on the north, which at Flaſbie receiueth a rill from Yelſon, as I heare. Being paſt Gargraue, our Air goeth on to Eſhton, Elſwod, and ſo forth on, firſt receiuing a broke from ſouthweſt (whereof one branch commeth by Marton, the other by Thorneton, which meete about Broughton) then another from northeaſt, that runneth by Skipton caſtell. After this confluence it haſteth by manifold windleſſes, which cauſed thirteene bridges at the laſt to be ouer the ſame within a little ſpace, to Newbiggin, Bradleie, and Kildwiſe, by ſouth eaſt whereof it meeteth with one water from Mawſis, and Gluſburne or Gluſeſburne, called Glike; another likewiſe a little beneath from Seton, beſide two rilles from by north, after which confluence it runneth by Reddleſden, and ouer againſt this towne the Lacocke and the Worth doo meet withall in one chanell, as the Mozeton water doth on the north, although it be ſomewhat lower. Thence it goeth to Riſhworth hall, and ſo to Bungleie, where it taketh a rill from Denholme parke to Shipeleie, and there croſſing another from Thorneton, Leuenthorpe, and Bradleie, it goeth to Caluerleie, to Chirkall, and ſo to Leedes, where one water runneth thereinto by north from Wettlewod, & two other from by ſouth in one chanell, wherof the firſt hath two armes, of which the one commeth from Pudſeie chappell, the other from Adwalton, their confluence being made aboue Farneſleie hall. The other likewiſe hath two heads, whereof one is aboue Morleie, the other commeth from Domingleie, and meeting with the firſt not far ſouthweſt of Leedes, they fall both into the Air, and ſo run with the ſame to Swillington, and there taking in the Rodwell becke ſouth of the bridge, it proceedeth to Ollerton, Caſtleford, Brotherton & Ferribridge, there receiuing the Went, a becke from Pontefract or Pomfret, which riſeth of diuerſe heads, wherof one is among the cole pits. Thence to Beall, Berkin, Kellington, middle Hodleſeie, Templehirſt, Gowldall, Snath, Rawcliffe, Newland, Armie, and ſo into the Duze with an indifferent courſe. Of all the riuers in the north, Leland (in ſo manie of his bookes as I haue ſeene) ſaith leaſt of this. Mine annotations alſo are verie ſlender in the particular waters wherbie it is increaſed: wherfore I was compelled of neceſſitie to conclude euen thus with the deſcription of the ſame, and had ſo left it in deed, if I had not receiued one other note more to ad vnto it (euen when the leafe was at the preſſe) which ſaith as followeth in maner word for word.

Otterburne.

Waterburne.

Lacocke.

Worth.

Mozeton.

Redwell.

Went.

There is a noble water that falleth into Air, whoſe head (as I take it) is about Stanford. From whence it goeth to Creſton chappell, to Lingfield, and there about receiuing one rill neere Elſrabright bridge, and alſo the Hebden by northweſt, it goeth to Brearleie hall, and ſo taking in the third by north, it proceedeth on eaſtward by Sorſbie bridge chappell (and there a rill from ſouthweſt) and ſo to Coppeleie hall. Beneath this place I find alſo that it receiueth one rill from Hallifax, which riſeth from two heads, and two other from ſouthweſt, of which one commeth by Bareſland, and Staneland in one chanell, as I read. So that after this confluence the aforeſaid water goeth on toward Cowford bridge, and as it taketh in two rilles aboue the ſame on the north ſide, ſo beneath that bridge there falleth into it a pretie arme increaſed by ſundrie waters cõming from by ſouth, as from Marſheden chappell, from Holmeſworth chappell, and Kirke Heton, each one growing of ſundrie heads; whereof I would ſaie more, if I had more intelligence of their ſeuerall gates and paſſages.

Hebden.

But to proceed. From Cowford bridge it runneth to Munkeld, and receiuing yer long one rill from Leuerſage hall, and another from Burſhall by Dewesburie, it goeth on northeaſt of Thornehull, ſouth

south of Horbirie thornes, and thereabout crossing one rill from by south from Woller by new Milner Dam, and some after another from northwest, called Chald, rising in the Peke hils, whereon Wakefield standeth, and likewise the third from southeast, and Waterton hall, it goeth by Warmefield, Newland, Altostes, and finallie into the Aire, west of Castelworth, as I learne. What the name of this riuer should be as yet I heare not, and therefore no maruell that I dow not set it dowine, yet is it certeine that it is called Chald, after his cõfluence with the Chald, and finallie Chaldair or Chaldar after it hath toined with the Air or Ar. But what is this for his denominations from the head? It shall suffice therefore thus farre to haue shewed the course thereof: and as for the name I passe it ouer vntill another time.

Chald.

Trent. The Trent is one of the most excellent riuers in the land, not onelie for store of samon, sturgeon, and sundrie other kinds of delicate fish wherewith it dooth abound, but also for that it is increased with so manie waters, as for that onelie cause it may be compared either with the Ouze or Sauerne, I meane the second Ouze, whose course I haue latelie described. It riseth of two heads which ioine beneath Norton in the more, and from thence goeth to Hilton abbeie, Bucknell church, and aboue Stoke receiueth in the Foulebrooke water, which commeth thither from Tunstall, by Shelton, and finallie making a confluence they go to Hanslet, where they met with another on the same side, that descendeth from Newcastell vnder Line, which Leland taketh to be the verie Trent it selfe, saieng: that it riseth in the hils aboue Newcastell, as may be seene by his commentaries.

Foulebrooke.

But to proceed. At Trentham, or not farre from thence, it crosseth a riueret from northeast, whose name I know not, & thence going to Stone Aston, Stoke Burston, the Sandons and Weston, a little aboue Shubburne & Hatwood, it receiueth the Sow, a great chanell increased with sundrie waters, which I will here describe, leauing the Trent at Shubburne, till I come backe againe. The Sow descendeth from the hilles, aboue Whitemore chappell, and goeth by Charleton, and Stawne, and beneath Shalford ioineth with another by northeast that commeth from bishops Offeleie, Egleshall, Chesbie, Raunton. After this confluence also it runneth by Bridgeford, Tillington, & Stafford, beneath which towne it crosseth the Penke becke, that riseth aboue Nigleton, & Berwood, & aboue Penke bridge vniteth it selfe with another comming from Knightleie ward, by Gnashall church, Eaton: and so going forth as one, it is not long yer they fall into Sow, after they haue passed Draiton, Dunkan, Acon, and Banswich, where losing their names, they with the Sow & the Sow with them dow ioine with the Trent, at Shubburne, vpon the southerlie banke.

Sow.

Penke.

From Shubburne the Trent goeth on to little Hatwood (meeting by the waie one rill at Dusleie bridge, and another south of Riddlesleie) thence by Hawksberie, Mauesfane, Ridware, and so toward Porhall; where I must staie a while to consider of other waters, wherewith I met in this voiage. Of these therefore the lesser commeth in by south from Farwall, the other from by west, a faire streame, and increased with two brooks, whereof the first riseth in Nedewood forrest, northeast of Haggersleie parke, whereinto falleth another west of Hamsted Ridware, called Blith, which riseth among the hilles in Whateleie more, aboue Weston Conie, and thence going to the same towne, it commeth to Draicote, alias Dracote, Painsleie, Gratwitch, Grimleie, Aldmaston, Hamsted, Ridware, and finallie into the Trent, directlie west of Porhall, which runneth also from thence, & leauing kings Bromlete in a parke (as I take it) on the left hand, and the Blacke water comming from Southton and Lichfield on the right, goeth streightwaie to Catton, where it meeteth with the Tame, whose course I describe as followeth.

Blith.

Tame. It riseth in Staffordshire (as I remember) not farre from Pettershall, and goeth forth by Hamsted, toward Pirihall and Brimichams Aston, taking in by the waie a rill on each side, whereof the first groweth through a confluence of two waters, the one of them comming from Tipton, the other from Aldburie, and so running as one by Wedburie till they fall into the same. The latter commeth from Wolfhall, and ioineth with it on the left hand. After this, and when it is past the aforesaid places, it crosseth in like sort a rill from Smethike ward: thence it goeth to Parneton hall, beneath which it meeteth with the Rhe, and thence through the parke, at Parke hall by Watercote, crossing finallie the Cole, whose head is in the forrest by Bingesnorton wood, and hath this course, whereof I now giue notice. It riseth (as I said) in the forrest by Bingesnorton wood, and going by Pareleie and Bingeshirst, it meeteth betweene that and the parke, with a water running betweene Yelmedon and Sheldon.

Rhe. Cole.

Thence it passeth on to Coleshull, by east whereof it ioineth with a brooke, mounting southwest of Solihull called Blith, which going by Henwood and Barston, crosseth on ech side of Temple Balshall, a rill, whereof one commeth thorough the Queenes parke or chase that lieth by west of Kenelworth, & the other by Kenelworth castell it selfe, from about Haselie parke. After which confluences it proceedeth in like maner to Hampton in Arden, and the Packingtons, and so to Coleshall, where it meeteth with the Cole, that going a little further, vniteth it selfe with the Burne on the one side (whereinto runneth a water comming from Ansleie on the east) and some after on the other dooth fall into the Tame, that which some call the Rhee, a common name to all waters that moue and run from their head. For ῥέω in Greeke is to flow and run, although in truth it is proper to the sea onelie to flow. Leland nameth the Brimicham water, whose head (as I heare) is aboue Norfield, so that his course should be by Bingesnorton, Brenicham, Budston hall, till it fall beneath Parneton into the Tame it selfe, that runneth after these confluences on by Lee, Bingesbirie parke, and going by east of Draiton, Basset parke, to Falkeslеie bridge, it meeteth with another water called Burne, also comming from Hammerwich church, by Chetterford, Shenton, Chickebrowne, and the north side of Draiton, Basset parke, wherof I spake before. From hence our Tame runneth on to Tamworth, there taking in the Anchor by east, whose description I had in this maner deliuered vnto me.

Burne. Rhee.

It riseth aboue Burton, from whence it goeth by Nonneaton, Witherleie and Atherstone. Per long also it taketh in a water from northeast, which commeth by Huglescote, Shapton, Cunston, Twicrosse (vniting it selfe with a water from Bosworth) Ratcliffe, & so to the Anchor, which after this confluence passeth by Whittendon, Crindon, Pollesworth, Armington, Tamworth, & so into Tame, that hasteth to Hopwash, Comberford hall, Telford, and some after crossing a rill that riseth short of Swinfield hall, and commeth by Fesirike, it runneth not farre from Crorhall, and so to Catton, thereabout receiuing his last increase not worthie to be omitted. This brooke is named Mese, and it riseth in the great parke that lieth betweene Worthington, and Smethike, from whence also it goeth by Ashbie de la Souche, Packington, Pesham, and Stretton, and therabout crossing

Anchor. Mese.

ting a rill about Nethersale grange, from Quersale by east, it proceedeth by Chilcote, Clifton, Croxall, into the Thame, and both out of hand into the maine riuer a mile aboue Repton. Leland writing of this riuer (as I earst noted) saith thereof in this wise. Into the Thame also runneth the Bremicham broke, which riseth foure or fiue miles about Bremicham in the Blacke hils in Worcestershire, and goeth into the aforesaid water a mile aboue Cudworth bridge. Certes (saith he) this Bremicham is a towne maintained chiefly by smiths, nailers, cutlers, edgetole forgers, lorimers or bitmakers, which haue their iron out of Staffordand Warwicshires, and coles also out of the first countie. Hitherto Leland. Now to resume the Trent, which being growen to some greatnesse, goeth on to Walton, Drakelow, and there crossing a water that commeth by Newbold hall, it runneth to Stapenell, Winshall, Wightmere, and Newton Souch, where it receiueth two chanels within a short space, to be described apart.

Doū. The first of these is called the Dou or Doue, it riseth about the three shires meere, and is as it were limes betweene Staffordand Darbishires, vntill it come at the Trent. Descending therefore from the head, it goeth by Earlesbath, Pilsburie grange, Hartington, Wolscot, Eaton, Hunsington grange, Hamsold. and aboue Thorpe receiueth the Hamsold water, so called, bicause of the sundrie crinckling rills that it receiueth, and turnagaines that it selfe sheweth before it come at the Dou. Rising therefore not farre from Are edge crosse (in the bottome thereby) it runneth from thence to Longmore, Sheene, Marlow chappell, and Welton. Beneath Welton also it taketh in the Hansleie water, that commeth out of Hansleie. Blackemore hilles to Watersall, where it falleth into the ground: and afterward mounting againe is receiued into the Hamsold, north of Thrawlele (as I heare) which goeth from thence to Ilam, and aboue Thorpe doth cast it selfe into Dou. Hauing therefore met togither after this maner, the Dou procedeth on to Paplington, beneath which it crosseth one water descending from Brallington by Fennie Bentleie, and another somewhat lower that commeth from Hockon hall by Hognaston and Alhburne, and then going to Matterfield, Marburie, Ellaston, Rawston Rowcester, it meeteth with the Churne, euen here to Churne. be described before I go anie further. It riseth a good waie aboue Delacrasse abbie, and comming thither Dunsmere. by Hellesbie wood, it taketh in the Dunsmere, betweene Harracrasse and Leike.

Thence it goeth to the Malgrange, and a little Pendor. beneath receiueth the Pendor that commeth from aboue Harton, thence to Cheddleton, and hauing crossed the Alhenhirst broke aboue Cnutes hall, it runneth by Ypston, Frogball, Below hill, Alton castell, Pulla Canuti. Alhenhirst. Preestwood, and at Rowcester falleth into the Dou, Teine. which yer long also receiueth a rill from Crowsden, and then going to Eton meeteth first with the Teine that commeth thither from each side of Chedleie by Teinetwone, Bramhirst and Stranehill. Secondlie Attoxeter or Uncester. with the Uncester or Attoxeter water, and then going on to Werchington, Sidberie, Cawlton, it crosseth a broke from Sidmister college, by Saperton. From this confluence in like sort it passeth forth to Tilberie castell, Marston, and at Edergton meeteth with the water that commeth from Pelderslete by Longford (whereinto runneth another that commeth from Hollington) and so to Hilton. These waters being thus ioined, and manie ends brought into one, the Dou it selfe falleth yer long likewise into the Trent, aboue Newton Souch. So that the maine riuer being thus inlarged, goeth onwards with his course, and betweene Willington and Repton meeteth with two waters on sundrie sides, whereof that which falleth in by Willington, riseth neere Dowbrie Lies, and runneth by Trusselie and Alhe: the other that entereth aboue Repton, descendeth from Hartesburne, so that the Trent being past these, hasteth to Twiford, Inglebie, Staunton, Weston, Newton, and Alton, yer long also meeting with the Darwent; next of all to be dispatched. The Dar- Darwent. went, or (to vse the verie British word) Dowr gwine (but in Latine *Fluuius Dereuantanus*) riseth plaine west, neere vnto the edge of Darbishire, aboue Blackwell a market towne, and from the head runneth to the New chappell, within a few miles after it be risen. From hence moreouer it goeth by Howden house, Darwent chappell, Yorkeshire bridge, and at Witham bridge doth crosse the Neue or Noulus Neue. that commeth from Newstole hill, by Netherburgh, Hope (crossing there one rill from Castelton, another from Bradwell, and the third at Hathersage, from Stonie ridge hill) and so goeth on to Padleie, Stockehall, receiuing a rill by the waie from by west, to Stonie Middleton, and Ballow, and hauing here taken in the Burbroke on the one side, and an- Burbroke. other from Halsop on the other, it goeth to Chatworth and to Rowseleie, where it is increased with the Wie comming from by west, and also a rill on the east, a little higher. But I will describe the Wie before I go anie further.

The Wie riseth aboue Burston well, and there Wie. is increased with the Hawkeshow, and the Wile Hawkeshow. broke, whose heads are also further distant from the Wile. edge of Darbishire than that of Wie, and races somwhat longer, though neither of them be worthie to be accompted long. For the Wile, hauing two heads, the one of them is not farre aboue the place where Wilebecke abbeie stood, the other is further off by west, about Wilebecke towne: and finallie ioining in one they runne to Cucknele village, where receiuing a becke that commeth downe from by west, it holdeth on two miles further, there taking in the second rill, and so resort to Rukford, or the Manbecke. Rukford alias Manbecke. Unto this also do other two rills repaire, whereof the one goeth through and the other hard by Maunsfield, of which two also this latter riseth west about foure miles, and runneth forth to Clipston (three miles lower) and so likewise to Rukford, whereof I will speake hereafter. In the meane time to returne againe to the Wie. From Burston well, it runneth to Staddon, Cowdale, Cowlow, New medow, Milhouses, Bankewell, and Haddon hall, beneath which it receiueth the Lath kell, that runneth by Duerhad- Lathkell. don, and the Bradford, both in one bottome after they Bradford. be ioined in one at Alport. And this is the first great water that our Darwent doth meet withall. Being therefore past the Rowsleies, the said Darwent goeth to Stancliffe, Darleie in the peake, Wensleie, Smitterton hall, and at Matlocke taketh in a rill by northeast, as it doth another at Crumford that goeth by Boteshall.

From Matlocke, it procedeth to Matlon, or Matlond, Well bridge, Alderwath, and ioineth with another streame called Amber comming in Amber. from by north by Amber bridge, whose description shall insue in this wise, as I find it. The head of Amber is aboue Edleston hall, or (as Leland saith) est of Chesterfield, and comming from thence by Middleton to Oglon hall, it taketh withall another broke, descending from Hardwise wood, by Alton and Streton. Thence it goeth to Higham, Brackenfield, and aboue Dale bridge meeteth with a broke running from Hucknalward to Shireland parke side, here crossing the Morton becke, and so to Alferton, Morton. except I name it wrong. From Dale bridge it goeth by Wingfeld, to Hedge, Fritchlin, and so into

Dar-

Darwent, taking the water withall that deſcendeth from Swanſwike by Pentridge, as Leland doth remember. From this confluence likewiſe it runneth to Belper, where it méeteth with a rill comming from Horleie parke: thence to Makenie, and at Duk-
Eglesburne. feld, receiueth the Egleſburne, which ariſeth about Wirkeſworth or Oreſworth, but in the ſame pariſh out of a rocke, and commeth in by Turnedich. From Duffeld, it paſſeth to Bradſall, Darleie abbeie, and at Darbie taketh in a rill comming from Mirkaſton by Weſton vnderwod, Kidleſton and Merton. If a man ſhould ſay that Darwent riuer giueth name to Darbie towne, he ſhould not well know how euerie one would take it, and peraduenture therby he might happen to offend ſome. In the meane time I beléeue it, let other iudge as pleaſeth them, ſith my coniecture can préiudice none. To proceed therefore. From Darbie it runneth on by Aluaſton, Ambaſton, the Welles, and ſo into Trent, which goeth from hence to Sawleie, and north of Thrumpton taketh in the
Soze, or Durus. Soze, a faire ſtreame, and not worthie to be ouerpaſſed.

It riſeth in Leiceſterſhire aboue Wigton, and thence goeth to Sharneford, Sapcote, and beneath Staunton taketh in a rill that commeth by Dounton and Broughton Aſtleie. Thence to Marlebozow, and before it come to Eſton, croſſeth another on the ſame ſide (deſcending by Burton, Glen, Winſlow, Kilbie and Blabie) then to Leiceſter towne, Belgraue, Burſtall, Wanlip; and yer it come at Cuſ-
Eie. ſington or Coſiton, croſſeth the Eie, which riſeth néere Occam aboue Bramſton, going by Knawſtow, Somerbie, Pickwell, Whiteſonden; and beneath (a litle)
Leland calleth one of theſe rilles Croco. receiueth a rill on the right hand from Coldnorton. Thence to Stapleford, & ſome after croſſing a broke from aboue Sproxton, Coſon, Garthorpe and Sarbie, it runneth to Wiuerbie, Brentingbie; and yer it come at Milton, méeteth with two other ſmall rilles, from the right hand whereof one commeth from about Caldwell by Thorpe Arnold, and Waltham in the Would; the other from Skaleford ward, and from Yelton goeth by Siſonbie, there méeting with another from northeaſt ouer againſt Kirbie Hellars, after which time the name of Eie is changed into
Warke, Urke, or Wzeke. Warke or Urke, and ſo continueth vntill it come at the Soure. From hence alſo it goeth to Aſterbie, Radgale, Yabie, Truſſington, Ratcliffe; and ſome after croſſeth ſundrie waters not verie farre in ſunder, whereof one commeth from Queſton, by Twiford, Athbie, and Gadeſbie; another from Loſcbie, by Baggraue, and Crawſton, and ioining with the firſt at Quenniho w, it is not long yer they fall into the Warke. The ſecond runneth from Engarſbie, by Barkeleie, and Siſon. But the third and greateſt of the three, is a chanell increaſed with three waters, whereof one commeth from Norton by Burton, Kilbie, Foſton and Blabie, the other from Dounton by Broughton and Aſtleie, and méeting with the third from Sapcoth, and ſtonie Staunton, they run together by Narborow, and ſome after ioining aboue Elſton, with the firſt of the three, they go as one by Elſton to Leiceſter, Belgraue, Wanlip, and aboue Cullington do fall into the Warke, and ſome after into the Soure. The Soure in like ſort going from thence to mount Sorrell, & taking in another broke ſouthweſt from Leiceſter forreſt, by Glenfield, Auſtie, Thurcaſton and Rodelie, ioineth with the Soure, which goeth from thence to mount Sorrell, and Quarendon (where it taketh in a water comming from Charnewood forreſt, and goeth by Bradegate and Swithland) and then proceedeth to Cotes, Lughborow and Stanford, there alſo taking in one rill out of Notinghamſhire by northeaſt; and ſome after another from ſouthweſt, comming from Braceden to Shepeſheued, Garrington, & Dighlie grange, and likewiſe the third from Worthington, by Diſworth, long Whitton, and Wathorne. Finallie, after theſe confluences, it haſteth to Sutton, Kingſton, and Ratcliffe, and ſo into the Trent.

Theſe things being thus brought togither, and we now reſuming the diſcourſe of the ſame riuer, it doth after his méeting with the Soure, proceed withall to Barton, where it taketh in the Erwaſh, which
Erwaſh. riſeth about Kirbie, and thence goeth to Selſton, Wanſbie, Codnor caſtell, Eſtwod, and croſſing a water from Beuall, runneth to Colhall, Trowell (and there taking in another rill comming from Heanor by Shipleie) it proceedeth on to Stapleford, long Eaton, and ſo into the Trent. This being done it goeth to Cliffon, and yer it come at Willford, it méeteth with a broke that paſſeth from Staunton by Bonnie and Rodington, and thence to Nottingham, where it croſſeth the Line, which riſeth aboue Newſted; and paſſing by Paplewike, Hucknall, Baſford, Radford and Linton, next of all to Thorpe & Farndon, where it brancheth and maketh an Iland, and into the ſmaller of them goeth a broke from Beuer caſtell, which riſing betweene eaſt Well and Eaton in Leircester is called the Dene, and from thence
Dene. runneth by Bramſton to Knipton, & beneath Knipton méeteth with a broke that commeth by weſt of Croxton, and thence holdeth on with his courſe, betweene Willeſthorpe and Beuer caſtell aforeſaid,
Snite. and ſo to Botteſworth, Normanton, Killington, Shilton, there receiuing the Snite from by ſouth (whoſe head is néere Clauſton, & courſe from thence by Hickling, Langer, Whalton, Oſſon, and Flarsborow) and yer long another comming from Wingham, and Sibthorpe. Thence our Trent runneth to Coram, Hawton, Newarke caſtell, and ſo to Winthorpe, where the branches are reunited, and thence go on by Holme to Cromwell (and ſome after taking in a broke comming from Bilſthorpe, by Kerſall, Cawton, Norwell and Willowbie) to Carlton, and to Sutton, there making a litle Ile, then to Grinton, where it toucheth a ſtreame on ech ſide, whereof one commeth from Horehouſe by Weſton & Greſthorpe, another from Langthorpe, by Collingham, and Boſthorpe. From hence likewiſe it paſſeth to Cliffon, Newton, Kettlethorpe, Torkeſeie, Knath, Gainſborow, Waltrith, Stockwith; and leauing Arholme on the left hand, it taketh withall Hogdike water out of the Ile, and ſo goeth forth to Wildſworth, Eaſtferrie, Fruſworth, Burringham, Gunneis, Hirburgh, Burton, Walcote, and at Ankerburie into the Humber, receiuing the ſwift Doue by the waie, which for his nobleneſſe is not to be ouerpaſſed, eſpeciallie for that *Anno* 1536 *Hen.*8, 28, it was (by Gods prouidence) a ſtaie of great bloudſhed like to haue fallen out betweene the kings ſide and the rebelles of the north, in a quarrell about religion. For the night before the battell ſhould haue béene ſtricken, and
Miracle. without anie apparent cauſe (a little ſhowre of raine excepted farre vnpoſſible vpon ſuch a ſudden to haue made ſo great a water) the ſaid riuer aroſe ſo high, & ran with ſuch vehemencie, that on the morow the armies could not ioine to trie & fight it out: after which a pacification inſued, and thoſe countries were left in quiet. Secondlie, the deſcription hereof is not to be ouerpaſſed, becauſe of the fine graſſe which groweth vpon the banks thereof, which is ſo fine and batable, that there goeth a prouerbe vpon the ſame; ſo oft as a man will commend his paſture, to ſay that there is no better féed on Doue banke: that maketh it alſo the more famous.

The Doue therefore riſeth in Yorkeſhire among
Doue. the Peke hilles, and hauing receiued a water comming by Ingbirchworth (where the colour thereof is verie

verie blacke)it goeth to Pennifſtone, which is foure miles from the head: then by Orſpring to Thurgoland, and ſome after (ioining by the waie with the Midhop water, that runneth by Midhop chappell, and Hondſhelfe) it meeteth with another comming from Bowlſterſton chappell. Then goeth it by Waddeſleie wood to Waddeſleie bridge, and at Aluerton receiueth the Bradfeld water. Then paſſeth it to Crokes, and ſo to Sheffeld caſtell (by eaſt whereof it receiueth a broke from by ſouth that commeth through Sheffeld parke.) Thence it procéedeth to Weſtford bridge, Brikſie bridge; and ſouthweſt of Timſleie receiueth the Cowleie ſtreame that runneth by Eccleſield. Nert of all it goeth to Rotheram, where it méeteth with the Rother, a goodlie water, whoſe head is in Darbieſhire about Pilſleie, from whence it goeth vnder the name of Doleie, till it come at Rotheram, by north Winfield church, Wingerworth, and Foreland hall, twelue miles from Rotheram, to Cheſterford, where it méeteth with the Iber, and Brampton water that commeth by Holme hall, both in one chanell. Thence it runneth to Topton caſtell, and yer long croſſing one water comming from Dronefeld by Whittington on the one ſide, and the ſecond from aboue Brimington on the other, it goeth through Stalie parke, and ſome after méeteth with the Crawleie becke, whereof I find this note.

Midhop.

Cowleie.

Rother.

Iber.

Brampton.

Crawleie.

The Crawleie riſeth not farre from Hardwiſe, and going by Staneſbie and Woodhouſe, it receiueth aboue Netherhorpe, one water on the one ſide comming from the Old parke, and another from Barlborow hill on the other, that runneth not farre from Woodthorpe. After this confluence likewiſe they run as one into the Rother, which hafteth from thence to Eckington (there croſſing a rill that runneth by Birleie hill) and ſo to Kilmarſh, in the confines of Darbieſhire, where it taketh in the Gunno from by eaſt. Thence to Boughton, vniting it ſelfe therabout with another by weſt from Gledles, called Meſebroke, which diuideth Yorkeſhire from Darbieſhire, and ſo runneth to Treton, Whiſton, there taking in a rill from Aſton, and ſo to Rotheram, where it méeteth with the Doue, and from whence our Doue (yéelding plentie of ſamon all the waie as it paſſeth) hafteth to Aldwarke, Swaiton, Merburge, there taking in the Darne, which I will next deſcribe, and ſtaie with the Doue, vntill I haue finiſhed the ſame. It riſeth at Combworth, and ſo commeth about by Bretton hall, to Darton ward, where it croſſeth a water that runneth from Gonthwake hall, by Cawthorne vnited of two heads. From hence it goeth to Burton grange, then to Drax, where it toucheth with a water from ſouthweſt, & then goeth to Werfield and Goldthorpe: but yer it come to Sprotborow, it vniteth it ſelfe with a faire riuer, increaſed by diuerſe waters, before it come at the Doue, & whereinto it falleth (as I heare) northeaſt of Merburgh. After this confluence likewiſe the Doue goeth by Sprotborow, to Warneſworth, Doncaſter, Wheatleie (there méeting with the Hampall créeke on the northeaſt ſide, which riſeth eaſt of Kirbie) thence to Sandall, Kirke Sandall, Branwith ferrie, Stanford, Fiſhlake, and ſo to Thorne or Thurne, where it croſſeth the Idle (whoſe deſcription followeth) and finallie into Trent, and ſo into the Humber.

Gunno.

Meſebroke.

Hampall.

But before I deale with the deſcription of the Idle, I will adde ſomewhat of the Rume, a faire water. For though the deſcription thereof be not ſo exactlie deliuered me as I loked for; yet ſuch as it is I will ſet downe, conferring it with Lelands booke, and helping their defect ſo much as to me is poſſible. It riſeth by ſouth of Maunſfield, fiue miles from Rumford abbeie, and when the ſtreame commeth nære the abbeie, it caſteth it ſelfe abroad and maketh a faire lake. After this it commeth againe into a narrow chanell, and ſo goeth on to Rumford village, carrieng the Budbie and the Gerberton waters withall. From thence, and with a métlie long courſe, it goeth to Bawtrie or Mautrie, a market towne in Nottinghamſhire, fiue miles from Doncaſter, and ſo into the Trent. Beneath Rumford alſo commeth in the Girt, which goeth vnto Southwell milles, and ſo into the Trent. Now as concerning our Idle.

Budbie.

Gerberton.

Girt.

The Idle, which ſome call Brier ſtreame, riſeth at Sutton in Aſhfield, from whence it runneth to Maunſfield, Clipſton & Allerton, where it taketh in a water that riſeth in the forreſt, one mile north of Bledworth, and runneth on by Rughford abbeie, till it come to Allerton. The forreſters call this Manbecke, whereof Leland alſo ſpeaketh, who deſcribeth it in this maner. Manbroke riſeth ſomewhere about Linthirſt wood, from whence it goeth to Blithorpe, and ſo to Allerton. But to procéed. The Idle hauing taken in the Manbecke, it runneth to Bothomſall, by Boughton, & Perlethorpe: but yer it come there, it méeteth the Peding Maiden, or Midding broke, which riſing about Teuerſall, goeth to Pleaſleie, Nettleworth, Salwcan, Warſop, Budleie, Thurſbie, Bothomſall, and ſo into the Idle. After this it procéedeth to Houghton, weſt Draiton, but yer it touch at Graunſton or Gaunſton, it taketh in the Wilie, which commeth from Clowne, to Creſwell, Holbecke, Woodhouſe, Wilebecke, Normenton, Elſleie, Graunſton, and ſo into the Idle. Being thus increaſed, the Idle runneth on to Idleton, Ordſall, Retford, Bollam, Tilneie, Matterſeie abbeie, and ſo to Bawtrie, where it méeteth another from the ſhire Okes, that riſeth aboue Getford, paſſeth on to Workſop (or Radfurth) Oſberton, Bilbie, and Blith, there vniting it ſelfe with three rilles in one bottome, whereof one commeth from Walding well to Careleton, and ſo thorough a parke to Blith towne, another from by weſt Furbecke three miles, and ſo to Blith: but the third out of the White water nére to Blith, and there being vnited they paſſe on to Scrobie, and ſo into the Idle.

Manbecke.

Peding becke.

Wilie.

Blith.

From hence it runneth on to Miſſen, to Sadlers bridge, and next of all to Santoft, where it méeteth with the Sandbecke, which riſing not farre from Sandbecke towne, paſſeth by Tickhill, Roſington bridge, Brampton, Kilholme, Lindholme, and one mile ſouth of Santoft into the Idle water, which runneth from thence to Thorne, where it méeteth with the Doue, and ſo with it to Crowleie. Finallie, inuironing the Ile of Areholme, it goeth vnto Garthorpe, Focorbie, & ſo into the Trent. Leland writing of the Wilie, Wile, or Gwilie (as ſome write it) ſaith thus therof. The Wile hath two heads, whereof one is not farre aboue the place where Wilbecke abbeie ſtood; the other riſeth further off by weſt aboue Welbecke or Wilebecke towne: finallie ioining in one, they runne to Cuckeneie village, where croſſing a becke that commeth in from by weſt, it holdeth on two miles further, there taking in the ſecond rill, and ſo reſort to Ruſford. To this riuer likewiſe (ſaith he) do two other waters repaire, whereof the one goeth hard by Maunſfield (riſing foure miles from thence by weſt) and then commeth three miles lower to Ruſford; the other (ſo far as I remember) goeth quite through the towne.

Sandbecke.

Of ſuch falles of waters as ioine with the ſea, betweene Humber and the Thames.

Chap. 16.

HAuing in this maner deſcribed the Ouze, and ſuch riuers as fall into the ſame: now it reſteth that I proceed in my voiage toward the Thames, according to my former order. Being therefore come againe into the maine ſea, I find no water of anie countenance or courſe (to my remembrance) till I come vnto the Ancolme a goodlie water, which riſeth eaſt of Mercate Raſing, and from thence goeth by middle Raſing. Then receiuing a ſhort rill from by ſouth, it runneth on vnder two bridges, by the waie, till it come to Wingall, northeaſt; where alſo it meeteth with another broke, from Aſſelbie that commeth thither by Areſbie, goeth by Cadneie (taking in the two rilles in one bottome, that deſcend from Howſham, and north Leiſeie) and thence to Newſted, Glanford, Wardeleie, Thorneham, Aplebie, Horſlow, north Ferribie, and ſo into the ſea.

Ancolme.

Being paſt Ancolme, we go about the Neſſe, and ſo to the fall of the water which commeth from Kelebie, by Cotham abbeie, Merſham abbeie, Thorneton, and leauing Corhill by weſt, it falleth into the Ocean. The next is the fall of another broke comming from Fleting, all alongſt by Stallingburne. Then croſſed we Grimſbie gullet, which iſſuing aboue Erebie commeth to Laſcbie, the two Cotes, and then into the ſea. After this we paſſed by another portlet, whoſe backwater deſcendeth from Baleſbie by Aſhbie, Briggeſleie, Wath, and Towneie, and finallie to the next iſſue, before we come at Saltfleete, which branching at the laſt, leaueth a prettie Iland wherein Comſholme village ſtandeth. This water riſeth short (as I heare) of Tathewell, from whence it goeth to Rathbie, Hallington, Eſſington, Lowth, Kidrington, Auingham, and then branching aboue north Somerton, one arme meeteth with the ſea, by Grauethorpe, the other by north of Somercote.

Kills.

Saltfleete water hath but a ſhort courſe: for riſing among the Cockeringtons, it commeth to the ſea, at Saltfleete hauen: howbeit the next vnto it is of a longer race, for it riſeth (as I take it) at Cawthorpe paroch, and deſcendeth by Legburne, the Carletons, the weſt middle and eaſt Saltfletes, and ſo into the Ocean. The water that riſeth aboue Dimeſbie and Dribie, goeth to Cawſbie, Swabie abbeie, Clathorpe, Belew, Tattle, Witherne, Stane, and northeaſt of Thetilthorpe into the maine ſea.

Saltfleete.

Maplethorpe water riſeth at Chareſthorpe, and going by Markeleie, Folethorpe, and Truthorpe, it is not long yer it meet with the Germane Ocean. Then come we to the iſſue that commeth from aboue Hotoft, and thence to Humbie chapell, whither the water comming from Clarbie, Willowbie, and Slouthbie (and wherinto another rill falleth) doth runne, as there to do homage vnto their lord and ſouereigne. As for Ingold mill creeke, I paſſe it ouer, and come ſtreight to another water, deſcending from Burge by Skegnes. From hence I go to the iſſue of a faire broke, which (as I heare) doth riſe at Tetford, and thence goeth by Somerbie, Bagenderbie, Aſhwardbie, Sawlſthorpe, Partneie, Aſhbie, the Stepings, Thorpe croſt, and ſo into the ſea. As for Wainflete water, it commeth from the eaſt ſea, and goeth betweene S. Maries & Alhallowes by Wainflete towne, and treading the path of his predeceſſors, emptieth his chanell to the maintenance of the ſea.

Maplethorpe.

Now come I to the courſe of the Witham, a famous riuer, whereof goeth the biword, frequented of old, and alſo of Ancolme, which I before deſcribed:

Ancolme eele, and Witham pike,
Search all England and find not the like.

Leland calleth it Lindis, diuerſe the Rhe, and I haue read all theſe names my ſelfe: and thereto that the Lincolneſhire men were called in old time Coritani, and their head citie Lindus, Lindon, or Linodunum, in which region alſo Ptolomie placeth Rage, which ſome take to be Notingham, except my memorie do faile me. It riſeth among the Wickhams, in the edge of Lincolnſhire, and (as I take it) in ſouth-Wickham paroch, from whence it goeth to Colſterworth, Eaſton, Birkeſtoke Paunton, and Paunton Houghton, and at Grantham taketh in a rill from by ſouthweſt, as I heare. From Grantham it runneth to Nan, Thorpe, Bolton, and Barneſton, where croſſing a becke from northeaſt, it procedeth further ſouthweſt ward by Mereſton, toward Faſton (there alſo taking in a broke that riſeth about Denton, and goeth by Stobroke) it haſteth to Dodington, Clapale, Barmebie, Beckingham, Stapleford, Waſſingham, Thurſbie, and beneath Amburgh croſſeth a water that commeth from Stogilthorpe by Somerton caſtell.

Lindis, Witham, Rhe.

After this confluence alſo, our Witham goeth ſtill forth on his waie to the Hickhams, Boltham, Bracebridge, and Lincolne it ſelfe, for which the Normans write Nicholl by tranſpoſition of the letters, or (as I may better ſaie) corruption of the word. But yer it come there, it maketh certeine poles (whereof one is called Swan pole) and ſone after diuiding it ſelfe into armes, they run both thorough the lower part of Lincolne, each of them hauing a bridge of ſtone ouer it, thereby to paſſe through the principall ſtreet: and as the bigger arme is well able to beare their ſiſher botes, ſo the leſſer is not without his ſeuerall commodities. At Lincolne alſo this noble riuer meeteth with the Foſſe dike, whereby in great flods veſſels may come from the Trents ſide to Lincolne. For betweene Torkſeie, where it beginneth, and Lincolne citie, where it endeth, are not aboue ſeuen miles, as Leland hath remembred. Biſhop Atwater began to cleanſe this ditch, thinking to bring great veſſels from Trent to Lincolne in his time: but ſith he died before it was performed, there hath no man beene ſince ſo well minded as to proſecute his purpoſe. The courſe moreouer of this our ſtreame following, from Lincolne to Boſton is fiftie miles by water: but if you mind to ferrie, you ſhall haue but 24. For there are foure common places where men are ferried ouer; as Short ferrie, fiue miles from Lincolne, Taterſall ferrie, eight miles from Short ferrie, Dogdike ferrie a mile, Langreth ferrie fiue miles, and ſo manie finallie to Boſton.

Foſſe dike.

But to go forward with the courſe of Lindis (whereof the whole prouince hath beene called Lindeſeie) when it is paſt Lincolne, it goeth by Shepewaſh, Maſſingburg, Fiſkerton, and ſone after taketh in ſundrie riuers in one chanell, whereby his greatneſſe is verie much increaſed. From this confluence it goeth to Bardolfe, and there receiuing a rill (deſcending from betweene Sotbie and Randbie, and going by Harton) it ſlideth forth by Tupham to Taterſall caſtell, taking vp there in like ſort three ſmall rills by the waie, whereof I haue ſmall notice as yet: and therefore I referre them vnto a further conſideration to be had of them hereafter, if it ſhall pleaſe God that I may liue to haue the filing of theſe rude pamphlets yet once againe, & ſomewhat more leaſure to peruſe them than at this time is granted. Finallie, being paſt Taterſall, and Dogdike ferrie,

ferrie, the Witham goeth toward Boſton, & thence into the ſea. Thus haue I briefly diſpatched this noble riuer Witham. But hauing another note deliuered me thereof from a frend, I will yeld ſo farre vnto his gratification, that I will remember his trauell here, and ſet downe alſo what he hath written thereof, although the riuer be ſufficientlie deſcribed alredie.

Witham. Into Witham therefore from by north, and ſeuen miles beneath Lincolne, there falleth a faire water, the head whereof is at Yakethorne, from whence it goeth by Yanworth, Snarford, Reſbie, Stainton, and at Bullington meeteth with a water on ech ſide, whereof one commeth from Yaiton and Turrington, the other from Sudbrooke, and likewiſe beneath Birlings with the third comming from Barkeworth by Stanſted, and toining all in one, ſone after it is not long yer it fall into the chanell of Witham, and ſo are neuer more heard of. There is alſo a brooke by ſouthweſt, that commeth from Kirbie to Cateleie, Billingams, and the Ferrie. At Caterſall it meeteth with the Bane, which riſeth aboue Burgh, and neere vnto Ludford goeth downe to Dunnington, Stanigod, Hemmingſbie, Bamburgh, Fillington, Horne caſtell (where it croſſeth a rill from Welchworth) Thornton, Marton, Halton, Kirkebie, Comſbie, Caterſall, and ſo to Dogdike ferrie.

Yake. Bane.

Aboue Boſton likewiſe it taketh in a water comming from Luſebie by Bolingbrooke, Stickeford, Stickneie, Sibbeſeie and Hildrike. And to Boſton towne it ſelfe dooth finallie come ſundrie brookes in one chanell, called Hammond becke, which riſing at Doneſbie, runneth on to Wrightbold, where it caſteth one arme into Holiwell water. Thence it haſteth toward Dunnington, receiuing foure brookes by the waie, whereof the firſt commeth from Milthorpe, the ſecond from Fokingham, called Bollingborow, or (after ſome, I wote not vpon what occaſion) Sempringham water, the third from Bridge end, the fourth from Sempringham, and afterwards the maine ſtreame is found to run by Kirton holme, and ſo into the Witham. Into the Wiland likewiſe falleth the Holiwell, which riſeth of a ſpring that runneth toward the eaſt from Haliwell to Dnebie, Elonden, Gretford, and ſo to Catbridge, where it receiueth another riſing at Witham and weſt of Yanthorpe, and the ſecond comming from Laund, and ſo run from thence togither to Willeſthorpe and Catbridge, and then into the Haliwell, which after theſe confluences goeth to Tetford and Caſkcote, where it meeteth with a draine, comming from Bourne, and ſo through the fennes to Pinchbecke, Surfleet, and Foſdike, where it meeteth with the Welland, in the mouth of the Waſh, as I haue noted vnto you.

Bollingborow. Sempringham. Le dike.

Hauing thus ſet forth the riuers that fall into the Witham, now come we to the Wiland or Welland, wherevnto we repaire after we be paſt Boſton, as drawing by litle and litle toward the Girwies, which inhabit in the fennes (for Gir in the old Saxon ſpeach dooth ſignifie deepe fennes and mariſhes) and theſe beginning at Peterborow eaſtward, extend themſelues by the ſpace of three ſcore miles & more, as Hugh of Peterborow writeth. This ſtreame riſeth about Sibbertoft, and running betweene Boſworth and Howthorpe, it goeth to Feedingworth, Merſon, Bubberham, Truſſell, Herborow (receiuing there the Braie, which commeth from Braibrooke caſtell) to Bowton, Weſton, Wiland, Aſhleie, Medburne, Rokingham, and Cawcot, where a riuret called little Eie meeteth withall, comming from eaſt Norton by Alerſtone, Stocke, Faſton, and Dric ſtocke. From Cawcot it goeth to Gritto, Harringworth, Seton, Wauerlie, Duddington, Collie Weſton, Eſton, and there toineth with the third called Warke, not far from Ketton, which commeth from Lie by Preſton, Wing, Lindon, Luffenham, &c. Thence it goeth on by Tinwell, to Stanford (croſſing the Brooke water, and Whitnelbecke, both in one bottome) and from Stanford by Talington, Marcie, to Percate, Deeping, Crowland (where it almoſt meeteth with the Auon) then to Spalding, Whapland, and ſo into the ſea.

Wiland. Warke. Brooke water. Whitnell.

Leland writing of this Wiland, addeth theſe words which I will not omit, ſith in mine opinion they are worthie to be noted, for better conſideration to be had in the ſaid water and his courſe. The Wiland (ſaith he) going by Crowland, at Newdrene diuideth it ſelfe into two branches, of which one goeth vp to Spalding called Newdrene, and ſo into the ſea at Foſſedike Stow: the other named the South into Wiſbech. This latter alſo parteth it ſelfe two miles from Crowland, & ſendeth a rill called Writhlake by Thorneie, where it meeteth with an arme of the Nene, that commeth from Peterborow, and holdeth courſe with the broad ſtreame, till it be come to Murho, ſix miles from Wiſbech, where it falleth into the South.

Newdrene. South. Writhlake.

Out of the South in like ſort falleth another arme called Sheepes eie, and at Hopelode (which is foureteene miles from Lin) did fall into the ſea. But now the courſe of that ſtreame is ceaſed, whereupon the inhabitants ſuſteine manie grieuous flouds, becauſe the mouth is ſtanched, by which it had acceſſe before into the ſea. Hitherto Leland. Of the courſe of this riuer alſo from Stanford, I note this furthermore out of another writing in my time. Being paſt Stanton (ſaith he) it goeth by Burghleie, Uffington, Tallington, Marete, Deeping, eaſt Deeping, and comming to Waldram hall, it brancheth into two armes, whereof that which goeth to Singleſole, receiueth the Nene out of Cambridgeſhire, and then going by Doweſdale, Trekenhole, and winding at laſt to Wiſbech, it goeth by Liuerington, ſaint Maries, and ſo into the ſea. The other arme haſteth to Crowland, Clowthouſe, Brether houſe, Pikale, Cowbecke and Spalding. Here alſo it receiueth the Waſton driane, Longtoft driane, Deeping driane, and thence goeth by Wickham into the ſea, taking withall on the right hand ſundrie other drianes. And thus farre he.

Sheepes eie.

Next of all, when we are paſt theſe, we come to another fall of water into the Waſh, which deſcendeth directlie from Whaplade driane to Whaplade towne in Holland: but becauſe it is a water of ſmall importance, I paſſe from thence, as haſting to the Nene, of both the more noble riuer: and about the middeſt thereof in place is a certeine ſwallow, ſo deepe and ſo cold in the middeſt of ſummer, that no man dare diue to the bottome thereof for coldneſſe, and yet for all that in winter neuer found to haue beene touched with froſt, much leſſe to be couered with iſe. The next therefore to be deſcribed is the Auon, otherwiſe called Nene, which the ſaid author deſcribeth after this maner. The Nene beginneth foure miles aboue Northampton in Nene meere, where it riſeth out of two heads, which ioine about Northampton. Of this riuer the citie and countrie beareth the name, although we now pronounce Hampton for Auondune, which errour is committed alſo in ſouth Auondune, as we may eaſilie ſee. In another place Leland deſcribeth the ſaid riuer after this maner. The Auon riſeth in Nene meere field, and going by Dundale and Peterborow, it diuideth it ſelfe into three armes, whereof one goeth to Horneie, another to Wiſbech, the third to Ramſeie: and afterward being vnited againe, they fall into the ſea not verie farre from Lin. Finallie, the deſcent of theſe waters leaue here a great ſort of Ilands, wher-

Auon. Nene.

of Elie, Crowland, and Merland, are the chiefe. Hitherto Leland.

Howbeit, becauſe neither of theſe deſcriptions touch the courſe of this riuer at the full, I will ſet downe the third, which ſhall ſupplie whatſoeuer the other do want. The Auon therefore ariſing in Nenemere field, is increaſed with manie rilles, before it come at Northhampton, & one aboue Kings thorpe, from whence it goeth to Dallington, and ſo to Northhampton, where it receiueth the Wedon. And here I will ſtaie, till I haue deſcribed this riuer. The Wedon therefore riſeth at Fauleſſe in maſter Knightlies poles, and in Badbie plaſhes alſo are certeine ſprings that reſort vnto this ſtreame. Fauleſſe poles are a mile from Chareton, where the head of Chare riuer is, that runneth to Banberie. There is but an hill called Alberie hill betweene the heads of theſe two riuers.

Vedunus.

From the ſaid hill therefore the Wedon directeth his courſe to Badbie, Newenham, Euerton, Wedon, betwixt which and Floretowne, it receiueth the Florus (a pretie water riſing of foure heads, whereof the one is at Dauentrie, another at Watford, the third at long Bucke, the fourth aboue Whilton) and then paſſeth on to Heiford, Killingberie, Upton, and ſo to Northhampton, where it falleth into the Auon, receiuing finallie by the waie the Bugbrooke water at Heiford, Patſhall water neere Killingberie, and finallie Preſton water beneath Upton, which running from Preſton by Wotton, meeteth at the laſt with Whilton rill, and ſo fall into Auon. Now to reſume the tractation of our Auon. From Northhampton therefore it runneth by Houghton, great Billing, Whitſtone, Dodington, and Willingborow, where we muſt ſtaie a while: for betweene Willingborow and Higham Ferries, it receiueth a pretie water comming from about Kilmarſh, which going by Ardingworth, Daiſborow, Ruſheton, Newton, Gaddington, Boughton, Warketon, Kettering, Werton, and Burton, meeteth there with Rothwell water, which runneth weſt of Kettering to Higham, the greater Harſdon, and then into the Auon.

Florus.

Bugius.

Kilis.

Rother.

Being therfore paſt Burton, our maine ſtreame goeth to Higham Ferries, Artleborow, Ringſted, Wodford, and (meeting thereby with Cranford rill) to Harſton, north whereof it ioineth alſo with the Delete water, that commeth from Sudborow and Lowicke, to old Umkles, Waden ho, Pilketon, Toke (where it taketh in the Liueden becke) and ſo to Dundell, Cotterſtocke, Tanſoner, and betweene Tothering and Warmington receiueth the Corbie water, which riſing at Corbie, goeth by Weldon, Denethap, Bulwich, Bletherwic, Finethed, Arthorpe, Newton, Tothering, and ſo into the Auon. After this, the ſaid Auon goeth to Elton, Wallington, Perwell, Sutton, Caſtor, Allerton, and ſo to Peterborow, where it diuideth it ſelfe into ſundrie armes, and thoſe into ſeuerall branches and draines, among the fennes and medowes, not poſſible almoſt to be numbred, before it meet with the ſea on the one ſide of the countrie, and fall into the Duze on the other.

Delete.

Corbie.

The Duze, which Leland calleth the third Iſis, falleth into the ſea betweene Merland & Dowmeham. The chiefe head of this riuer ariſeth neere to Stanes, from whence it commeth to Brackleie (ſometime a noble towne in Northampton ſhire, but now ſcarſelie a good village) and there taking in on the left hand one water comming from the parke betweene Stſam and Aſtwell (which runneth by Whitfield and Tinweſton) and another on the right from Imleie, it goeth on by Weſtbirie, Fulwell, water Stretford, Buckingham, and Werton, beneath which towne the Erin falleth into it, whereof I find this ſhort deſcription to be inſerted here. The Erin riſeth not farre from Hardwyc in Northamptonſhire, from hence it goeth by Yeth, Erinford, Godderington, Twiford, Steeple Cladon, & yer it come at Padbirie, meeteth with the Garan brooke deſcending from Garanburge, and ſo they go togither by Padbirie, till they fall into the Duze, which carieth them after the confluence to Thorneton bridge (where they croſſe another fall of water comming from Whitlewood forreſt by Luffeld, Lecamſted and Foſcot) and ſo to Beachampton, Culuerton, Stonie Stratford, and Woluerton.

Iſis.

Stſa.

Imelns.

Erin.

Garan.

Here the Duze meeteth with a water (called, as Leland coniectureth, the Were or Were) on the left hand, as you go downewards, that commeth betweene Wedon and Werenham in Northamptonſhire, and goeth by Towceſter, and Alderton, and not farre from Woluerton and Hauerham into the forſaid Duze, which paſſeth alſo from hence to Newportpagnell, where in like ſort I muſt ſtaie a while till I haue deſcribed another water, named the Clée, by whoſe iſſue the ſaid ſtreame is not a little increaſed. This riuer riſeth in the verie confines betweene Buckingham and Bedfordſhires, not farre from Whippeſnade, and going on toward the northweſt, by Eaton and Laiton, it commeth to Linchlade, where it entreth wholie into Buckinghamſhire, and ſo goeth on by Hammond, Brickle, Fennie Stratford, Simpſon, Walton and Middleton, beneath which it receiueth the Saw from aboue Halcot, and ſo goeth on till it meet with the Duze neere vnto Newport, as I haue ſaid. Being vnited therefore, we ſet forward from the ſaid towne, and follow this noble riuer, to Lathbirie, Thuringham, Filgrane, Lawndon, Newington, Bradfield on the one ſide, and Turucie on the other, till it come at length to Bedford after manie windleſſes, and then meeteth with another ſtreame, which is increaſed with ſo manie waters, that I was inforced to make an imagined ſtaie here alſo, and view their ſeuerall courſes, ſuppoſing my ſelfe to looke downe from the higheſt ſteeple in Bedford, whence (& the beſt meane to view anie countrie whereſoeuer) I note the ſame as followeth.

Verus.

Cle alias Claius.

Saw.

Certes on the eaſt ſide, where I began this ſpeculation, I ſaw one that came from Potton, and met withall neere Becliſwade: another that grew of two waters, wherof one deſcended from Baldocke, the other from Hitchin, which ioined beneth Arleſeie, and thence went to Langford and Edworth. The third which I beheld had in like ſort two heads, whereof one is not farre from Wod end, the other from Woburne (or Howburne) and ioining about Flitwic, they go to Flitton (where they receiue Antill brooke) and ſo by Chiphill, and Chickſand, they come to Shafford, from whence taking the aforſaid Langford water with them, they go forth by Becliſwade, Sandie, Blumham, and neere vnto Themiſford are vnited with the Duze. And now to our purpoſe againe.

These rils not far from Michelborow & one of them in Higham parks.

After this the Duze goeth by Berkeford, to Winteringham (meeting there with the Wareſlie becke) and ſo runneth to S. Neotes (or ſaint Neotes, in old time Goldeſburg, as Capgraue ſaith *In vita Neoti*) to Parſton, Offordes, and ſo to Godmancheſter, in old time called Gumiceſter, which (as it ſhould ſeeme) hath beene a towne of farre greater countenance than at this preſent it is; for out of the ruines thereof much Romane coine is found, and ſometimes with the image of C. Antius which hath long haire, as the Romans had before they receiued barbers into their citie, and thereunto the bones of diuerſe men of farre greater ſtature than is credible to be ſpoken of in theſe daies. But what ſtand I vpon theſe things? From hence therfore our water goeth on to

Verus or the Were.

Stoueus.

Hun-

Stoucus. Huntingdon, Milton, ſaint Iues, Holiwell, and Erith, receiueth in the meane time the Stow (neere vnto little Parton) and likewiſe the Ellen, and the Emmer, in one chanell a little by weſt of Huntingdon.

Helenus. Elmerus. Finallie, the maine ſtreame ſpreading abroad into the Fennes, I cannot tell into how manie branches, neither how manie Ilets are inforced by the ſame; although of Ies, Marſhland, Ancarig or Ancarie be the chiefe, and of which this later is called Crowland (as Crowland alſo hight thornie *A crudâ terra*, or ſtore of buſhes ſaith Hugo le Blanc) ſometime growing in the ſame, and Ancarie becauſe ſundrie Ancres haue liued & borne great ſwaie therein. But howſoeuer this caſe ſtandeth, this is certeine, that after it hath thus delited it ſelfe with ranging a while about the pleaſant bottoms & lower grounds, it meeteth with the Granta, from whence it goeth with a ſwift courſe vnto Downeham. Betweene it alſo and the Auon, are ſundrie large meres or plaſhes, by ſouthweſt of Peterborow full of powts and carpes, whereof Whittleſeie mere, and Ramſeie mere (whereinto the Riuall falleth, that commeth from aboue Wroughton, Wilſon, and great Riuelleie) are ſaid to be greateſt. Of all the riuers that run into this ſtreame, that called Granta (whereof the whole countie in old time was called Grantabrigeſhire, as appeereth by the regiſter of Henrie prior of Canturburie) is the moſt noble and excellent, which I will deſcribe euen in this place, notwithſtanding that I had earſt appointed it vnto my ſecond booke. But for ſomuch as a deſcription of Duze and Granta were deliuered me togither, I will for his ſake that gaue them me, not ſeparate them now in ſunder.

Riuelus. Granta.

The verie furtheſt head and originall of this riuer is in Henham, a large parke belonging to the earle of Suſſex, wherein (as the townesmen ſaie) are foure ſprings that run foure ſundrie waies into the maine ſea. Leland ſought not the courſe of this water aboue Newport pond, and therefore in his commentaries vpon the ſong of the ſwan, he writeth thereof after this maner inſuing. Although doctor Iohn Caius the learned phyſician, and ſome other are of the opinion, that this riuer comming from Newport, is properlie to be called the Rhee: but I may not ſo eaſilie diſſent from Leland, whoſe iudgement in my mind is by a great deale the more likelie. Harken therefore what he ſaith.

The head of Grantha or Granta, is in the pond at Newport, a towne of the eaſt Saxons, which going in a bottome beſide the ſame, receiueth a pretie rill, which in the middeſt thereof doth driue a mill, and deſcendeth from Wickin Bonhant, that ſtandeth not farre from thence. Being paſt Newport, it goeth alongſt in the lower ground, vntill it come to Broke Walden, weſt of Chipping Walden (now Saffron Walden) hard by the lord Awdleis place, where the right honorable Thomas Howard with his houſhold do ſoiourne, and ſometime ſtood an abbeie of Benedictine monks, before their generall ſuppreſſion. From Awdleie end it goeth to Littleburie, the leſſe and greater Cheſterfords, Healdune, Hincſtone, Seoſton or Sawſon, and neere vnto Shaleford receiueth the Babren that commeth by Linton, Abbington, Babrenham, and Stapleford: and ſo going forward it commeth at the laſt to Trompington, which is a mile from Cambridge. But yer it come altogither to Trompington, it meeteth with the Barrington water, as Leland calleth it, but ſome other the Rhee (a common name to all waters in the Saxon ſpeech) whereof I find this deſcription, to be touched by the waie. The Rhee riſeth ſhort of Aſhwell in Hertfordſhire, and paſſing vnder the bridge betweene Gilden Morden and Downton, and leauing Tadlow on the weſt ſide (as I remember) it goeth toward Crawden, Malton, Barrington, Haſelingfield, and ſo into Granta, taking ſundrie rills with him from ſouth and ſouthweſt, as Wendie water ſouthweſt of Crawden, Whaddon brooke ſouthweſt of Orwell, Mildred becke ſouthweſt of Malton, and finallie the Orme which commeth out of Armington or Ormendum well, and goeth by Fulmere and Forton, and falleth into the ſame betweene Barrington and Harleſton, or Harſton; as they call it.

Babren. Rhee.

Now to proceed with our Granta. From Trompington on the one ſide, and Grantceſter on the other, it haſteth to Cambridge ward, taking the Burne with it by the waie, which deſcendeth from a caſtell of the ſame denomination, wherein the Picotes and Peuerels ſometime did inhabit. Thence it goeth by ſundrie colleges in Cambridge, as the quenes college, the kings college, Clare hall, Trinitie college, S. Johns, &c: vnto the high bridge of Cambridge, and betweene the towne and the caſtell to Cheſterton, and receiuing by and by the Stoure, or Sture (at whoſe bridge the moſt famous mart in England is yearelie holden and kept) from Cheſterton it goeth to Ditton, Milton, and yer long meeting with two rilles (from Bottelham and Wilberham, in one bottome) it runneth to Horningſeie, & Water Bech: and finallie here ioining with the Bulbecke water, it goeth by Dennie, and ſo forth into the Duze, fifteene miles from Cambridge, as Leland hath ſet downe. And thus much of the third Ilis or Duze, out of the aforeſaid author: whereunto I haue not onelie added ſomewhat of mine owne experience, but alſo of other mens notes, whoſe diligent obſeruation of the courſe of this riuer hath not a little helped me in the deſcription of the ſame. Now it reſteth that we come neerer to the coaſt of Northfolke, and ſet forth ſuch waters as we paſſe by vpon the ſame, wherein I will deale ſo preciſelie as I may: and ſo farre will I trauell therein, as I hope ſhall content euen the curious reader: or if anie fault be made, it ſhall not be ſo great, but that after ſome trauell in the finding, it ſhall with eaſe be corrected.

Sturus. Bulbecke.

The firſt riuer that therefore we come vnto, after we be paſt the confluence of Granta, and the Duze, and within the iuriſdiction of Northfolke, is called the Burne. This ſtreame riſeth not verie farre from Burne Bradfield, aboue the greater Whelpham, and from thence it goeth on to Nawton, Burie, Farneham Martin, Farneham Alhallowes, Farneham Genoueſa, Hengraue, Flemton, Lackeford, Icklingham, and to Wilden hall: a little beneath which, it meeteth with the Dale water, that ſpringeth not farre from Catilege, and going by Atheleie, Moulton (a benefice as the report goeth not verie well prouided for) to Kenford, Kenet, Bradingham, Frekenham, it falleth at the laſt not farre from Iſelham into the Burne, from whence they go togither as one into the Duze. With the Burne alſo there ioineth a water comming from about Lidgate, a little beneath Iſelham, and not verie far from Wildenhall.

Burne. Dale.

The Dune head, and riſing of Wauenheie, are not much in ſunder: for as it is ſuppoſed, they are both not farre diſtant from the bridge betweene Lopham and Ford, wherby the one runneth eaſt and the other weſt, as I haue beene informed. The Dune goeth firſt of all by Feltham, then to Hopton, & to Kinets hall, where it meeteth with a water cõming out of a lake ſhort of Banham (going by Muddenham, Herling, Gaſthorpe) and ſo on, both in one chanell, they run to Ewſton. Here they meet in like

Dunus.

ſort, with another deſcending from two heads, whereof the one is nere vnto Pakenham, the other to Tauelocke, as I heare. Certes theſe heads ioine aboue Ielworth, not farre from Stow Langtoft, from whence they go to Drworth, Thorpe, Berdwell, Runnington, Fancham, and ſo into the Dune at Ewſton; as I ſaid. From hence alſo they haſten to Downeham, which of this riuer doth ſeeme to borow his name. South Rer till I paſſe ouer as not worthie the deſcription, becauſe it is ſo ſmall.

Pert vnto this riuer on the ſouth ſide is the Brad- Pradanus
den, or Bradunus, which riſeth at Bradenham, and Ferte
goeth by Necton, north Peckenham, ſouth Peckenham, Kirſingham, Bedneie, Langford, Igbor, Munford, North Old, Stockebridge, Ferdham, Helgie, and ſo into the Duze. The nereſt vnto this is another which riſeth about Lukeham, and from thence commeth to Lexham, Maſſingham, Newton, the caſtell Acre, Acres, Nerboe, Pentneie, Wrongeie, Roughton (which at one time might haue bene my liuing if I would haue giuen ſir Thomas Rugband monie inough, but now it belongeth to Gundeuill and Caius college in Cambridge) Weſtchurch, and ſo to Linne. As ſo doth alſo another by north of this, Congunus.
which commeth from the eaſt hilles by Congenham, Grimſton, Walſeie, Gailwood, whereof let this ſuffice. And now giue care to the reſt ſith I am paſt the Duze. Being paſt the mouth or fall of the Duze, we Riſing.
met nert of all with the Riſing chaſe water, which Ingell.
Ptolomie (as ſome thinke) doth call Metaris, and deſcendeth from two heads, and alſo the Ingell that commeth from about Snetſham. From hence we go by the point of ſaint Edmund, and ſo hold on our courſe till we come vnto the Burne, which falleth into the ſea by ſouth from Waterden, and going betweene the Crakes to Burnham Thorpe, and Burnham Norton, it ſtriketh at the laſt into the ſea; eaſt of Burnham Norton a mile at the leaſt, except my coniecture do faile me. The Glow or Glowie riſeth not Glaulas.
far from Baconſthorpe, in the hundred of Tunſted; & going by and by into Holt hundred, it paſſeth by Hunworth, Thornage, Glawnford, Blackneie, Clare, and ſo into the ſea, receiuing there at hand alſo a rill by eaſt, which deſcendeth from the hilles lieng betweene Killing towne and Walburne.

Wantſume. The Wantſume riſeth in Northfolke at Caleſend in Holt hundred, from whence it goeth to Waterſend, Townton, Skelthorpe, Farneham, Penſthorpe, Rieburg, Ellingham, and Billingford. And here it receiueth two waters in one bottome, of which the firſt goeth by Stanfield and Beteleie, the other by Wandling and Greſſonhall, and ſo run on ech his owne waie, till they met at Houndlington, ſouthweſt of Billingford with the Wantſume. From hence they go all together to Below, Jeng, Weſton, and Norton; but per it come to Norton, it meeteth with the Polwke, which (iſſuing about Yeus.
Yerham) goeth by Patteſhall and Barrow. After this the ſaid Wantſume goeth on by Ringland, and ſo to Norwich the pontificall ſee of the biſhop, to whome that iuriſdiction appertaineth, which ſeemeth by this memoriall yet remaining in the corrupted name of the water, to be called in old time Venta, or (as Leland addeth) Venta Icenorum. But to proceed. Beneath Norwich alſo it receiueth two waters in one chanell, which I will ſeuerallie deſcribe, according to their courſes, noting their confluence to be at Birleie, within two miles of Norwich, except my annotation deceiue me. The firſt of theſe hath two heads whereof one mounteth vp ſouthweſt of Whinborow, Herus.
goeth by Gerneſton, and is the verie Hiere or Bare Gerne.
that drowneth the name of Wantſume, ſo ſone as he meeteth withall. The other head riſeth at Wood in Wilford hundred, and after confluence with the Hiere at Caſton, going by Brandon, Birton, Berford, Erleham, Cringleſield (not farre from Birleie as I ſaid) doth meet with his companion, which is the ſecond to be deſcribed as followeth. It hath two heads alſo that meet northweſt of Therſtane; and hereof the one commeth from Findon-hall, by Wrenningham from about Wotton, by Hemnall, Fretton, Stretton, and Taſborow, till they ioine at Therſton, as I gaue notice aforehand. From Therſton therefore they go togither in one to Newton, Shoteſham, Dunſton, Caſtor, Arminghale, Birleie, Lakenham, and Trowſe, and then fall into the Wantſume beneath Norwich, which hereafter is named Hiere. The Hiere, Bare, or Gare therefore proceeding in his voiage, as it were to ſalute his grandame the Ocean, goeth from thence by Paſwyc, Surlingham, Clarton, and Pardleie; and here it meeteth againe with another riueret deſcending from about Shoteſham to Therſtane, Shedgraue, Hockingham, and ſo into Gare or Pare, whereof Pardleie the towne receiueth denomination. After this it goeth to Frethorpe, and aboue Burgh caſtell meeteth with the Waueneie, and ſo into the ſea. Waueneie.

Into this riuer alſo falleth the Bure, which riſing at a towne of the ſame name, paſſeth by Milton, Bure.
Bureſdune, Corpeſteie, Parington, Blekeling, Bure, Aleſham, Brampton, Burton, Horſted, Werrham bridge, Horning, Ranewoorth; and beneath Baſlewiſe receiueth the Thurine which riſeth Thurinus.
aboue Roleſbie; then to Obie, Clipſbie (there alſo receiuing another from Filbie) Rimham, Caſtor, and by Yarmouth into the Ocean. The Waueneie afore mentioned, riſeth on the ſouth ſide of Brifingham, and is a limit betweene Northfolke and Suffolke. Going therefore by Dis, Starton, not farre from Dice, it meeteth with the Gie, which riſeth nere Dekold, or betweene it and Braiſworth, & goeth on by Brome, Dice, and ſo into the Waueneie. From Wauen.
thence our Waueneie runneth by Silam, Brodiſh, Nedam, Yarleſton, Rednam, Alborow, Flirton, Bungeie, Shepemedow, Barham, Beckles, Albie, & at Whiteacre (as I heare) parteth in twaine, or receiuing Milford water (which is moſt likelie) it goeth along by Somerleie, Horningſleet, S. Olaues, (there receiuing the Frithſtane or Friſtan brooke, Einas.
out of low or litle England) Friſtan & Burgh caſtell, Fritha.
where it meeteth with the Hiere, & from thenceforth accompanieth it (as I ſaid) vnto the ſea. Willingham water commeth by Penſted, Einſted, or Eniſtate, and falleth into the ſea by ſouth of Reiland.

The Cokell riſeth ſouth ſouthweſt of Cokeleie Cokelus.
towne in Blithe hundred, & nere vnto Haſkelworth it meeteth with the rill that commeth from Willet, and ſo going on togither by Wenhaſton, and Blibrow, it falleth into the ſea at an hauen betweene Roidon and Walderſwicke. A little rill runneth alſo thereinto from Eſton by Sowold, and another from Dunwich, by Walderſwike: and hereby it wanteth little that Eſton Neſſe is not cut off and made a prette Iland.

The Ford riſeth at Porford, and going by Ford- Ford.
derleie, and Theberton, it falleth at laſt into the Wiſmere creke. Into the Orford hauen runneth one Orus.
water comming from Alborow ward, by a narrow paſſage from the north into the ſouth. By weſt whereof (when we are paſt a little Ile) it receiueth the ſecond, deſcending from betweene Talingſton and Framingham in Plomes hundred; which coming Fromus.
at laſt to Yarleford, meeteth with a rill ſouthweſt of Farnham called the Gleme (that commeth by Kendleſham, the Gleinhams) and ſo paſſing forth, it taketh another at Snapeſbridge, comming from Carleton by Sarmundham, Sterneſield & Snape. Then going to Iken (where it meeteth with the third Gleme.
rill

Ihen, or Ike. rill at the weſt ſide) it fetcheth a compaſſe by Sudburne eaſt of Oxford, and ſo into the hauen. Next vnto this by weſt of Oxford, there runneth vp another creeke by Butleie, whereinto the waters comming from Cellesford, and from the Ike, do run both in one bottome. And thus much of Oxford hauen.

Deua. The Deue riſeth in Debenham, in the hundred of Hertesmere, and from thence goeth to Wickford, Winſton, Cretingham, Lethringham, Wickham, hitherto ſtill creeping toward the ſouth: but then going in maner full ſouth, it runneth neere vnto Aſh, Rendleſham, Ufford, Pelton, and Woodbridge, beneath which it receiueth on the weſt ſide, a water comming of two heads, wherof one is by north from Otelele, and the other by ſouth from Henleie, which ioining weſt of Pertelſham, go vnto the ſaid towne and ſo into the Deue, eaſt of Pertelſham aboueſaid.

Claras fons. From thence the Deue goeth by Waldringfield and Henleis, and meeting ſome after with Bright well broke, it haſteth into the maine ſea, leauing Bawdſeie on the eaſt, where the fall therof is called Bawdſeie hauen.

Ure. Ure riſeth not farre from Bacton, in Hertesmere hundred, and thence deſcendeth into Stow hundred by Gipping Newton, Dagworth, Stow (beneath which it meeteth with a water comming from Rattleſden, by one houſe) and ſo going on to Nedeham (through Boſmere and Claidon hundreds) to Blakenham, Bramford, Ypſwich, receiuing beneath Stoke, which lieth ouer againſt Ypſwich, the Chatſham water, that goeth by Belſted, and ſo into the Ure, at the mouth whereof is a maruellous deepe and large pit, whereof ſome marriners ſaie that they could neuer find the bottome, and therefore calling it a well, and ioining the name of the riuer withall, it commeth to paſſe that the hauen there is called Ure-well, for which in theſe daies we do pronounce it Orwell. Into this hauen alſo the Sture or Stoure hath readie paſſage, which remaineth in this treatiſe next of all to be deſcribed.

Stoura. The Sture or Stoure parteth Eſſex from Suffolke, as Houeden ſaith, and experience confirmeth. It ariſeth in Suffolke, out of a lake neere vnto a towne called Stourmere. For although there come two rilles vnto the ſame, whereof the one deſcendeth from Thirlo, the Wratings and Ketton, the other from Horſhed parke, by Hauerill, &c: yet in ſummer time they are often drie, ſo that they cannot be ſaid to be perpetuall heads vnto the aforeſaid riuer. The Stoure therefore (being, as I take it, called by Ptolomie, Edomania, for thereon toward the mouth ſtandeth a prettie towne named Manitree, which carieth ſome ſhadow of that ancient name thereof vnto this daie, if my coniecture be any thing) ariſeth at Stouremere, which is a pole conteining twentie acres of ground at the leaſt, the one ſide whereof is full of alders, the other of reeds, wherin the great ſtore of fiſh there bred, is not a little ſuccoured. From this mere alſo it goeth to Bathorne bridge, to Stocke clare, Cawndiſh, Pentlo, Paules Beauchampe, Milford, Foxerth, Bureleie, Sudburie, Bures, Borſted, Stoke, Nailand, Lanham, Dedham, Strotford, eaſt Barfold, Brampton, Manitree, Catwade bridge, and ſo into the ſea, where in the verie fall alſo it ioineth with Orwell hauen, ſo neere that of manie they are reputed as one, and parted but by a ſhingle that doth run along betweene them: neither doth it paſſe cleere in this voiage, but as it were often occupied by the waie, in receiuing ſundrie brookes and rilles not heere to be omitted.

For on Eſſex ſide it hath one from Hemſted, which goeth by Bumſted, and Birdbrooke: another riſing ſhort of Foxerth, that runneth by water Beauchampe, Brundon, and falleth into the ſame at Badlington, weſt of Sudburie: and the third that glideth by Horkeleie, and meeteth withall weſt of Borſted. On the north, or vpon Suffolke ſide, it receiueth one deſcending from Catiledge, by Bradleie, Thurlow, Wratting, Kiddington, and at Hauerell falleth into this Sture. The ſecond deſcendeth northward from Poſting ſtead, and ioineth therewith eaſt of Clare. It was in old time called Cieux or Ceuxis, and it meeteth with the Stoure in ſuch wiſe that they ſeeme to make a right angle, in the point almoſt wherof ſtandeth a ruinous caſtell. Howbeit as ſithence which time this water (in ſome mens iudgement) hath beene named Clarus (not ſo much for the greatneſſe as cleereneſſe of the ſtreame) euen ſo the Stoure it ſelfe was alſo called Ens as they ſay, and after their confluence the whole Clarens, which giueth denomination to a duchie of this Iland of no ſmall fame and honour. But theſe are but meere fables, ſith the word Clare is deriued from the towne, wherein was an houſe of religion erected to one Clara, and Clarens brought from the ſame, becauſe of an honour the prince had in thoſe parties: which may ſuffice to know from whence the name proceedeth. The third ariſeth of two heads, whereof one commeth from Wickham brooke, the other from Chedbar in Riſbie hundred, and ioining about Stanfield, it goeth by Hawton, Somerton, Borſted, Stanſted, and north of Foxerth falleth into Stoure. The fourth iſſueth from betweene the Waldingfields, and goeth by Edwardſtone, Borſted, Alington, Polſted, Stoke, and ſo at ſouth Borſted falleth into the ſame. The fift riſeth northweſt of Cockefield, and goeth to Cockefield, Laneham, Brimſleie, Hidling, and receiuing Kettle Baſton water ſouthweſt of Chelſworth (and likewiſe the Breton that commeth from Bretenham, by Hitcheham, and Biſſeton ſtreet on the ſouth eaſt of the ſame towne) it goeth in by Nedging, Aldham, Hadleie, Lainham, Shellie, Higham, and ſo into the Stoure. The ſixt is a little rill deſcending ſouthweſt from Chappell. The ſeuenth riſeth betweene Chappell and Bentleie, and going betweene Tatingſton, and Whatſted, Holbrooke, and Sutton, it falleth at length into Stoure, and from thence is neuer heard of. Kettle baſton

Oleie. As for Oleie Rill, that riſeth betweene Oleie, and Wilkes parkes, and ſo goeth into the Stoure, on Eſſex ſide, weſt of Harwich, and eaſt of Ree Ile; I paſſe it ouer, becauſe it is of it ſelfe but a rill, and not of anie greatneſſe, till it come to the mill aboue Ramſeie bridge, where I was once almoſt drowned (by reaſon of the ruinous bridge which leadeth ouer the ſtreame being there verie great) as an arme of the ſea that continuallie ebbeth & floweth. Next vnto this, we came to another that runneth ſouth of Beaumont by Moſſe, and falleth into the ſea about the middeſt of the Baie, betwixt Harwich and the Naze. Betwixt the Naze alſo and the mouth of Colne, is another rill, which riſeth at little Bentleie, and thence goeth to Tendring thorpe, through Clacton parke by great Holland, and eaſt of little Holland, into the deepe ſea. Mola. Claco.

Colunus. The Colne hath three heads, whereof one is at Olnington that goeth by Tilburie, and eaſt of Feldam falleth into the chiefe head which riſeth about Redgewell in Eſſex, from whence alſo it goeth to Feldam and Hedingham, otherwiſe called Yngham: alſo Hedningham or Heuedingham, or Heuedingham of the ſuperioritie which accrued thereunto, becauſe the chiefe lords of the ſame from time to time kept reſidence in the towne. For Heued or Hed ſignifieth The chiefe, in the old Engliſh language, which in the name of this and manie other townes and villages yet ſtanding in England cannot eſſie be forgotten.

The

The third falleth in ſouth of Peldam, and being once met all in one chanell, and called the Colne, it goeth (as I ſaid) to Hedningham, Hawſted, Erles Colne, Wakes Colne, Fordon, Bardfold, Colcheſter, in old time Camalodunum, and ſo into the ſea at Brickleſeie. Some thinke that Colcheſter and Camalodunum are ſundrie cities and ſituat in diuerſe places, whereby Maldon (or Ithancester out of whoſe ruines the ſaid towne of Maldon was erected) ſhould rather be Camalodunum than Colcheſter, but hereof I cannot iudge. Indeed if (as Leland ſaith) Maldon ſhould be written Malodunum, it were a likelihood that there aſſertions ſhould be probable. Some reaſon alſo may be gathered for the ſame out of Dion, and ſuch as make the Thames mouth to take his beginning at Colcheſter water. But I dare not preſume to conclude any thing hereof, leaſt I ſhould ſeeme raſhlie to take hold of euerie coniecture. This I relie vpon rather as a more certeintie, that in the firſt edition of this treatiſe I was perſuaded, that the ſea entring by the Colne made three ſeuerall paſſages frō thence into the land: but now I vnderſtand that theſe are ſeuerall entrances and ſtreames, of which the Colne is one, another is the Salcote water, which commeth in beneath the Stroud (a cauſeie that leadeth vnto Merſeie Ile, ouer which the ſea meeteth with a contrarie courſe) and the third the faire arme that floweth vnto Maldon, and all theſe three haue their falles either ouer againſt or neere vnto the aforeſaid Ile, which at a low water is not halfe a mile from the ſhore. Into the Colne or Colunus alſo (whereof Leland thinketh Colcheſter to take his name, and not *A colonia Romanorum*, although I may not conſent to him herein) do run manie ſalt creekes beneath Fingering ho, of whoſe names ſith I do not know, nor whether they be ſerued with anie backewaters or not, I giue ouer to intreat anie further, & likewiſe of their poſitions. Into that of Maldon runneth manie faire waters, whereof I will ſaie ſo much as I know to be true in maner by experience.

Gwin or Pant.

There is a pretie water that beginneth neere vnto Gwinbach or Winbeche church in Eſſer, a towne of old, and yet belonging to the Fitzwaters, taking name of Gwin, which is beautifull or faire, & Bache that ſignifieth a wood: and not without cauſe, ſith not onelie the hilles on ech ſide of the ſaid rillet, but all the whole paroch hath ſometime abounded in woods; but now in manner they are vtterlie decaied, as the like commoditie is euerie where, not onelie thorough exceſſiue building for pleaſure more than profit, which is contrarie to the ancient end of building; but alſo for more increaſe of paſture & commoditie to the lords of the ſoile, through their ſales of that emolument, whereby the poore tenants are inforced to buie their fewell, and yet haue their rents in triple maner inhanced. This ſaid broke runneth directlie from thence vnto Radwinter, now a parcell of your lordſhips poſſeſſions in thoſe parts, deſcended from the Chamberleins, who were ſometime cheefe owners of the ſame. By the waie alſo it is increaſed with ſundrie pretie ſprings, of which Pantwell is the cheefe (whereof ſome thinke the whole broke to be named Pant) and which (to ſaie the truth) hath manie a leaſing fathered on the ſame. Certes by the report of common fame it hath beene a pretie water, and of ſuch quantitie, that botes haue come in time paſt from Bilie abbeie beſide Maldon vnto the mores in Radwinter for corne. I haue heard alſo that an anchor was found there neere to a red willow, when the water-courſes by act of parlement were ſurueied and reformed throughout England, which maketh not a little with the aforeſaid relation. But this is ſtrangeſt of all, that a lord ſometime of Winbech (ſurnamed the great eater, becauſe he would breake his faſt with a whole calfe, and find no bones therein as the fable goeth) falling at contention with the lord Iohn of Radwinter, could worke him none other iniurie, but by ſtopping vp the head of Pantwell, to put by the vſe of a mill which ſtood by the church of Radwinter, and was ſerued by that broke abundantlie. Certes I know the place where the mill ſtood, and ſome poſts thereof do yet remaine. But ſee the malice of mankind, whereby one becommeth a woolfe vnto the other in their miſchæuous moodes. For when the lord ſaw his mill to be ſo ſpoiled, he in reuenge of his loſſe, brake the necke of his aduerſarie, when he was going to horſebacke, as the conſtant report affirmeth. For the lord of Radwinter holding a parcell of his manour of Radwinter hall of the Fitzwaters, his ſonne was to hold his ſtirrop at certeine times when he ſhould demand the ſame. Shewing himſelfe therefore preſt on a time to doo his ſaid ſeruice, as the Fitzwater was readie to lift his leg ouer the ſaddle, he by putting backe his foot, gaue him ſuch a thruſt that he fell backward, and brake his necke: whereupon inſued great trouble, till the matter was taken vp by publike authoritie; and that ſeruile office conuerted into a pound of pepper, which is truelie paid to this daie. But to leaue theſe impertinent diſcourſes, and returne againe to the ſprings whereby our Pant or Gwin is increaſed. There is likewiſe another in a paſture belonging to the Grange, now in poſſeſſion of William Bird eſquier, who holdeth the ſame in the right of his wife, but in time paſt belonging to Tilteie abbeie. The third commeth out of the yard of one of your lordſhips manors there called Radwinter hall. The fourth from Iohn Cockſwets houſe, named the Rotherwell, which running vnder Rothers bridge, meeteth with the Gwin or Pant on the northweſt end of Ferrants meade, ſoutheaſt of Radwinter church, whereof I haue the charge by your honours fauourable preferment.

I might take occaſion to ſpeake of another rill which falleth into the Rother from Bendiſh hall: but becauſe it is for the moſt part drie in ſummer I paſſe it ouer. Yet I will not omit to ſpeake alſo of the manor which was the chiefe lordſhip ſometime of a parith or hamlet called Bendiſhes, now worne out of knowledge, and vnited partlie to Radwinter, and partlie to Aſhdon. It belonged firſt to the Bendiſhes gentlemen of a verie ancient houſe yet extant, of which one laieng the ſaid manour to morgage to the monks of Feuerſham, at ſuch time as K. Edward the third went to the ſiege of Calis, thereby to furniſh himſelfe the better toward the ſeruice of his prince, it came to paſſe that he ſtaied longer beyond the ſea than he ſuppoſed. Whereupon he came before his daie to confer with his creditors, who commending his care to come out of debt, willed him in friendlie maner not to ſuſpect anie hard dealing on their behalfes, conſidering his buſineſſe in ſeruice of the king was of it ſelfe cauſe ſufficient, to excuſe his delaie of paiment vpon the daie aſſigned. Hereupon he went ouer againe vnto the ſiege of Calis. But when the day came, the monks for all this made ſeiſure of the manour, and held it continuallie without anie further recompenſe, maugre all the friendſhip that the aforſaid Bendiſh could make. The ſaid gentleman alſo tooke this couſening part in ſuch choler, that he wrote a note yet to be ſeene among his euidences, whereby he admoniſheth his poſteritie to beware how they truſt either knaue monke or knaue frier, as one of the name and deſcended from him by lineall deſcent hath more than once informed me. Now to reſume our ſprings that meet and ioine with our Pant.

The next is named Froſhwell. And of this ſpring doth

Froſhwell.

doth the whole hundred beare the name, & after this confluence the riuer it ſelfe wherunto it falleth (from by north) ſo farre as I remember. Certes, all theſe, ſauing the firſt and ſecond, are within your lordſhips towne aforeſaid. The ſtreame therfore running from hence (& now, as I ſaid, called Froſhwell, of Froſh, which ſignifieth a frog) hasteth immediatlie vnto old Sandford, then through little Sandford parke, and afterward with full ſtreame (receiuing by the waie, the Finch brooke that commeth thorough Finchingfield) to Shalford, Bocking, Stiſted, Paſwyc, and ſo to Blackewater, where the name of Froſhwell ceaſeth, the water being from henceforth (as I heare) commonlie called Blackwater, vntill it come to Maldon, where it falleth into the ſalt arme of the ſea that beateth vpon the towne; and which of ſome (except I be deceiued) is called alſo Pant. And ſo much the rather I make this coniecture, for that Ithancaſter ſtood ſomewhere vpon the banks thereof, & in the hundred of Danſeie, whoſe ruines (as they ſaie) are alſo ſwalowed vp by the ſaid ſtreame, which can not be verified in our riuer that runneth from Pantwell, which at the mouth and fall into the great current, exceedeth not (to my coniecture) aboue one hundred foot. But to returne to our Pant, *alias* the Gwin. From Blackwater it goeth to Coxall, Eaſterford, Braxted and Wickham, where it meeteth with the Barus, and ſo going togither as one, they deſcend to Heibridge, and finallie into the ſalt water aboue Maldon, and at hand as is aforeſaid. As for the Barus, it riſeth in a ſtatelie parke of Eſſex called Bardfield, belonging to ſir Thomas Wroth whileſt he liued, who hath it to him and his heires males for euer, from the crowne. Being riſen, it hasteth directlie to old Saling Braintree, croſſing a rillet by the waie comming from Raine, blacke Notleie, white Notleie, Falkeburne, Wittam, and falleth into the Blackewater beneath Braxted on the ſouth.

Barus.

Beſide this, the ſaid Pant or Gwin receiueth the Chelme or Chelmer, which ariſeth alſo in Wimbech aforeſaid, where it hath two heads: of which the one is not far from Brodockes (where maſter William Wiſeman eſquier dwelleth) the other nigh vnto a farme called Highams in the ſame paroch, and ioining per long in one chanell, they hie them toward Thacſted vnder Prowds bridge, meeting in the waie with a rill comming from Boiton end, whereby it is ſomewhat increaſed. Being paſt Thacſted, it goeth by Tilteie, and ſone after receiueth one rill which riſeth on the north ſide of Lindſell, & falleth into the Chelmer by northeaſt at Tilteie aforeſaid, & another cõming from ſouthweſt, riſing ſoutheaſt from Lindſell at much Eſton. From thence then holding on ſtill with the courſe, it goeth on apace vnto Dunmow, little Dunmow, Felſted, Lies, both Waltams, Springfield, and ſo to Chelmereſford. Here vpon the ſouth ſide I find the iſſue of a water that riſeth fiue miles (or thereabouts) ſouth and by weſt of the ſaid towne, from whence it goeth to Punaſing, Butteſburie (there receiuing a rill from by weſt, to Ingatſtone, Marget Inge, Widford bridge, Writtle bridge, and ſo to Chelmereſford (croſſing alſo the ſecond water that deſcendeth from Rorford ſouth weſt of Writtle by the waie) whereof let this ſuffice.

Chelmer.

Lindſs.

Rorford.

From hence the Chelmer goeth directlie toward Maldon by Badow, Owting, Woodham water, Bilie, and ſo to Blackwater northweſt of Maldon, receiuing neuertheleſſe yer it come fullie thither, a becke alſo that goeth from Lée parke, to little Lées, great Lées, Hatfield peuerell, Utting, and ſo into Blackwater (whereof I ſpake before) as Maldon ſtreame doth a rill from by ſouth ouer againſt ſaint Oſithes, and alſo another by Bradwell. After which the ſaid ſtreame growing alſo to be verie great, paſſeth by the Tolſhunts, Tolleſberie, & ſo forth into the maine ſea nére vnto Merſeie: betwéene which fall and the place where Salcote water entreth into the land, Plautius abode the comming of Claudius ſometime into Britaine, when he being hardlie beſet, did ſend vnto him for aid and ſpéedie ſuccour, who alſo being come did not onelie reſcue his legat, but in like manner wan Colcheſter, and put it to the ſpoile, if it be Camalodunum.

Lée.

The Burne riſeth ſomewhere about Ronwell, and thence goeth to Hull bridge, ſouth Fambridge, Kirkeſhot ferrie, and ſo to Foulneſſe. And as this is the ſhort courſe of that riuer, ſo it brancheth, and the ſouth arme thereof receiueth a water comming from Haukewell, to great Stanbridge, and beneath Pakeſham doth meet by ſouth with the ſaid arme, and ſo finiſh vp his courſe, as we do our votage alſo about the coaſt of England.

Burne.

Thus haue I finiſhed the deſcription of ſuch riuers and ſtreames as fall into the Ocean, according to my purpoſe, although not in ſo preciſe an order and manner of handling as I might, if information promiſed had been accordinglie performed; or others would, if they had taken the like in hand. But this will I ſaie of that which is here done, that from the Soluete by weſt, which parteth England & Scotland on that ſide; to the Twede, which ſeparateth the ſaid kingdoms on the eaſt: if you go backeward, contrarie to the courſe of my deſcription, you ſhall find it ſo exact, as beſide a verie few by-riuers, you ſhall not need to vſe anie further aduiſe for the finding and falles of the aforeſaid ſtreames. For ſuch hath béene my helpe of maiſter Sackfords cardes, and conference with other men about theſe, that I dare pronounce them to be perfect and exact. Furthermore, this I haue alſo to remember, that in the courſes of our ſtreames, I regard not ſo much to name the verie towne or church, as the limits of the paroch. And therefore if I ſaie it goeth by ſuch a towne, I thinke my dutie diſcharged, if I hit vpon anie part or parcell of the paroch. This alſo hath not a little troubled me, I meane the euill writing of the names of manie townes and villages: of which I haue noted ſome one man, in the deſcription of a riuer, to write one towne two or three manner of waies, whereby I was inforced to chooſe one (at aduenture moſt commonlie) that ſéemed the likelieſt to be found in mine opinion and iudgement.

Finallie, whereas I minded to ſet downe an eſpeciall chapter of ports and créeks, lieng on each coaſt of the Engliſh part of this Ile; and had prouided the ſame in ſuch wiſe as I iudged moſt conuenient: it came to paſſe, that the greater part of my labour was taken from me by ſtealth, and therefore as diſcouraged to meddle with that argument, I would haue giuen ouer to ſet downe anie thing thereof at all: and ſo much the rather, for that I ſée it may proue a ſpurre vnto further miſchéefe, as things come to paſſe in theſe daies. Neuertheleſſe, becauſe a title thereof is paſſed in the beginning of the booke, I will deliuer that parcell thereof which remaineth, leauing the ſupplie of the reſt either to my ſelfe hereafter, (if I may come by it) or to ſome other that can better performe the ſame.

Of

Of ſuch ports and creeks as our ſea-faring-men doo note for their benefit vpon the coaſts of England.

Chap. 17.

IT maie be that I haue in theſe former chapters omitted ſundrie hauens to be found vpon the ſhore of England, and ſome of them ſerued with backe waters, through want of ſound and ſufficient information from ſuch as haue written vnto me of the ſame. In recompenſe whereof I haue thought good to adde this chapter of ports and creekes, whereby (ſo farre as to me is poſſible) I ſhall make ſatisfaction of mine ouerſights. And albeit I cannot (being too too much abuſed by ſome that haue bereft me of my notes in this behalfe) bring my purpoſe to paſſe for all the whole coaſt of England round about, from Berwike to the Solue: yet I will not let to ſet downe ſo much as by good hap remaineth, whereby my countriemen ſhall not altogither want that benefit, hoping in time to recouer alſo the reſt, if God grant life and good ſucceſſe thereto.

Northumberland. In Northumberland therefore we haue Berwike, Holie Iland, Bamborow, Bedwell, Donſtanborow, Cocket Iland, Warkeworth, Newbiggin, Almow, Blithes nuke, and Tinmouth hauen.

Durham. In the biſhoprye, Sonderland, Stocketon, Hartlepole, Theſe.

Yorkeſhire. In Yorkeſhire, Dapnam ſands, Steningreene, Staies, Runſwike, Robinhoods baie, Whitbie, Scarborow, Fileie, Flamborow, Bridlington, Horneſeie beeke, Siſter kirke, Kelſeie, Cliffe, Pattenton, Holmes, Kenningham, Pall, Hidon, Hulbrige, Beuerleie, Hull, Haſell, Northferebie, Bucke creke, Blacke coſt, Wrethell, Howden.

Lincolneſhire. In Lincolneſhire, Selbie, Snape, Turnebrige, Roditſe, Catebie, Stockwith, Torkeſeie, Gainſborow, Southferebie, Barton a good point, Barrow a good hauen, Skaterunll a good port, Penningham, Stalingborow a good hauen, Guimſbie a good port, Clie, March chappell, Saltfleete, Wilgripe, Mapleford, ſaint Clements, Wenfleete, Friſcon, Toft, Skerbike, Boſton, Frompton, Wolnerton, Foſſedike a good hauen.

Northfolke. In Northfolke, Linne a good hauen, Snatchham, Hitchham, Deſingham good, Thunſtone, Thorncham good, Brankeſter good, Burnham good, with diuers townes and villages thereto belonging, Welles good, Strikeie, Harſton, Blakeleie towne, Withon Claie, Blakelie hauen good, Salthouſe creke, Sheringham hith, Roughton, Cromer, Beſton, Trinningham, Pounſteie, Bromwall, Haſeborow, Wakeſham, Eckelles, Winterton, Cuſter, Helmeſleie, Okell, Upton, Waibridge, Yarmouth, good all the waie to Norwich, with diuerſe villages on the riuer ſide.

Suffolke. In Suffolke, Beeles, Bongeie, Southton, Corton, Goxton, Laiſſow a good port, Kirtill, Pakefield, Kaſſeldon, Bliborow, Coſſe hith, Eſton, Walderswie, Donewich, Swold hauen, Siſelwell, Thorpe, Aldborow, Oxford a good hauen, Walſeie good, Felixſtow, Colneie, Sproten, Ypſwich, Downambridge good, Pinnemell, Shoteleie, Cataweie, Barfold.

Eſſex. In Eſſex we haue Dedham, Baning tree, Thorne, Wrabheines, Ramſeie, Harwich, Douercourt, Handford, Okeleie, Kirbie, Thorpe, Brichwill, Walton mill, Walton hall, Fanfleete, Newhauen good, S. Oſithes, Bentleie good, Brieleſeie, Thorlington (where good ſhips of a hundred tun or more be made) Alſford, Wiuenhall, Colcheſter, Cold hith, Rough hedge, Fingering ho, eaſt Perſeie, weſt Perſeie, Salcot, Goldanger, Borow, Maldon, Staneſgate, Sudmeſter, S. Peters, Burnham, Criſeie, Aldon, Clements greene, Hulbridge, Packeſton, Barling, litle Wakering, much Wakering, ſouth Sudburie, Wakeringham, Pelton, Papper hill, or Lee, Beamfleete, Pideie range, Fobbing, Hadleie good, Pucking, Stanford, and Tilberie ferrie.

Kent. In Kent, Harling, Cliffe, Tanfleete, Stokehow, Snodland, Pelhall, Paidſton, Alleſford, New hith, Rocheſter, Gelingham, Reinham, Upchurch, Halſted, Quinborow, Pilton, Feuerſham, Whitſtaple, Herne, Margate, Brodeſtaier, Ramſgate; and manie of theſe good creekes: alſo Sandwich, Douer, Hide, reaſonable ports, although none of the beſt.

Suſſex. In Suſſex we haue Smalade with the creekes adioining to the ſame, Ridon, Appledoure, Rie a good hauen, and Winchelſeie nothing at all inferiour to the ſame, and ſo manie ſhires onelie are left vnto me at this time, wherefore of force I muſt abruptlie leaue off to deale anie further with the reſt, whoſe knowledge I am right ſure would haue bene profitable: and for the which I hoped to haue reaped great thankes at the hands of ſuch ſea-faring-men, as ſhould haue had vſe hereof.

Deſunt cætera.

Of the aire, ſoile, and commodities of this Iland.

Cap. 18.

THE aire (for the moſt part) throughout the Iland is ſuch, as by reaſon in maner of continuall clouds, is reputed to be groſſe, and nothing ſo pleaſant as that is of the maine. Howbeit, as they which affirme theſe things, haue onelie reſpect to the impediment or hinderance of the ſunne beames, by the interpoſition of the clouds and oft ingroſſed aire: ſo experience teacheth vs, that it is no leſſe pure, wholeſome, and commodious, than is that of other countries, and (as Cæſar himſelfe hereto addeth) much more temperate in ſummer than that of the Galles, from whom he aduentured hither. Neither is there anie thing found in the aire of our region, that is not vſuallie ſéene amongſt other nations lieng beyond the ſeas. Wherefore, we muſt néeds confeſſe, that the ſituation of our Iland (for benefit of the heauens) is nothing inferiour to that of anie countrie of the maine, where ſo euer it lie vnder the open firmament. And this Plutarch knew full well, who affirmeth a part of the Eliſian fields to be found in Britaine, and the Iles that are ſituate about it in the Ocean.

The aire of Britaine.

The ſoile. The ſoile of Britaine is ſuch, as by the teſtimonies and reports both of the old and new writers, and experience alſo of ſuch as now inhabit the ſame, is verie fruitfull; and ſuch in deed as bringeth forth manie commodities, whereof other countries haue néed, and yet it ſelfe (if fond nicenеſſe were aboliſhed) néedleſſe of thoſe that are dailie brought from other places. Neuertheleſſe it is more inclined to féeding and graſing, than profitable for tillage, and bearing of corne; by reaſon whereof the countrie is wonderfullie repleniſhed with neat, and all kind of cattell: and ſuch ſtore is there alſo of the ſame in euerie place, that the fourth part of the land is ſcarſelie manured for the prouiſion and maintenance of graine. Certes

this

this fruitfulneſſe was not vnknowne vnto the Britons long before Cæſars time, which was the cauſe wherefore our predeceſſors liuing in thoſe daies in maner neglected tillage, and liued by feeding and graſing onelie. The graſiers themſelues alſo then dwelled in moueable villages by companies, whoſe cuſtome was to diuide the ground amongſt them, and each one not to depart from the place where his lot laie (a thing much like to the Iriſh Criacht) till by eating vp of the countrie about him, he was inforced to remoue further, and ſeeke for better paſture. And this was the Britiſh cuſtome (as I learne) at firſt. It hath beene commonlie reported, that the ground of Wales is neither ſo fruitfull as that of England, neither the ſoile of Scotland ſo bountifull as that of Wales: which is true, for corne and for the moſt part: otherwiſe, there is ſo good ground in ſome parts of Wales, as is in England, albeit the beſt of Scotland be ſcarſelie comparable to the meane of either of both. Howbeit, as the bountie of the Scotiſh doth faile in ſome reſpect, ſo doth it ſurmount in other; God and nature hauing not appointed all countries to yeeld forth like commodities.

Criacht.

But where our ground is not ſo good as we would wiſh, we haue (if need be) ſufficient helpe to cheriſh our ground withall, and to make it more fruitfull. For beſide the compoſt that is carried out of the husbandmens yards, ditches, ponds, douehouſes, or cities and great townes: we haue with vs a kind of white marle, which is of ſo great force, that if it be caſt ouer a peece of land but once in three ſcore years, it ſhall not need of anie further compoſting. Hereof alſo doth Plinie ſpeake, lib. 17. cap. 6, 7, 8, where he affirmeth that our marle indureth vpon the earth by the ſpace of foureſcore yeares: inſomuch that it is laid vpon the ſame but once in a mans life, whereby the owner ſhall not need to trauell twiſe in procuring to commend and better his ſoile. He calleth it Marga, and making diuerſe kinds thereof, he finallie commendeth ours, and that of France, aboue all other, which lieth ſometime a hundred foot deepe, and farre better than the ſcattering of chalke vpon the ſame, as the Hedui and Pictones did in his time, or as ſome of our daies alſo do practiſe: albeit diuerſe do like better to caſt on lime, but it will not ſo long indure, as I haue heard reported.

Marle.

There are alſo in this Iland great plentie of freſh riuers and ſtreames, as you haue heard alreadie, and theſe throughlie fraught with all kinds of delicate fiſh accuſtomed to be found in riuers. The whole Ile likewiſe is verie full of hilles, of which ſome (though not verie manie) are of exceeding heigth, and diuerſe extending themſelues verie far from the beginning; as we may ſee by Shoters hill, which riſing caſt of London, and not farre from the Thames, runneth along the ſouth ſide of the Iland weſtward, vntill it come to Cornewall. Like vnto theſe alſo are the Crowdon hils, which though vnder diuers names (as alſo the other from the Peke) do run into the borders of Scotland. What ſhould I ſpeake of the Cheuiot hilles, which reach twentie miles in length: of the blacke mounteines in Wales, which go from (*) to (*) miles at the leaſt in length: of the Cle hilles in Shropſhire, which come within foure miles of Ludlow, and are diuided from ſome part of Worceſter by the Teme: of the Grames in Scotland, and of our Chiltren, which are eightéene miles at the leaſt from one end of them, which reach from Henlie in Oxfordſhire to Dunſtable in Bedfordſhire, and are verie well repleniſhed with wood and corne: notwithſtanding that the moſt part yeeld a ſweet ſhort graſſe, profitable for ſheepe. Wherein albeit they of Scotland do ſomewhat come behind vs, yet their outward defect is inwardlie recompenſed, not onelie with plentie of quarries (and thoſe of ſundrie kinds of marble, hard ſtone, and fine alabaſter) but alſo rich mines of mettall, as ſhall be ſhewed hereafter.

Plentie of riuers.

Hilles.

(*) Here lacks

In this Iland likewiſe the winds are commonlie more ſtrong and fierce, than in anie other places of the maine, which Cardane alſo eſpied: and that is often ſeene vpon the naked hilles, not garded with trées to beare and keepe it off. What grieuous inconuenience alſo inforceth our nobilitie, gentrie, and communaltie, to build their houſes in the vallies, leauing the high grounds vnto their corne and cattell, leaſt the cold and ſtormie blaſts of winter ſhould breed them greater annoiance: whereas in other regions each one deſireth to ſet his houſe aloft on the hill, not onlie to be ſeene a farre off, and caſt forth his beames of ſtatelie and curious workemanſhip into euerie quarter of the countrie; but alſo (in hot habitations) for coldneſſe ſake of the aire, ſith the heat is neuer ſo vehement on the hill top as in the vallie, becauſe the reuerberation of the ſunne beames either reacheth not ſo farre as the higheſt, or elſe becommeth not ſo ſtrong as when it is reflected vpon the lower ſoile.

Winds.

Building.

But to leaue our buildings vnto the purpoſed place (which notwithſtanding haue verie much increaſed, I meane for curioſitie and coſt, in England, Wales, and Scotland, within theſe few yeares) and to returne to the ſoile againe. Certeinelie it is euen now in theſe our daies growne to be much more fruitfull, than it hath béene in times paſt. The cauſe is for that our countriemen are growne to be more painefull, ſkilfull, and carefull through recompenſe of gaine, than heretofore they haue béene: inſomuch that my Synchroni or time fellows can reape at this preſent great commoditie in a little roome; whereas of late yeares, a great compaſſe hath yeelded but ſmall profit, and this onelie through the idle and negligent occupation of ſuch, as dailie manured and had the ſame in occupieng. I might ſet downe examples of theſe things out of all the parts of this Iland, that is to ſaie, manie of England, more out of Scotland, but moſt of all out of Wales: in which two laſt rehearſed, verie little other food and liuelihood was wont to be looked for (beſide fleſh) more than the ſoile of it ſelfe, and the cow gaue; the people in the meane time liuing idelie, diſſolutelie, and by picking and ſtealing one from another. All which vices are now (for the moſt part) relinquiſhed, ſo that each nation manureth hir owne with triple commoditie, to that it was before time.

Husbandrie amended.

The paſture of this Iland is according to the nature and bountie of the ſoile, whereby in moſt places it is plentifull, verie fine, batable, and ſuch as either fatteth our cattell with ſpeed, or yeelds great abundance of milke and creame: whereof the yelloweſt butter and fineſt cheeſe are made. But where the blue claie aboundeth (which hardlie drinketh vp the winters water in long ſeaſon) there the graſſe is ſpearie, rough, and verie apt for buſhes: by which occaſion it commeth nothing ſo profitable vnto the owner as the other. The beſt paſture ground of all England is in Wales, & of all the paſture in Wales that of Cardigan is the cheefe. I ſpeake of the ſame which is to be found in the mounteines there, where the hundred part of the graſſe growing is not eaten, but ſuffered to rot on the ground, whereby the ſoile becommeth matted, and diuerſe bogges and quicke moores made withall in long continuance: becauſe all the cattell in the countrie are not able to eat it downe. If it be to be accompted good ſoile, on which a man may laie a wand ouer night, and on the morrow find it hidden and ouergrowen with graſſe: it is not hard to find plentie thereof in manie places of this land. Neuertheles, ſuch is the fruitfulnes of the afore ſaid

Paſture.

aforſaid countie that it farre ſurmounteth this proportion, whereby it may be compared for batablenesse with Italie, which in my time is called the paradise of the world, although by reason of the wickednesse of such as dwell therein it may be called the sinke and draine of hell: so that whereas they were wont to saie of vs that our land is good but our people euill, they did but onlie speake it; whereas we know by experience that the soile of Italie is a noble soile, but the dwellers therein farre off from anie vertue or goodnesse.

Meadowes. Our meadowes, are either bottomes (whereof we haue great store, and those verie large, because our soile is hillie) or else such as we call land meads, and borowed from the best & fattest pasturages. The first of them are yearelie & often ouerflowen by the rising of such streames as passe through the same, or violent falles of land-waters, that descend from the hils about them. The other are seldome or neuer ouerflowen, and that is the cause wherefore their grasse is shorter than that of the bottomes, and yet is it farre more fine, wholesome, and batable, sith the haie of our low meadowes is not onelie full of sandie cinder, which breedeth sundrie diseases in our cattell, but also more rowtie, foggie, and full of flags, and therefore not so profitable for flouer and forrage as the higher meads be. The difference furthermore in their commodities is great, for whereas in our land meadowes we haue not often aboue one good load of haie, or peraduenture a little more in an acre of ground (I vse the word Carrucata or Carruca which is a waine load, and, as I remember, vsed by Plinie lib. 33. cap. 11.) in low meadowes we haue sometimes three, but commonlie two or vpward, as experience hath oft confirmed.

Of such as are twise mowed I speake not, sith their later math is not so wholsome for cattell as the first; although in the mouth more pleasant for the time: for thereby they become oftentimes to be rotten, or to increase so fast in bloud, that the garget and other diseases do consume manie of them before the owners can seeke out any remedie, by Phlebotomie or otherwise. Some superstitious fooles suppose that they which die of the garget are ridden with the night mare, and therefore they hang vp stones which naturallie haue holes in them, and must be found vnlooked for; as if such a stone were an apt cockeshot for the diuell to run through and solace himselfe withall, whilest the cattell go scotfree and are not molested by him. But if I should set downe but halfe the toies that superstition hath brought into our husbandmens heads in this and other behalfes, it would aske a greater volume than is conuenient for such a purpose, wherefore it shall suffice to haue said thus much of these things.

Corne. The yeeld of our corne-ground is also much after this rate following. Through out the land (if you please to make an estimat thereof by the acre) in meane and indifferent yeares, wherein each acre of rie or wheat, well tilled and dressed, will yeeld commonlie sirteene or twentie bushels, an acre of barlie six and thirtie bushels, of otes and such like foure or fiue quarters, which proportion is notwithstanding oft abated toward the north, as it is oftentimes surmounted in the south. Of mixed corne, as peason and beanes, sowen togither, tares and otes (which they call bulmong) rie and wheat named miscelin here is no place to speake, yet their yeeld is neuertheless much after this proportion, as I haue often marked. And yet is not this our great foison comparable to that of hoter countries of the maine. But of all that euer I read, the increase which Eldred Danus writeth of in his *De imperio Iudæorum in Aethiopia* surmounteth, where he saith that in the field neere to the Sabbatike riuer, called in old time Gosan, the ground is so fertile, that euerie graine of barleie growing doth yeeld an hundred kernels at the least vnto the owner.

Of late yeares also we haue found and taken vp a great trade in planting of hops, whereof our moorie hitherto and vnprofitable grounds do yeeld such plentie & increase, that their are few farmers or occupiers in the countrie, which haue not gardens and hops growing of their owne, and those farre better than do come from Flanders vnto vs. Certes the corruptions vsed by the Flemings, and forgerie dailie practised in this kind of ware, gaue vs occasion to plant them here at home: so that now we may spare and send manie ouer vnto them. And this I know by experience, that some one man by conuersion of his moorie grounds into hoppards, wherof before he had no commoditie, doth raise yearelie by so little as twelue acres in compasse two hundred markes; all charges borne toward the maintenance of his familie. Which industrie God continue! though some secret frends of Flemings let not to exclaime against this commoditie, as a spoile of wood, by reason of the poles, which neuertheless after three yeares do also come to the fire, and spare their other fewell.

Cattell. The cattell which we breed are commonlie such, as for greatnesse of bone, sweetnesse of flesh, and other benefits to be reaped by the same, giue place vnto none other: as may appeare first by our oxen, whose largenesse, height, weight, tallow, hides, and hornes are such, as none of anie other nation do commonlie or may easilie exceed them. Our sheepe likewise for good tast of flesh, quantitie of lims, finesse of fleece caused by their hardnesse of pasturage, and abundance of increase (for in manie places they bring forth two or three at an eaning) giue no place vnto anie, more than do our goates, who in like sort do follow the same order, and our deere come not behind. As for our conies, I haue seene them so fat in some soiles, especiallie about Peall and Dilnege, that the grease of one being weighed, hath peised verie neere six or seuen ounces. All which benefits we first refer to the grace and goodnesse of God, and next of all vnto the bountie of our soile, which he hath indued with so notable and commodious fruitfulnesse.

Peall and Dilnege.

But as I meane to intreat of these things more largelie hereafter, so will I touch in this place one benefit which our nation wanteth, and that is wine; the fault whereof is not in our soile, but the negligence of our countriemen (especiallie of the south partes) who do not inure the same to this commoditie, and which by reason of long discontinuance, is now become vnapt to beare anie grapes almost for pleasure & shadow, much lesse then the plaine fields or seuerall vineyards for aduantage and commoditie. Yet of late time some haue assaied to deale for wine, as to your lordship also is right well knowen. But sith that liquor when it commeth to the drinking hath bin found more hard, than that which is brought from beyond the sea, and the cost of planting and keeping thereof so chargeable, that they may buie it far better cheape from other countries: they haue giuen ouer their enterprises without anie consideration, that as in all other things, so neither the ground it selfe in the beginning, nor succesſe of their trauell can answer their expectation at the first, vntill such time as the soile be brought as it were into acquaintance with this commoditie, and that prouision may be made for the more easinesse of charge, to be imploied vpon the same.

Wine.

If it be true, that where wine doth last and indure well, there it will grow no worse: I muse not a little wherefore the planting of vines should be neglected in England. That this liquor might haue growne in this

this Iland heretofore, firſt the charter that Probus the emperour gaue equallie to vs, the Galles, and Spantards, is one ſufficient teſtimonie. And that it did grow here, beſide the teſtimonie of Beda lib. 1. cap. 1. the old notes of tithes for wine that yet remaine in the accompts of ſome parſons and vicars in Kent, & elſewhere, beſides the records of ſundrie ſutes, commenſed in diuerſe eccleſiaſticall courts, both in Kent, Surrie, &c: alſo the incloſed parcels almoſt in euerie abbeie yet called the vineyardes, may be a notable witneſſe, as alſo the plot which we now call eaſt Smithfield in London giuen by Canutus ſometime king of this land, with other ſoile there about vnto certeine of his knights, with the libertie of a Guild which therof was called Knighten Guild. The truth is (ſaith Iohn Stow our countrie man, and diligent traueller in the old eſtate of this my natiue citie) that it is now named Port ſoken ward, and giuen in time paſt to the religious houſe within Algate. Howbeit firſt Otwell, the Archouell, Otto, & finallie Geffrie erle of Eſſex conſtables of the Tower of London, withheld that portion frō the ſaid houſe, vntill the reigne of king Stephan, and thereof made a vineyard to their great commoditie and lucre. The Ile of Elie alſo was in the firſt times of the Normans called Le Ile des vignes. And good record appéreth, that the biſhop there had yearelie three or foure tunne at the leaſt giuen him *Nomine decimæ*, beſide whatſoeuer ouer-ſumme of the liquor did accrue to him by leaſes and other ercheats, whereof alſo I haue ſæne mention. Wherefore our ſoile is not to be blamed, as though our nights were ſo exceeding ſhort, that in Auguſt and September the mœne which is ladie of moiſture, & chiefe ripener of this liquor, cannot in anie wiſe ſhine long inough vpon the ſame: a verie méere toie and fable right worthie to be ſuppreſſed, becauſe experience conuinceth the vpholders thereof euen in the Rhenith wines.

Wad. Madder. Rape.

The time hath bæne alſo that wad, wherwith our countrie men died their faces (as Cæſar ſaith) that they might ſæme terrible to their enimies in the field, and alſo women & their daughters in law did ſtaine their bodies & go naked, in that pickle to the ſacrifices of their gods, coueting to reſemble therin the Ethiopians, as Plinie ſaith li. 22. cap. 1. and alſo madder haue bæne (next vnto our tin and woolles) the chiefe commodities, and merchandize of this realme. I find alſo that rape oile hath bæne made within this land. But now our ſoile either will not or at the leaſt wiſe may not beare either wad or madder: I ſaie not that the ground is not able ſo to do, but that we are negligent, afraid of the pilling of our grounds, and careleſſe of our owne profit, as men rather willing to buie the ſame of others than take anie paine to plant them here at home. The like I may ſaie of flax, which by law ought to be ſowen in euerie countrie-towne in England, more or leſſe: but I ſée no ſucceſſe of that good and wholeſome law, ſith it is rather contemptuouſlie reiected than otherwiſe dutifullie kept in anie place of England.

Flax.

Some ſaie that our great number of lawes do breéd a generall negligence and contempt of all good order; becauſe we haue ſo manie, that no ſubiect can liue without the tranſgreſſion of ſome of them, and that the often alteration of our ordinances doth much harme in this reſpect, which (after Ariſtotle) doth ſæme to carie ſome reaſon withall, for (as Cornelius Gallus hath:)

Euentus varios res noua ſemper habet.

Eleg. 2.

But verie manie let not to affirme, that the greédie corruption of the promoters on the one ſide, facilitie in diſpenſing with good lawes, and firſt breach of the ſame in the lawmakers & ſuperiors, & priuat reſpects of their eſtabliſhment on the other, are the greateſt cauſes whie the inferiours regard no good order, being alwaies ſo redie to offend without anie faculties one waie, as they are otherwiſe to preſume, vpon the examples of their betters when anie hold is to be taken. But as in theſe things I haue no ſkill, ſo I wiſh that fewer licences for priuat commoditie but of a few were granted (not that thereby I denie the maintenance of the prerogatiue roiall, but rather would with all my hart that it might be yet more honorablie increaſed) & that euerie one which by féed friendſhip (or otherwiſe) doth attempt to procure oughts from the prince, that may profit but few and proue hurtfull to manie, might be at open aſſizes and ſeſſions denounced enimie to his countrie and common-wealth of the land.

Principes longè magis exemplo quàm culpa peccare ſolent.

Glaſſe alſo hath bæne made here in great plentie before, and in the time of the Romans; and the ſaid ſtuffe alſo, beſide fine ſciſſers, ſhéres, collars of gold and ſiluer for womens necks, cruſes and cups of amber, were a parcell of the tribute which Auguſtus in his daies laid vpon this Iland. In like ſort he charged the Britons with certeine implements and veſſels of iuorie (as Strabo ſaith.) Wherby it appéreth that in old time our countriemen were farre more induſtrious and painefull in the vſe and application of the benefits of their countrie, than either after the comming of the Saxons or Normans, in which they gaue themſelues more to idleneſſe and following of the warres.

If it were requiſit that I ſhould ſpeake of the ſundrie kinds of mold, as the cledgie or claie, whereof are diuerſe ſorts (red, blue, blacke and white) alſo the red or white ſandie, the lomie, roſellie, grauellie, chalkie or blacke, I could ſaie that there are ſo manie diuerſe veines in Britaine, as elſe where in anie quarter of like quantitie in the world. Howbeit this I muſt néeds confeſſe, that the ſandie and cledgie do beare great ſwaie: but the claie moſt of all, as hath bæne, and yet is alwaies ſæne & felt through plentie and dearth of corne. For if this latter (I meane the claie) do yeld hir full increaſe (which it doth commonlie in drie yeares for wheat) then is there generall plentie: whereas if it faile, then haue we ſcarſitie, according to the old rude verſe ſet downe of England, but to be vnderſtood of the whole Iland, as experience doth confirme:

Earths.

When the ſand doth ſerue the claie,
Then may we ſing well awaie,
But when the claie doth ſerue the ſand,
Then is it merie with England.

I might here intreat of the famous vallies in England, of which one is called the vale of White horſſe, another of Euesham, commonlie taken for the granarie of Worceſterſhire, the third of Aileſbirie that goeth by Tame, the rotes of Chilterne hils, to Donſtable, Newport panell, Stonie Stratford, Buckingham, Birſtane parke, &c. Likewiſe of the fourth of Whitehart or Blackemore in Dorſetſhire. The firſt of Kingdale or Rendale, corruptlie called Ringtaile, that lieth (as mine author ſaith) vpon the edge of Eſſex and Cambridgeſhire, and alſo the Marſhwood vale: but for ſomuch as I know not well their ſeuerall limits, I giue ouer to go anie further in their deſcription. In like ſort it ſhould not be amiſſe to ſpeake of our fennes, although our countrie be not ſo full of this kind of ſoile as the parties beyond the ſeas, to wit, Marbon, &c: and thereto of other pleaſant botoms, the which are not onelie indued with excellent riuers and great ſtore of corne and fine fodder for neat and horſſes in time of the yeare (whereby they are exceéding beneficiall vnto their owners) but alſo of no ſmall compaſſe and quantitie in ground. For ſome of our fens are well knowen to be either of ten, twelue, ſirtéene, twentie, or thirtie miles in

Vallies.

Fennes.

length, that of the Girlvies yet passing all the rest, which is full 60 (as I haue often read.) Wherein also Elie the famous Ile standeth, which is seuen miles euerie waie, and whereunto there is no accesse but by three causies, whose inhabitants in like sort by an old priuilege may take wood, sedge, turfe, &c; to burne: likewise haie for their cattell, and thatch for their houses of custome, and each occupier in his appointed quantitie through out the Ile; albeit that couetousnesse hath now begun somewhat to abridge this large beneuolence and commoditie, aswell in the said Ile as most other places of this land.

Commons. Finallie, I might discourse in like order of the large commons, laid out heretofore by the lords of the soiles for the benefit of such poore, as inhabit within the compasse of their manors. But as the true intent of the giuers is now in most places defrauded, in so much that not the poore tenants inhabiting vpon the same, but their landlords haue all the commoditie and gaine, so the tractation of them belongeth rather to the second booke. Wherfore I meane not at this present to deale withall, but reserue the same wholie vnto the due place whilest I go forward with the rest: setting downe neuertheless by the waie a generall commendation of the whole Iland, which I find in an ancient monument, much vnto this effect.

Illa quidem longè celebris splendore, beata,
Gleba, decore, fauis, superemunet insula cunctis,
Quas regit ille Deus, spumanti cuius ab ore
Profluit oceanus, &c. And a little after.
Festis Lundonia ratibus, Wintonia Baccho,
Herefordia grege, Worcestria fruge redundans,
Barba lacu, Salabyra feris, Cantuaria pisce,
Eboraca syluis, Excestria clara metallis,
Norwicum Dacis hybernis, Cestria Gallis,
Cicestrum Norwagenis, Dunelmia prapinguis,
Festis Lincolnia gens infinita decore,
Festis Eli formosa situs, Doncastria risu, &c.

Of the foure high waies sometime made in Britaine by the princes of this Iland.

Cap. 15.

THere are, which indeuoring to bring all things to their Saxon originall, do affirme, that this diuision of waies, (whereof we now intreat) should apertaine vnto such princes of that nation as reigned here, since the Romanes gaue vs ouer: and hereupon they inferre, that Watling street was builded by one Watlie from the east vnto the west. But how weake their coniectures are in this behalfe, the antiquitie of these streets it selfe shall easilie declare, whereof some parcelles, after a sort, are also set downe by Antonius; and those that haue written of the seuerall iournies from hence to Rome: although peraduenture not in so direct an order as they were at the first established. For my part, if it were not that I desire to be short in this behalfe, I could with such notes as I haue alreadie collected for that purpose, make a large confutation of diuerse of their opinions concerning these passages, and thereby rather ascribe the originall of these waies to the Romans than either the British or Saxon princes. But sith I haue spent more time in the tractation of the riuers than was allotted vnto me, and that I se great cause (notwithstanding my late alledged scruple) wherfore I should hold with our Galfride before anie other; I will omit at this time to discourse of these things as I would, and saie what I maie for the better knowledge of their courses, proceeding therein as followeth.

First of all I find, that Dunwallon king of Britaine, about 483 yeares before the birth of our sauiour Iesus Christ, seeing the subiects of his realme to be in sundrie wise oppressed by theeues and robbers as they trauelled to and fro; and being willing (so much as in him laie) to redresse these inconueniences, caused his whole kingdome to be surueied; and then commanding foure principall waies to be made, which should leade such as trauelled into all parts thereof, from sea to sea, he gaue sundrie large priuileges vnto the same, whereby they became safe, and verie much frequented. And as he had regard herein to the securitie of his subiects, so he made sharpe lawes grounded vpon iustice, for the suppression of such wicked members as did offer violence to anie traueler that should be met withall or found within the limits of those passages. How and by what parts of this Iland these waies were conueied at the first, it is not so wholie left in memorie: but that some question is moued among the learned, concerning their ancient courses. Howbeit such is the shadow remaining hitherto of their extensions, that if not at this present perfectlie, yet hereafter it is not vnpossible, but that they may be found out, & left certeine vnto posteritie. It seemeth by Galfride, that the said Dunwallon did limit out those waies by doles and markes, which being in short time altered by the auarice of such irreligious persons as dwelt neere, and incroched vpon the same (a fault yet iustlie to be found almost in euerie place, euen in the time of our most gratious and souereigne Ladie Elizabeth, wherein the lords of the soiles do vnite their small occupieng, onelie to increase a greater proportion of rent; and therefore they either remoue, or giue licence to erect small tenements vpon the high waies sides and commons; whereunto, in truth, they haue no right: and yet out of them also do raise a new commoditie) and question moued for their bounds before Belinus his sonne, he to auoid all further controuersie that might from thencefoorth insue, caused the same to be paued with hard stone of eightéene foot in breadth, ten foot in depth, and in the bottome thereof huge flint stones also to be pitched, least the earth in time should swallow vp his workemanship, and the higher ground ouer-grow their rising crests. He indued them also with larger priuileges than before, protesting that if anie man whosoeuer should presume to infringe his peace, and violate the lawes of his kingdome in anie maner of wise, neere vnto or vpon those waies, he should suffer such punishment without all hope to escape (by freendship or mercie) as by the statutes of this realme latelie prouided in those cases were due vnto the offendors. The names of these foure waies are the Fosse, the Gwethelin or Watling, the Erming, and the Ikenild.

Fosse. The Fosse goeth not directlie but slopewise ouer the greatest part of this Iland, beginning at Dotnesse or Totnesse in Deuonshire, where Brute sometime landed, or (as Ranulphus saith, which is more likelie) at the point of Cornwall, though the eldest writers do seeme to note the contrarie. From hence it goeth thorough the middle of Deuonshire & Summersetshire, and commeth to Bathow, from whence it runneth manifestlie to Sudberie market, Tetburie, and so forth holdeth on as you go almost to the middle waie betweene Glocester and Cirnecester, (where the wood faileth, and the champeigne countrie appeareth toward Cotteswald) streight as a line vntill you come to Cirnecester it selfe. Some hold opinion

opinion that the waie, which lieth from Cirnecester to Bath, ſhould be the verie Foſſe; and that betwixt Cirnecester and Glocester to be another of the foure waies, made by the Britons. But ancient report grounded vpon great likelihod, and confirmed alſo by ſome experience, iudgeth that moſt of the waies croſſed ech other in this part of the realme. And of this mind is Leland alſo, who learned it of an abbat of Cirnecester that ſhewed great likelihod by ſome records thereof. But to proceed. From Cirnecester, it goeth by Chepingnorton to Couentrie, Leircester, Newarke, and ſo to Lincolne ouerthwart the Watlingſtreet: where, by generall conſent of all the writers (except Alfred of Beuerleie, who extendeth it vnto Cathneſſe in Scotland) it is ſaid to haue an end.

Watling ſtreet.

The Watlingſtréet begun (as I ſaid) by Dunwallo, but finiſhed by Gutheline, of whome it is diſcrealie to be called Gutheline ſtréet, though now corrupted into Watlingſtréet, beginneth at Douer in Kent, and ſo ſtretcheth through the middeſt of Kent vnto London, and ſo forth (peraduenture by the middeſt of the citie) vnto Verolamium or Verlamcester, now ſaint Albons, where, in the yeare of grace, one thouſand fiue hundred thirtie & one, the courſe thereof was found by a man that digged for grauell wherwith to mend the high waie. It was in this place eightéene foot broad, and about ten foot déepe, and ſtoned in the bottome in ſuch wiſe as I haue noted afore, and peraduenture alſo on the top: but theſe are gone, and the reſt remaine equall in moſt places, and leuell with the fields. The yelow grauell alſo that was brought thither in carts two thouſand yéeres paſſed, remained there ſo freſh and ſo ſtrong, as if it had béene digged out of the naturall place where it grew not manie yéeres before. From hence it goeth hard by Margate, leauing it on the weſt ſide. And a little by ſouth of this place, where the priorie ſtood, is a long thorough fare vpon the ſaid ſtréet, méetly well builded (for low houſing) on both ſides. After this it proceedeth (as the chronicle of Barnwell ſaith) to Carton, and ſo to Huntingdon, & then forward, ſtill winding in and out till it not onelie becommeth a bound vnto Leiceſterſhire toward Lugbie, but alſo paſſeth from Caſtleford to Stamford, and ſo forth by weſt of Marton, which is but a mile from Torkeleie.

Here by the waie I muſt touch the opinion of a traueller of my time, who noteth the ſaid ſtréet to go another waie, inſomuch that he would haue it to croſſe the third Auon, betwixt Newton and Dowbridge, and ſo go on to Binford bridge, Wibtoft, the High croſſe, and thence to Atherſton vpon Ancre. Certes it may be, that the Foſſe had his courſe by the countrie in ſuch ſort as he deſcribeth; but that the Watlingſtréet ſhould paſſe by Atherſton, I cannot as yet be perſuaded. Neuertheleſſe his coniecture is not to be miſliked, ſith it is not vnlikelie that three ſeuerall waies might méet at Alderwaie (a towne vpon Tame, beneath Salters bridge) for I do not doubt that the ſaid towne did take his name of all three waies, as Aldermarie church in London did of all three Maries, vnto whom it hath béene dedicated: but that the Watlingſtréet ſhould be one of them, the compaſſe of his paſſage will in no wiſe permit. And thus much haue I thought good to note by the waie. Now to returne againe to Leland, and other mens collections.

The next tidings that we heare of the Watlingſtréet, are that it goeth thorough or neere by the parke at Pomfret, as the common voice alſo of the countrie confirmeth. Thence it paſſeth haſtilie ouer Caſtelford bridge to Aberford, which is fiue miles from thence, and where are moſt manifeſt tokens of this ſtréet and his broad creſt by a great waie together, alſo to Yorke, to Witherbie, and then to Borowbridge, where on the left hand thereof ſtood certeine monuments, or pyramides of ſtone, ſometimes placed there by the ancient Romanes. Theſe ſtones (ſaith Leland) ſtand eight miles weſt from Bowis, and almoſt weſt from Richmond is a little thorough fare called Maiden caſtell, ſituate apparantlie vpon the ſide of this ſtréet. And here is one of thoſe pyramides or great round heapes, which is three ſcore foot compaſſe in the bottome. There are other alſo of leſſe quantities, and on the verie top of ech of them are ſharpe ſtones of a yard in length; but the greateſt of all is eightéene foot high at the leaſt, from the ground to the verie head. He addeth moreouer, how they ſtand on an hill in the edge of Stanes more, and are as bounds betwéene Richmondſhire, and Weſtmerland. But to proceed. This ſtréet lieng a mile from Gilling, and two miles from Richmond commeth on from Borowbridge to Catericke, eightéene miles; that is, twelue to Leuing, & ſix to Catericke; then eleuen miles to Greteie or Gritto, fiue miles to Bottles, eight miles to Burgh on Stanes more, foure miles from Aplebie, and fiue to Browham, where the ſaid ſtréet commeth thorough Winſoll parke, and ouer the bridge on Etemouth and Loder, and leauing Perith a quarter of a mile or more on the weſt ſide of it, goeth to Carleill ſeuentéene miles from Browham, which hath béene ſome notable thing. Hitherto it appeareth euidentlie, but going from hence into Scotland, I heare no more of it, vntill I come to Cathneſſe, which is two hundred and thirtie miles or thereabouts out of England.

Erming ſtréet.

The Erming ſtréet, which ſome call the Lelme, ſtretcheth out of the eaſt, as they ſaie, into the ſouth-eaſt, that is, from Menenia or S. Dauids in Wales vnto Southampton, whereby it is ſomewhat likelie indeed that theſe two waies, I meane the Foſſe and the Erming, ſhould méet about Cirnecester, as it commeth from Glocester, according to the opinion conceiued of them in that countrie. Of this waie I find no more written, and therefore I can ſaie no more of it, except I ſhould indeuor to driue awaie the time, in alleging what other men ſay thereof, whoſe minds do ſo farre diſagrée one from another, as they do all from a truth, and therefore I giue them ouer as not delighting in ſuch dealing.

Ikenild.

The Ikenild or Kikenild began ſomewhere in the ſouth, and ſo held on toward Cirnecester, then to Worcester, Wicombe, Brimcham, Lichfield, Darbie, Chesterfield; and croſſing the Watlingſtréet ſomewhere in Yorkſhire, ſtretched forth in the end vnto the mouth of the Tine, where it ended at the maine ſea, as moſt men do confeſſe. I take it to be called the Ikenild, becauſe it paſſed thorough the kingdome of the Icenes. For albeit that Leland & other following him do ſéeme to place the Icenes in Norffolke and Suffolke; yet in mine opinion that can not well be done, ſith it is manifeſt by Tacitus, that they laie néere vnto the Silures, and (as I geſſe) either in Stafford and Worcester ſhires, or in both, except my coniecture do faile me. The author of the booke, intituled *Eulogium hiſtoriarum*, doth call this ſtréet the Lelme. But as herein he is deceiued, ſo haue I dealt withall ſo faithfullie as I may among ſuch diuerſitie of opinions; yet not denieng but that there is much confuſion in the names and courſes of theſe two latter, the diſcuſſing whereof I muſt leaue to other men that are better learned than I.

Now to ſpeake generallie of our common high waies through the Engliſh part of the Ile (for of the reſt I can ſaie nothing) you ſhall vnderſtand that in the claie or cledgie ſoile they are often verie déepe and troubleſome in the winter halfe. Wherfore by

authoritie of parlement an order is taken for their yearelie amendment, whereby all ſorts of the common people doo imploie their trauell for ſir daies in ſummer vpon the ſame. And albeit that the intent of the ſtatute is verie profitable for the reparations of the decaied places, yet the rich doo ſo cancell their portions, and the poore ſo lotter in their labours, that of all the ſir, ſcarcelie two good days works are well performed and accompliſhed in a pariſh on theſe ſo neceſſarie affaires. Beſides this, ſuch as haue land lieng vpon the ſides of the waies, doo vtterlie neglect to dich and ſcoure their draines and watercourſes, for better auoidance of the winter waters (except it may be ſet off or cut from the meaning of the ſtatute) whereby the ſtreets doo grow to be much more gulled than before, and thereby verie noiſome for ſuch as trauell by the ſame. Sometimes alſo, and that verie often, theſe daies works are not imploied vpon thoſe waies that lead from market to market, but ech ſurueior amendeth ſuch by-plots & lanes as ſeeme beſt for his owne commoditie, and more eaſie paſſage vnto his fields and paſtures. And whereas in ſome places there is ſuch want of ſtones, as thereby the inhabitants are driuen to ſeeke them farre off in other ſoiles: the owners of the lands wherein thoſe ſtones are to be had, and which hither to haue giuen monie to haue them borne awaie, doo now reape no ſmall commoditie by raiſing the ſame to exceſſiue prices, whereby their neighbours are driuen to grieuous charges, which is another cauſe wherefore the meaning of that good law is verie much defrauded. Finallie, this is another thing likewiſe to be conſidered of, that the trees and buſhes growing by the ſtreets ſides; doo not a little keepe off the force of the ſunne in ſummer for drieng vp of the lanes. Wherefore if order were taken that their boughs ſhould continuallie be kept ſhort, and the buſhes not ſuffered to ſpread ſo far into the narrow paths, that inconuenience would alſo be remedied, and manie a ſlough proue hard ground that yet is deepe and hollow. Of the dailie incroching of the couetous vpon the hie waies I ſpeake not. But this I know by experience, that whereas ſome ſtreets within theſe fiue and twentie yeares haue beene in moſt places fiftie foot broad according to the law, whereby the trauceller might either eſcape the theefe, or ſhift the mier, or paſſe by the loaden cart without danger of himſelfe and his horſſe; now they are brought vnto twelue, or twentie, or ſir and twentie at the moſt, which is another cauſe alſo whereby the waies be the worſe, and manie an honeſt man encombred in his iourneie. But what ſpeake I of theſe things whereof I doo not thinke to heare a iuſt redreſſe, becauſe the error is ſo common, and the benefit thereby ſo ſweet and profitable to manie, by ſuch houſes and cotages as are raiſed vpon the ſame.

Of the generall conſtitution of the *bodies of the Britons.*

Chap. 20.

SUch as are bred in this Iland are men for the moſt part of a good complexion, tall of ſtature, ſtrong in bodie, white of colour, and thereto of great boldneſſe and courage in the warres. As for their generall comelineſſe of perſon, the teſtimonie of Gregorie the great, at ſuch time as he ſaw Engliſh captcins ſold at Rome, ſhall eaſilie confirme what it is, which yet doth differ in ſundrie ſhires and ſoiles, as alſo their proportion of members, as we may perceiue betweene Herefordſhire and Eſſex men, or Cambridgeſhire and the Londoners for the one, and Pokington and Sedberrie for the other; theſe latter being diſtinguiſhed by their noſes and heads, which commonlie are greater there than in other places of the land. As concerning the ſtomachs alſo of our nation in the field, they haue alwaies beene in ſouereigne admiration among forren princes: for ſuch hath beene the eſtimation of our ſouldiers from time to time, ſince our Ile hath beene knowne vnto the Romans, that whereſoeuer they haue ſerued in forren countries, the cheefe brunts of ſeruice haue beene reſerued vnto them. Of their conqueſts and bloudie battels woone in France, Germanie, and Scotland, our hiſtories are full: & where they haue beene ouercome, the victorers themſelues confeſſed their victories to haue beene ſo deerelie bought, that they would not gladlie couet to ouercome often, after ſuch difficult maner. In martiall proweſſe, there is little or no difference betweene Engliſhmen and Scots: for albeit that the Scots haue beene often and verie greeuouſlie ouercome by the force of our nation, it hath not beene for want of manhood on their parts, but through the mercie of God ſhewed on vs, and his iuſtice vpon them, ſith they alwaies haue begun the quarels, and offered vs meere iniurie with great deſpite and crueltie.

Leland noting ſomewhat of the conſtitution of our bodies, ſaith theſe words grounding (I thinke vpon Ariſtotle, who writeth that ſuch as dwell neere the north, are of more courage and ſtrength of bodie than ſkilfulneſſe or wiſdome.) The Britons are white in colour, ſtrong of bodie, and full of bloud, as people inhabiting neere the north, and farre from the equinoctiall line, where the ſoile is not ſo fruitfull, and therefore the people not ſo feeble: whereas contrariwiſe ſuch as dwell toward the courſe of the ſunne, are leſſe of ſtature, weaker of bodie, more nice, delicate, fearefull by nature, blacker in colour, & ſome ſo blacke in deed as anie crow or rauen. Thus ſaith he. Howbeit, as thoſe which are bred in ſundrie places of the maine, doo come behind vs in conſtitution of bodie, ſo I grant, that in pregnancie of wit, nimblenelle of limmes, and politike inuentions, they generallie exceed vs: notwithſtanding that otherwiſe theſe gifts of theirs doo often degenerate into meere ſubtiltie, inſtabilitie, vnfaithfulneſſe, & crueltie. Yet Alexander ab Alexandro is of the opinion, that the fertileſt region doth bring forth the dulleſt wits, and contrariwiſe the harder ſoile the fineſt heads. But in mine opinion, the moſt fertile ſoile doth bring forth the proudeſt nature, as we may ſee by the Campanians, who (as Cicero alſo ſaith) had *Penes eos ipſum domicilium ſuperbiæ.* But nether of theſe opinions do iuſtlie take hold of vs, yet hath it pleaſed the writers to ſaie their pleaſures of vs. And for that we dwell northward, we are commonlie taken by the forren hiſtoriographers, to be men of great ſtrength and little policie, much courage and ſmall ſhift, bicauſe of the weake abode of the ſunne with vs, whereby our braines are not made hot and warmed, as Pachymerus noteth lib. 3: affirming further, that the people inhabiting in the north parts are white of colour, blockiſh vnctuill, fierce and warlike, which qualities increaſe, as they come nearer vnto the pole; whereas the contrarie pole giueth contrarie gifts, blackneſſe wiſdome, ciuilitie, weakeneſſe, and cowardiſe, thus ſaith he. But alas, how farre from probabilitie or as if there were not one and the ſame concluſion to be made of the conſtitutions of their bodies, which dwell vnder both the poles. For in truth his aſſertion holdeth onelie in their perſons that inhabit neere vnto and vnder the equinoctiall. As for the ſmall farſance of the ſunne with vs, it is alſo confuted by the length of

Non vi ſed virtute, non armis ſed ingenio vincuntur Angli.

of our daies. Wherefore his reaſon ſeemeth better to vphold that of Alexander ab Alexandro afore alledged, than to proue that we want wit, becauſe our brains are not warmed by the tartance of the ſunne. And thus alſo doth Comineus burden vs after a ſort in his hiſtorie, and after him Bodinus. But thanked be God, that all the wit of his countriemen, if it may be called wit, could neuer compaſſe to do ſo much in Britaine, as the ſtrength and courage of our Engliſhmen (not without great wiſedome and forecaſt) haue brought to paſſe in France. The Galles in time paſt contemned the Romans (ſaith Cæſar) becauſe of the ſmalneſſe of their ſtature: howbeit, for all their greatneſſe (ſaith he) and at the firſt brunt in the warres, they ſhew themſelues to be but feeble, neither is their courage of any force to ſtand in great calamities. Certes in accuſing our wiſedome in this ſort, he doth (in mine opinion) increaſe our commendation. For if it be a vertue to deale vprightlie with ſingleneſſe of mind, ſincerelie and plainlie, without anie ſuch ſuſpicious fetches in all our dealings, as they commonlie practiſe in their affaires, then are our countrimen to be accompted wiſe and vertuous. But if it be a vice to colour craftineſſe, ſubtile practiſes, doubleneſſe, and hollow behauiour, with a cloake of policie, amitie and wiſedome: then are Comineus and his countrimen to be reputed vicious, of whome this prouerbe hath of old time beene vſed as an eare marke of their diſſimulation,

Galli ridendo fidem frangunt. &c.

How theſe latter points take hold in Italie, I meane not to diſcuſſe. How they are dailie practiſed in manie places of the maine, & be accompted moſt wiſe and politike, that can moſt of all diſſemble; here is no place iuſtlie to determine (neither would I wiſh my countrimen to learne anie ſuch wiſedome) but that a king of France could ſaie; *Qui neſcit diſſimulare, neſcit regnare*, or *viuere*, their owne hiſtories are teſtimonies ſufficient. Galen, the noble phyſician, tranſferring the forces of our naturall humors from the bodie to the mind, attributeth to the yellow colour, prudence; to the blacke, conſtancie; to bloud, mirth; to phlegme, courteſie: which being mixed more or leſſe among themſelues, do yeeld an infinit varietie. By this meanes therefore it commeth to paſſe, that he whoſe nature inclineth generallie to phlegme, cannot but be courteous: which ioined with ſtrength of bodie, and ſinceritie of behauiour (qualities vniuerſallie granted to remaine ſo well in our nation, as other inhabitants of the north) I cannot ſee what may be an hinderance why I ſhould not rather conclude, that the Britons do excell ſuch as dwell in the hoter countries, than for want of craft and ſubtilties to come anie whit behind them. It is but vanitie alſo for ſome to note vs (as I haue often heard in common table talke) as barbarous, becauſe we ſo little regard the ſhedding of our bloud, and rather tremble not when we ſee the liquor of life to go from vs (I vſe their owne words.) Certes if we be barbarous in their eies, becauſe we be rather inflamed than appalled at our wounds, then are thoſe obiectors flat cowards in our iudgement: ſith we thinke it a great peece of manhood to ſtand to our tackling, vntill the laſt drop, as men that may ſpare much becauſe we haue much: whereas they hauing leſſe are afraid to loſe that little which they haue: as Frontinus alſo noteth. As for that which the French write of their owne manhood in their hiſtories, I make little accompt of it: for I am of the opinion, that as an Italian writing of his credit; A papiſt intreating of religion, a Spaniard of his meekeneſſe, or a Scot of his manhood, is not to be builded on; no more is a Frenchman to be truſted in the report of his owne affaires, wherein he doth either diſſemble or exceed, which is a foule vice in ſuch as profeſſe to deale vprightlie. Neither are we ſo hard to ſtrangers as Horace would ſeeme to make vs, ſith we loue them ſo long as they abuſe vs not, & make accompt of them ſo far forth as they deſpiſe vs not. And this is generallie to be verified, in that they vſe our priuileges and commodities for diet, apparell and trade of gaine, in ſo ample manner as we our ſelues enioy them: which is not lawfull for vs to do in their countries, where no ſtranger is ſuffered to haue worke, if an home-borne be without. But to proceed with our purpoſe.

With vs (although our good men care not to liue long, but to liue well) ſome do liue an hundred yeers, verie manie vnto foure ſcore: as for three ſcore, it is taken but for our entrance into age, ſo that in Britaine no man is ſaid to wax old till he draw vnto three ſcore, at which time God ſpeed you well commeth in place; as Epaminondas ſometime ſaid in mirth, affirming that vntill thirtie yeares of age, You are welcome is the beſt ſalutation; and from thence to three ſcore, God keepe you; but after three ſcore, it is beſt to ſaie, God ſpeed you well: for at that time we begin to grow toward our iournies end, whereon manie a one haue verie good leaue to go. Theſe two are alſo noted in vs (as things apperteining to the firme conſtitutions of our bodies) that there hath not beene ſeene in anie region ſo manie carcaſſes of the dead to remaine from time to time without corruption as in Britaine: and that after death by ſlaughter or otherwiſe, ſuch as remaine vnburied by foure or fiue daies togither, are eaſie to be knowne and diſcerned by their freends and kindred; whereas Tacitus and other complaine of ſundrie nations, ſaieng, that their bodies are *Tam fluidæ ſubſtantiæ*, that within certeine houres the wife ſhall hardlie know hir huſband, the mother hir ſonne, or one freend another after their liues be ended. In like ſort the comelineſſe of our liuing bodies do continue from midle age (for the moſt) euen to the laſt gaſpe, ſpeciallie in mankind. And albeit that our women through bearing of children do after fortie begin to wrinkle apace, yet are they not commonlie ſo wretched and hard fauoured to looke vpon in their age, as the French women, and diuerſe of other countries with whom their men alſo do much participate; and thereto be ſo often watward and peeuiſh, that nothing in maner may content them.

Salutations according to our ages.

I might here adde ſomewhat alſo of the meane ſtature generallie of our women, whoſe beautie commonlie exceedeth the faireſt of thoſe of the maine, their comlineſſe of perſon and good proportion of limmes, moſt of theirs that come ouer vnto vs from beyond the ſeas. This neuertheleſſe I vtterlie miſlike in the poorer ſort of them, for the wealthier do ſildome offend herein: that being of themſelues without gouernement, they are ſo careleſſe in the education of their children (wherein their huſbands alſo are to be blamed) by means whereof verie manie of them neither fearing God, neither regarding either maners or obedience, do oftentimes come to confuſion, which (if anie correction or diſcipline had beene vſed toward them in youth) might haue prooued good members of their common-wealth & countrie, by their good ſeruice and induſtrie. I could make report likewiſe of the naturall vices and vertues of all thoſe that are borne within this Iland, but as the full tractation herof craueth a better head than mine to ſet forth the ſame, ſo will I giue place to other men that liſt to take it in hand. Thus much therefore of the conſtitutions of our bodies: and ſo much may ſuffice.

How Britaine at the firſt grew to be *diuided into three portions.*

Cap. 21.

AFter the comming of Brutus into this Iland (which was, as you haue read in the foreſaid treatiſe, about the yeare of the world, 2850, or 1217 before the incarnation of Chriſt, although Goropius after his maner doo vtterlie denie our hiſtorie in this behalfe) he made a generall ſurueis of the whole Iland from ſide to ſide, by ſuch meanes to view and ſearch out not onelie the limits and bounds of his dominions, but alſo what commodities this new atchiued conqueſt might yeeld vnto his people. Furthermore, finding out at the laſt alſo a conuenable place wherin to erect a citie, he began there euen the verie ſame which at this daie is called London, naming it Trenouanton, in remembrance of old Troie, from whence his anceſtors proceeded, and for which the Romans pronounced afterward Trinobantum, although the Welſhmen doo call it ſtill Trenewith. This citie was builded (as ſome write) much about the tenth yeare of his reigne, ſo that he liued not aboue fifteene yeares after he had finiſhed the ſame. But of the reſt of his other acts attempted and done, before or after the erection of this citie, I find no certeine report, more than that when he had reigned in this Iland after his arriuall by the ſpace of foure and twentie yeares, he finiſhed his daies at Trenouanton aforeſaid, being in his yong and flouriſhing age, where his carcaſe was honourablie interred. As for the maner of his death, I find as yet no mention thereof among ſuch writers as are extant; I meane whether it grew vnto him by defect of nature, or force of grieuous wounds receiued in his warres againſt ſuch as withſtood him from time to time in this Iland, and therefore I can ſaie nothing of that matter. Herein onelie all agree, that during the time of his languiſhing paines, he made a diſpoſition of his whole kingdome, diuiding it into three parts or portions, according to the number of his ſonnes then liuing, whereof the eldeſt exceeded not eight and twentie yeares of age, as my coniecture giueth me.

Locrine. To the eldeſt therefore, whoſe name was Locrine, he gaue the greateſt and beſt region of all the reſt, Logres. which of him to this daie is called Logres among the Britons, but in our language England: of ſuch English Saxons as made conqueſt of the ſame. This portion alſo is included on the ſouth with the Britiſh ſea, on the eſt with the Germane Ocean, on the north with the Humber, and on the weſt with the Iriſh ſea, and the riuers Dee and Sauerne, whereof in the generall deſcription of this Iland I haue ſpoken more at large. To Camber his ſecond ſonne he Camber. aſſigned all that lieth beyond the Sauerne and Dee, Cambria. toward the weſt (which parcell in theſe daies conteineth Southwales and Northwales) with ſundrie Ilands adiacent to the ſame, the whole being in maner cut off and ſeparated from England or Logria by the ſaid ſtreams, whereby it ſeemeth alſo a peninſula or by-land, if you reſpect the ſmall hillie portion of ground that lieth indifferentlie betweene their maine courſes, or ſuch branches (at the leaſt) as run and fall into them. The Welſhmen or Britons call it by the ancient name ſtill vnto this day, but we Engliſhmen terme it Wales: which denomination we haue from the Saxons, who in time paſt did vſe the word Walſh in ſuch ſort as we doo Strange: for as we call all thoſe ſtrangers that are not of our nation, ſo did they name them Walſh which were not of their countrie.

The third and laſt part of the Iland he allotted vnto Albanact his yongeſt ſonne (for he had but three in all, as I haue ſaid before) whoſe portion ſeemed for circuit to be more large than that of Camber, and in maner equall in greatneſſe with the dominions of Locrinus. But if you haue regard to the ſeuerall commodities that are to be reaped by each, you ſhall find them to be not much diſcrepant or differing one from another: for what ſoeuer the firſt & ſecond haue in plentie of corne, fine graſſe, and large cattell, this latter wanteth not in exceeding ſtore of fiſh, rich mettall, quarries of ſtone, and abundance of wild foule: ſo that in mine opinion, there could not be a more equall partition than this made by Brute, and after the aforeſaid maner. This later parcell at the firſt, tooke the name of Albanactus, who called it Albania. But now a ſmall portion onelie of the region (being vnder the regiment of a duke) reteineth the ſaid denomination, the reſt being called Scotland, of certeine Scots that came ouer from Ireland to inhabit in thoſe quarters. It is diuided from Logres alſo by the Solue and the Firth, yet ſome doo note the Humber; ſo that Albania (as Brute left it) conteined all the north part of the Iland that is to be found beyond the aforeſaid ſtreame, vnto the point of Cathneſſe. Albania.

To conclude, Brute hauing diuided his kingdome after this maner, and therein contenting himſelfe as it were with the generall title of the whole, it was not long after yer he ended his life; and being ſolemnelie interred at his new citie by his three children, they parted each from other, and tooke poſſeſſion of their prouinces. But Scotland after two yeares fell againe into the hands of Locrinus as to the chiefe lord, by the death of his brother Albanact, who was ſlaine by Humber king of the Scithians, and left none iſſue behind him to ſucceed him in that kingdome. Locrine king alſo of Scotland.

After what maner the ſouereigntie *of this Ile dooth remaine to the princes* of Logres or kings of England.

Chap. 22.

IT is poſſible that ſome of the Scotiſh nation, reading the former chapter, will take offenſe with me for meaning that the principalitie of the north parts of this Ile hath alwais belonged to the kings of Logres. For whoſe more ample ſatiſfaction in this behalfe, I will here ſet downe a diſcourſe thereof at large, written by diuerſe, and now finallie brought into one treatiſe, ſufficient (as I thinke) to ſatiſfie the reaſonable, although not halfe enough peraduenture to content a wrangling mind, ſith there is (or at the leaſt wiſe hath beene) nothing more odious among ſome, than to heare that the king of England hath ought to doo in Scotland. The Scots alwaies deſirous to ſhake off the Engliſh ſubiection, haue often made cruell & odious attempts to doo, but in vaine.

How their hiſtoriographers haue attempted to ſhape manie coloured excuſes to auoid ſo manifeſt a title, all men may ſee that read their bookes indifferentlie, whereunto I referre them. For my part there is little or nothing of mine herein, more than onelie the collection and abridgement of a number of fragments togither, wherein chieflie I haue vſed the helpe of Nicholas Adams a lawier, who wrote thereof

Brutus had reigned ouer the whole Iland, the ſame land being inioied by him and his poſteritie before their comming, during two and fiftie deſcents of the kings of Britaine, which is a large preſcription. Certes this intruſion into a land ſo manie hundred yeares before inhabited, and by ſo manie deſcents of kings quietlie inioied, is the beſt title that all their owne writers can alledge for them. But to proceed. Fergus hereupon immediatlie did diuide Albania alſo among his capteins and their ſouldiers: whereby it moſt euidentlie appeareth, that there were no people of that nation inhabiting there before, in proofe whereof the ſame partition ſhall follow.

Out of Hector Boecius Lib. 1.

The lands of Cathnes lieng againſt Orkneie, betweene Dunmeſbeie and the water of Thane, was giuen vnto one Cornath, a capteine and his people. The lands betweene the water of Thane & Nes, now called Roſſe, being in breadth from Cromart to the mouth of the water of Locht, were giuen to Lutorke, another capteine and his people. The lands betweene Spaie and Nes, from the Almane ſeas to the Ireland ſeas, now called Murraie land, were giuen to one Marroch and his people. The land of Thalia, now called Boin Ainze, Bogewall, Gariot, Formartine, and Bolwguhan, were giuen to one Thalis and his people. The lands of Mar Badezenoch, and Lochquhaber, were giuen to Martach and his people. The lands of Lorne and Kintier, with the hilles and mounteins thereof, lieng from Mar to the Ireland ſeas, were giuen to capteine Nanance and his people. The lands of Athole were giuen to Atholus, another capteine and his people. The lands of Strabraun, & Brawdawane lieng weſt from Dunkell, were giuen to Creones & Epidithes two capteins. The lands of Argile, were giuen to Argathelus a capteine. The lands of Linnox & Clidiſdale were allotted to Lolgonas a capteine. The lands of Siluria now called Kile, Carrike & Cuningham, were giuen to Silurth another capteine. The lands of Brigance now called Gallowaie, were giuen to the companie called Brigandes, which (as their beſt men) were appointed to dwell next the Britons, who afterward expelled the Britons from Annandale in Albanie, whereby it is confeſſed to be before inhabited by Britons. The reſidue of the land now called Scotland, that is to ſaie: Peirnis, Angus, Steremond, Gowrie, Strahern, Pirth, Fiffe, Striueling, Callender, Calderwood, Loughlian, Mers, Teuedale, with other the Kement Dales, & the Sheriſdome, of Berwicke, were then enioied by a nation mingled in marriage with the Britons, and in their obedience, whoſe capteine called Beringer builded the caſtell and towne of Berwicke vpon Twede, & theſe people were called Picts, vpon whome by the death of this Coell, theſe Scots had opportunitie to vſe wars, whereof they ceaſed not, vntill ſuch time as it pleaſed God to appoint another Coell king of Britons, againſt whoſe name, albeit they hoped for a like victorie to the firſt, yet he preuailed and ceaſed not his warre, vntill theſe Scots were vtterlie expelled out of all the bounds of Britaine, in which they neuer dared to reenter, vntill the troubleſome reigne of Siſilt king of Britons, which was the twelfth king after this Coell. During all which time the countrie was reinhabited by the Britons. But then the Scots turning the ciuill diſcord of this realme, betweene this Siſilt and his brother Blede to their beſt aduantage, arriued againe in Albania, & there made one Reuther their king.

Berouicum potiùs à Berubio promontorio.

Upon this their new arriuall, new warre was made vpon them by this Siſilt king of Britons, in which warre Reuther their new king died, and Hereus ſucceeded, againſt whome the warre of Britons ceaſed not, vntill he fræelie ſubmitted himſelfe to the ſaid Siſill king of Britons at Ebranke, that is Yorke, where ſhortlie after the tenth yeare of his reigne he died. Finnane brother of Joſine ſucceeded by their election to the kingdome of Scots, who ſhortlie after (compelled by the warres of the ſame Siſill) declared himſelfe ſubiect, and for the better aſſurance of his faith and obeiſance to the king of Britons, deliuered his ſonne Durſtus into the hands of this Siſill: who fantaſieng the child, and hoping by his owne ſucceſſion to alter their ſubtiltie (I will not ſaie duplicitie ſaith Adams) married him in the end to Agaſia his owne daughter.

Durſtus.

This Durſtus was their next king; but for that he had married a Briton woman, (though indeed ſhe was a kings daughter) the Scots hated him for the ſame cauſe, for which they ought rather to haue liked him the better, and therefore not onelie traitorouſlie ſlue him; but further to declare the end of their malice, diſinherited (as much as in them was) the iſſues of the ſame Durſtus and Agaſia. Hereupon new warre ſprong betweene them and vs, which ceaſed not vntill they were contented to receiue Edeir to their king, the next in bloud then liuing, deſcended from Durſtus and Agaſia, and thereby the bloud of the Britons, of the part of the mother, was reſtored to the crowne of Albania: ſo that nature, whoſe law is immutable, cauſed this bond of loue to hold. For ſhortlie after this Edeir attended vpon Caſſibelane king of Britons, for the repulſe of Iulius Cæſar, as their owne author Boetius confeſſeth, who commanded the ſame as his ſubiect. But Iulius Cæſar, after his ſecond arriuall, by treaſon of Androgeus preuailed againſt the Britons, and thereupon purſued this Edeir into Scotland; and (as himſelfe ſaith in his commentaries) ſubdued all the Ile of Britaine. Which though the liuing Scots denie it, their dead writers confeſſe that he came beyond Calender wood, and caſt downe Camelon, the principall citie of the Picts. And in token of this victorie, not farre from Carron, builded a round temple of ſtone, which remained in ſome perfection vntill the reigne of our king Edward called the firſt after the conqueſt, by whome it was ſubuerted: but the monument thereof remaineth to this daie.

Marius.

Marius the ſonne of Aruiragus, being king of all Britaine, in his time one Roderike a Scithian, with a great rabble of needie ſouldiours, came to the water of Frith in Scotland, which is an arme of the ſea, diuiding Pentland from Fiffe: againſt whome this Marius aſſembled a power, by which he ſlue this Rodericke, and diſcomfited his people in Weſtmerland: but to thoſe that remained aliue, he gaue the countrie of Cathneſſe in Scotland, which proueth it to be within his owne dominion.

Coelius.

Coell the ſonne of this Marius had iſſue Lucius, counted the firſt chriſtian king of this nation: he conuerted the three archflamines of this land into biſhoprikes, and ordeined biſhops vnto ech of them. The firſt remained at London, and his power extended from the furtheſt part of Cornewall to Humber water. The ſecond dwelled at Yorke, and his power ſtretched from Humber to the furtheſt part of all Scotland. The third abided at Caerleon vpon the riuer of Wiſke in Glamorgan in Wales, & his power extended from Seuerne through all Wales. Some write that he made but two, and turned their names to archbiſhops, the one to remaine at Canturburie, the other at Yorke: yet they confeſſe that he of Yorke had iuriſdiction through all Scotland: either of which is ſufficient to proue Scotland to be then vnder his dominion.

Seuerus.

Seuerus, by birth a Romane, but in bloud a Briton (as ſome thinke) and the lineall heire of the bodie

bodie of Andꝛogeus ſonne of Lud, & nephue of Caſſibelane, was ſhoꝛtlie after emperour & king of Bꝛitons, in whoſe time the people to whom his anceſter Maꝛius gaue the land of Cathneſſe in Scotland, conſpired with the Scots, & receiued them from the Iles into Scotland. But hereꝛpon this Seuerus came into Scotland, and meeting with their faith and falſe harts togither, dꝛoue them all out of the maine land into Iles, the vttermoſt bounds of all great Bꝛitaine. But notwithſtanding this gloꝛious victoꝛie, the Bꝛitons conſidering their ſeruitude to the Romans, impoſed by treaſon of Andꝛogeus, anceſſoꝛ to this Seuerus, began to hate him, whome yet they had no time to loue, and who in their defenſe and ſuertie had ſlaine of the Scots and their confederats in one battell thiꝛtie thouſand: but ſuch was the conſideration of the common ſoꝛt in thoſe daies, whoſe malice no time could diminiſh, noꝛ iuſt deſert appeaſe.

Baſſianus. Antoninus Baſſianus boꝛne of a Bꝛiton woman, and Geta boꝛne by a Romane woman, were the ſonnes of this Seuerus, who after the death of their father, by the contrarie voices of their people, contended foꝛ the crowne. Few Bꝛitons held with Baſſianus, fewer Romans with Geta: but the greater number with neither of both. In the end Geta was ſlaine, and Baſſianus remained emperour, againſt whom Carautius rebelled, who gaue vnto the Scots, Picts, and Scithians, the countrie of Cathneſſe in Scotland, which they afterward inhabited, whereby his ſeiſon thereof appeareth.

Coill. Coill, deſcended of the bloud of the ancient kings of this land, was ſhoꝛtlie after king of the Bꝛitons, whoſe onelie daughter and heiꝛe called Helen, was marꝛied vnto Conſtantius a Romane, who daunted the rebellion of all parts of great Bꝛitaine; and after the death of this Coill was in the right of his wife king thereof, and reigned in his ſtate ouer them thiꝛteene oꝛ foureteene yeares.

Conſtantine. Conſtantine the ſonne of this Conſtance, and Helen, was next king of Bꝛitons, by the right of his mother, who paſſing to Rome to receiue the empire thereof, deputed one Octauius king of Wales, and duke of the Gewiſſes (which ſome expound to be afterward called weſt Saxons) to haue the gouernment of this dominion. But abuſing the kings innocent goodneſſe, this Octauius deſrauded this truſt, and toke vpon him the crowne. Foꝛ which traitoꝛie albeit he was once vanquiſhed by Leonine Traheron, great vncle to Conſtantine: yet after the death of this Traheron, he pꝛeuailed againe, and vſurped ouer all Bꝛitaine. Conſtantine being now emperoꝛ ſent Maximius his kinſman hither (in pꝛoceſſe of time) to deſtroie the ſame Octauius, who in ſingular battell diſcomfited him. Whereꝛpon this Maximius, as well by the conſent of great Conſtantine, as by the election of all the Bꝛitons, foꝛ that he was a Bꝛiton in bloud, was made king oꝛ rather vicegerent of Bꝛitaine. This Maximius made warre vpon the Scots and Scithians within Bꝛitaine, and ceaſſed not vntill he had ſlaine Eugenius their king, and expelled and dꝛiuen them out of the whole limits and bounds of Bꝛitaine. Finallie he inhabited all Scotland with Bꝛitons, no man, woman, noꝛ child of the Scotiſh nation ſuffered to remaine within it, which (as their Hector Boetius ſaith) was foꝛ their rebellion; and rebellion pꝛoperlie could it not be, except they had beene ſubiects. He ſuffered the Picts alſo to remaine his ſubiects, who made ſolemne othes to him, neuer after to erect anie peculiar king of their owne nation, but to remaine vnder the old empire of the onelie king of Bꝛitaine. I had once an epiſtle by Leland exemplified (as he ſaith) out of a verie ancient recoꝛd which beareth title of Helena vnto hir ſonne Conſtantine, and entreth after this manner; *Domino ſemper Auguſto filio Conſtantino, mater Helena ſemper Auguſta, &c.* And now it repenteth me that I did not exemplifie and conueigh it into this treatiſe whileſt I had his booke. Foꝛ thereby I might haue had great light foꝛ the eſtate of this pꝛeſent diſcourſe: but as then I had no mind to haue trauelled in this matter; neuertheleſſe, if hereafter it come againe to light I would with it were reſerued. It followeth on alſo in this maner (as it is tranſlated out of the Gꝛeeke) *Veritatem ſapientis animus non recuſat, nec fides recta aliquando patitur quamcunque iacturam, &c.*

About fiue and fourtie yeares after this (which was long time after the death of this Maximius) with the helpe of Gouan oꝛ Gonan and Pelga, the Scots newlie arriued in Albania, and there created one Fergus the ſecond of that name to be there king. But bicauſe they were beforе baniſhed the continent land, they crowned him king on their aduenture in Argile, in the fatall chaire of marble, the yeere of our Loꝛd, foure hundꝛed and two and twentie, as they themſelues doo wꝛite.

Maximian. Maximian ſonne of Leonine Traheron, bꝛother to king Coill, and vncle to Helene, was by lineall ſucceſſion next king of Bꝛitons: but to appeaſe the malice of Dionothus king of Wales, who alſo claimed the kingdome, he maꝛied Othilia eldeſt daughter of Dionothus, and afterwards aſſembled a great power of Bꝛitons, and entered Albania, inuading Gallowaie, Pers, Annandale, Pentland, Carꝛike, Kill, and Cuningham, and in battell ſlue both this Fergus then king of Scots, and Durſtus the king of Picts, and exiled all their people out of the continent land: whereꝛpon the few number of Scots then remaining a line, went to Argile, and there made Eugenius their king. When this Maximian had thus obteined quietneſſe in Bꝛitaine, he departed with his couſine Conan Meriadocke into Armoꝛica, where they ſubdued the king, and depopulated the countrie, which he gaue to Conan his couſine, to be afterward inhabited by Bꝛitons, by the name of Bꝛitaine the leſſe: and hereof this realme toke name of Bꝛitaine the great, which name by conſent of foꝛren wꝛiters it kæpeth vnto this daie.

After the death of Maximian, diſſention being moued betweene the nobles of Bꝛitaine, the Scots ſwarmed togither againe, and came to the wall of Adꝛian, where (this realme being diuided in manie factions) they ouercame one. And hereꝛpon their Hector Boetius (as an hen that foꝛ laieng of one eg, will make a great cakeling) ſolemnlie triumphing foꝛ a conqueſt beforе the victoꝛie, alledgeth that hereby the Bꝛitons were made tributaries to the Scots, and yet he confeſſeth that they won no moꝛe land, by that ſuppoſed conqueſt, but the ſame poꝛtion betweene them and Humber, which in the old partitions beforе was annexed to Albania. It is hard to be beleeued, that ſuch a bꝛoken nation as the Scots at that time were, returning from baniſhment within foure yeares beforе, and ſince in battell loſing both their kings, and the great number of their beſt men, to be thus able to make a conqueſt of great Bꝛitaine; and verie vnlikelie if they had conquered it, they would haue left the hot ſunne of the ſouth parts, to dwell in the cold ſnow in Scotland. Incredible it is, that if they had conquered it, they would not haue deputed officers in it, as in caſes of conqueſt behoueth. And it is beyond all beliefe, that great Bꝛitaine, oꝛ any other countrie, ſhould be won without the comming of anie enimie into it: as they did not, but taried finallie at the ſame wall of Adꝛian, whereof I ſpake beforе.

But what need I ſpeake of theſe defenſes, when the

the same Boecius fearthe trusteth his owne beliefe in this tale. For he saieth that Gildas, and sundrie other authentike writers, diuerslie varie from this part of his storie, wherein his owne thought accuseth his conscience of vntruth: herein also he further forgetting how it behoueth a lier to be mindfull of his assertion, in the fourth chapter next following, wholie bewraieth himselfe, saieng that the confederat kings of Scots and Picts, vpon ciuill warres betweene the Britons which then followed hoped shortlie to inioie all the land of great Britaine, from beyond Humber vnto the fresh sea, which hope had bene vaine, and not lesse than void, if it had beene their owne by ante conquest before.

Constantine of Britaine, descended from Conan king thereof, cousine of Vtes blood to this Arthman, and his nerest heire was next king of Britaine, he immediatlie pursued the Scots with wars, and shortlie in battell slue their king Dongard, in the first yeare of his reigne, whereby he recouered Scotland out of their hands, and tooke all the holdes thereof into his owne possessions. Vortiger shortlie after obteined the crowne of Britaine, against whom the Scots newlie rebelled: for the repressing whereof (mistrusting the Britons to hate him for sundrie causes, as one that to auoid the smoke doth oft fall into the fire) receiued Hengest a Saxon, and a great number of his countriemen, with whom and a few Britons he entred Scotland, ouercame them, whereupon they tooke the Iles, which are their common refuge. He gaue also much of Scotland, as Galloway, Pentland, Mers and Annandale, with sundrie other lands to this Hengest and his people to inhabit, which they did accordinglie inioie. But when this Hengest in processe of time thirsted after the whole kingdome of the south, he was banished, and yet afterward being restored, he conspired with the Scots against Aurilambrose the sonne of Constantine, the iust inheritor of this whole dominion. But his vntruth and theirs were both recompensed togither, for he was taken prisoner by Eldolph de Samor a noble man of Britaine, and his head for his traitorie striken off at the commandement of Aurilambrose. In the field the Scots were vanquished: but Octa the sonne of Hengest was receiued to mercie, to whome and his people this Aurilambrose gaue the countrie of Galloway in Scotland, for which they became his subiects. And hereby appeareth that Scotland was then againe reduced into his hands.

Some thinke the Seimors to come from this man by lineall descent and I suppose no lesse.

Vter called also Pendragon, brother to Aurilambrose was next king of the Britons, against whome, these sworne Saxons now forsworne subiects (confederate with the Scots) newlie rebelled: but by his power assembled against them in Galloway in Scotland, they were discomfited, & Albania againe recouered vnto his subiection. Arthur the sonne of of this Vter, begotten before the mariage, but lawfullie borne in matrimonie, succeeded next to the crowne of great Britaine; whose noble acts, though manie vulgar fables haue rather stained than commended: yet all the Scotish writers confesse, that he subdued great Britaine, and made it tributarie to him, and ouercame the Saxons then scattered as far as Cathnesse in Scotland: and in all these wars against them, he had the seruice and obeisance of Scots and Picts. But at the last setting their fet in the guilefull paths of their predecessors, they rebelled and besieged the citie of Yorke, Howell king of the lesse Britaine cousine to king Arthur being therein. But he with an host came thither and discomfited the Scots, chased them into a marsh, and besieged them there so long, that they were almost famished: vntill the bishops, abbats, and men of religion (for as much as they were christened people) besought him to take them to his mercie and grace, and to grant them a portion of the same countrie to dwell in vnder euerlasting subiection. Vpon this he tooke them to his grace, homage and fealtie: and when they were sworne his subiects and liegemen, he ordeined his kinsman Anguisan to be their king and gouernour, Vrian king of Iland, and Pure-frence king of Orkeneie. He made an archbishop of Yorke also, whose authoritie extended through all Scotland.

Finallie, the said Arthur holding his roiall feast at Caerleon, had there all the kings that were subiects vnto him, among which, Anguisan the said king of Scots did his due seruice and homage, so long as he was with him for the realme of Scotland, & bare king Arthurs sword afore him. Walgo shortlie after succeeded in the whole kingdome of great Britaine, who vpon new resistance made, subdued Ireland, Iland, the Orchads, Norwaie and Denmarke, and made Ethelfred a Saxon king of Bernicia, that is, Northumberland, Louthian, and much other land of Scotland, which Ethelfred by the sword obteined at the hands of the wilfull inhabitants, and continued true subiect to this Walgo.

Cadwan succeeded in the kingdome of great Britaine, who in defense of his subiects the Scots, made warre vpon this Ethelfred, but at the last they agreed, and Cadwan vpon their rebellion gaue all Scotland vnto this Ethelfred, which he therevpon subdued and inioied: but afterward in the reigne of Cadwallo that next succeeded in great Britaine, he rebelled. Wherupon the same Cadwallo came into Scotland, and vpon his treason reseised the countrie into his owne hands, and hauing with him all the viceroys of the Saxons, which then inhabited here as his subiects, in singular battell he slue the same Ethelfred with his owne hands.

Oswald was shortlie after by Cadwallos gift made king of Bernicia, and he as subiect to Cadwallo, and by his commandement discomfited the Scots and Picts, and subdued all Scotland. Oswie the brother of this Oswald, was by the like gift of Cadwallo, made next king of Bernicia, and he by like commandement newlie subdued the Scots and Picts, and held them in that obeisance to this Cadwallo, during eight and twentie yeares. Thus Cadwallo reigned in the whole monarchie of great Britaine, hauing all the seuen kings thereof, as well Saxons as others his subiects: for albeit the number of Saxons from time to time greatlie increased, yet were they alwaies either at the first expelled, or else made tributarie to the onelie kings of Britons for the time being, as all their owne writers do confesse.

Cadwallader was next king of the whole great Britaine, he reigned twelue yeares ouer all the kings thereof, in great peace and tranquillitie: and then vpon the lamentable death of his subiects, which died of sundrie diseases innumerablie, he departed into little Britaine. His sonne and cousine Ivor and Iue, being expelled out of England also by the Saxons, went into Wales, where among the Britons they and their posteritie remained princes. Vpon this great alteration, and warres being through the whole dominion betweene the Britons and Saxons, the Scots thought time to slip the collar of obedience, and therevpon entred in league with Charles then king of France, establishing it in this wise.

1 The iniurie of Englishmen done to anie of these people, shall be perpetuallie holden common to them both.

2 When Frenchmen be inuaded by Englishmen, the Scots shall send their armie in defense of France, so that they be supported with monis and vittels

Nicholas Adams.

cc bittels by the French.

cc 3 When Scots be inuaded by Engliſhmen, the Frenchmen ſhall come vpon their owne expenſes, cc to their ſuppoꝛt and ſuccour.

cc 4 None of the people ſhall take peace oꝛ truce with Engliſhmen, without the aduiſe of other, &c.

Manie diſputable opinions may be had of warre without the pꝛaiſing of it, as onlie admittable by inforced neceſſitie, and to be vſed foꝛ peace ſake onelie, where here the Scots ſought warre foꝛ the loue of warre onelie. Foꝛ their league glueth no benefit to themſelues, either in frée traffike of their owne commodities, oꝛ benefit of the French, oꝛ other pꝛiuilege to the people of both. What diſcommoditie riſeth by loſing the intercourſe and exchange of our commodities (being in neceſſaries moꝛe aboundant than France) the Scots féele, and we perfectlie know. What ruine of their townes, deſtruction of countries, ſlaughter of both peoples, haue by reaſon of this blondie league chanced, the hiſtoꝛies be lamentable to read, and hoꝛrible among chriſtian men to be remembꝛed: but God gaue the increaſe accoꝛding to their ſéed, foꝛ as they did hereby ſowe diſſention, ſo did they ſhoꝛtlie after reape a bloudie ſlaughter and confuſion. Foꝛ Alpine their king, poſſeſſing a light mind that would be loſt with a little wind, hoped by this league ſhoꝛtlie to ſubdue all great Bꝛitaine, and to that end not onelie rebelled in his owne kingdome, but alſo vſurped vpon the kingdome of Picts. Wheꝛvpon Edwine king of England, made one Bꝛudeus king of Picts, whom he ſent into Scotland with a great power, where in battell he toke this Alpine king of Scots pꝛiſoner, and diſcomfited his people. And this Alpine being their king found ſubiect and rebell, his head was ſtriken off at a place in Scotland, which thereof is to this daie called Paſalpine, that is to ſaie, the head of Alpine. And this was the firſt effect of their French league.

Oſbꝛight king of England, with Ella his ſubiect, and a great number of Bꝛitons and Saxons ſhoꝛtlie after, foꝛ that the Scots had of themſelues elected a new king, entered Scotland, and ceaſſed not his war againſt them, vntill their king and people fled into the Iles, with whome at the laſt vpon their ſubmiſſion, peace was made in this wiſe.

The water of Frith ſhall be march betwéene Scots and Engliſhmen in the eaſt parts, and ſhall be named the Scotiſh ſea.

The water of Cluide to Dunbꝛiton, ſhall be march in the weſt parts betwéene the Scots and Bꝛitons. This caſtell was beforе called Alcluide, but now Dunbꝛiton, that is to ſay, the caſtle of Bꝛitons, and ſometimes it was deſtroied by the Danes. So the Bꝛitons had all the lands from Sterling to the Ireland ſeas, and from the water of Frith & Cluide to Cumber, with all the ſtrengths and commodities thereof: and the Engliſhmen had the lands betwéene Sterling and Noꝛthumberland. Thus was Cluide march betwéene the Scots and the Bꝛitons on the one ſide, and the water of Frith named the Scotiſh ſea, march betwéene them and Engliſhmen on the other ſide, and Sterling common march to thꝛée people, Bꝛitons, Engliſhmen, and Scots, howbeit king Oſbꝛight had the caſtle of Sterling, where firſt he cauſed to be coined Sterling monie. The Engliſhmen alſo builded a bꝛidge of ſtone, foꝛ paſſage ouer the water of Frith, in the middeſt whereof they made a croſſe, vnder which were wꝛitten theſe verſes:

I am free march, as paſſengers may ken,
To Scots, to Britons, and Engliſhmen.

Not manie yeares after this, Hinguar and Hubba, two Danes, with a great number of people, aꝛriued in Scotland, and ſlue Conſtantine, whom Oſbꝛight had beforе made king: wheꝛvpon Edulfe oꝛ Ethelwulfe, then king of England, aſſembled his power againſt Hinguar and Hubba, and in one battell ſlue them both; but ſuch of their people as would remaine and become chriſtians, he ſuffered to tarie: the reſt he baniſhed oꝛ put to death, &c.

This Ethelwulfe granted the Peter pence, of which albeit Peter & Paule had little need and leſſe right: yet the paiment thereof continued in this realme euer after vntill now of late yeares. But the Scots euer ſince vnto this daie haue, and yet doo paie it, by reaſon of that grant, which pꝛoueth them to be then vnder his obeiſance.

Alured oꝛ Alfred ſucceéded in the kingdome of England, and reigned noblie ouer the whole monarchie of great Bꝛitaine: he made lawes, that perſons excommunicated ſhould be diſabled to ſue oꝛ claime anie pꝛopertie; which law Gregour, whome this Alured had maꝛe king of Scots, obeied; and the ſame law as well in Scotland as in England is holden to this daie, which alſo pꝛoueth him to be high loꝛd of Scotland.

This Alured conſtreined Gregour king of Scots alſo to bꝛeake the league with France, foꝛ generallie he concluded with him, and ſerued him in all his warres, as well againſt Danes as others, not reſeruing oꝛ making anie exception of the foꝛmer league with France.

The ſaid Alured, after the death of Gregour, had the like ſeruice and obeiſance of Donald king of Scots with fiue thouſand hoꝛſſemen, againſt one Gurmond a Dane that then infeſted the realme, and this Donald died in this faith and obeiſance with Alured.

Edward the firſt of that name called Chiſod ſonne of this Alured ſucceéded his father, and was the next king of England: againſt whome Sithꝛic a Dane and the Scots conſpired; but they were ſubdued, and Conſtantine their king bꝛought to obeiſance. He held the realme of Scotland alſo of king Edward, and this doth Marian their owne countꝛieman a Scot confeſſe: beſide Roger Houeden, and William of Malmeſberie.

In the yeare of our Loꝛd 923, the ſame king Edward was pꝛeſident and gouernour of all the people of England, Cumberland, Scots, Danes, and Bꝛitons.

King Athelſtane in like ſoꝛt conquered Scotland, and as he laie in his tents beſide Noꝛke, whileſt the warres laſted, the king of Scots feined himſelfe to be a minſtrell, and harped beforе him onelie to eſpie his oꝛdinance and his people. But being (as their wꝛiters confeſſe) coꝛrupted with monie, he ſold his faith and falſe heart together to the Danes, and aided them againſt king Athelſtane at ſundꝛie times. Howbeit he met with all their vntruthes at Bꝛoningfield in the weſt countrie, as is mentioned in the ninth chapter of the firſt booke of this deſcription, where he diſcomfited the Danes, and ſlue Malcolme deputie in that behalfe to the king of Scots: in which battell the Scots confeſſe themſelues to haue loſt moꝛe people than were remembꝛed in anie age beforе. Then Athelſtane following his good lucke, went thꝛoughout all Scotland and wholie ſubdued it, and being in poſſeſſion thereof, gaue land there lieng in Annandale by his deed, the copie wherof doth follow:

I king Athelſtane, giues vnto Paulam, Oddam and Roddam, als good and als faire, as euer they mine were, and thereto witneſſe Mauld my wife.

By which courſe woꝛds, not onelie appeareth the plaine ſimplicitie of mens doings in thoſe daies: but alſo a full pꝛoꝛe that he was then ſeized of Scotland. At the laſt alſo he receiued homage of Malcolme king of Scots: but foꝛ that he could not be reſtoꝛed

ſtored to his whole kingdome, he entered into religion, and there ſhortlie after died.

Then Athelſtane, for his better aſſurance of that countrie there after, thought it beſt to haue two ſtringes to the bowe of their obedience, and therefore not onelie conſtituted one Malcolme to be their king, but alſo appointed one Indulph ſonne of Conſtantine the third, to be called prince of Scotland, to whome he gaue much of Scotland: and for this Malcolme did homage to Athelſtane.

Edmund brother of Athelſtane ſucceeded next king of England, to whome this Indulph then king of Scots not onelie did homage, but alſo ſerued him with ten thouſand Scots, for the expulſion of the Danes out of the realme of England.

Some referre this to an Edward.

Edred or Eldred brother to this Edmund ſucceeded next king of England: he not onelie receiued the homage of Iriſe then king of Scots, but alſo the homage of all the barons of Scotland.

Edgar the ſonne of Edmund, brother of Athelſtane, being now of full age, was next king of England: he reigned onelie ouer the whole monarchie of Britaine, and receiued homage of Keneth king of Scots for the kingdome of Scotland, and made Malcolme prince thereof.

This Edgar gaue vnto the ſame Keneth the countrie of Louthian in Scotland, which was before ſeized into the hands of Oſbright king of England for their rebellion, as is before declared. He inſtoolled Keneth their ſaid king alſo once in euerie yeare at certeine principall feaſts (whereat the king did vſe to weare his crowne) to repaire vnto him into England for the making of lawes: which in thoſe daies was done by the noble men or peeres according to the order of France at this daie. He alloweth alſo ſundrie lodgings in England, to him and his ſucceſſours, whereat to lie, and refreſh themſelues in their iourneies, whenſoeuer they ſhould come vp to do their homages: and finallie a peece of ground lieng beſide the new palace of Weſtminſter, vpon which this Keneth builded a houſe, that by him and his poſteritie was inſtoled vntill the reigne of king Henrie the ſecond. In whoſe time, vpon the rebellion of William king of Scots, it was reſumed into the king of Englands hand. The houſe is decaied, but the ground where it ſtood is called Scotland to this daie.

Lawfull age and wardſhip of heires.

Moreouer, Edgar made this law, that no man ſhould ſucceed to his patrimonie or inheritance holden by knights ſeruice, vntill he accompliſhed the age of one and twentie yeeres: becauſe by intendment vnder that age, he ſhould not be able in perſon to ſerue his king and countrie according to the tenor of his deed, and the condition of his purchaſe. This law was receiued by the ſame Keneth in Scotland; and as well there as in England is obſerued to this daie: which proueth alſo that Scotland was then vnder his obeiſance.

In the yeere of our Lord 974, Kinald king of Scots, and Malcolme king of Cumberland, Macon king of Man and the Iles, Duuenall king of South-wales, Siferth and Howell kings of the reſt of Wales, Jacob or James of Gallowaie, & Jukill of Weſtmerland did homage to king Edgar at Cheſter. And on the morrow going by water to the monaſterie of ſaint Johns to ſeruice, and returning home againe: the ſaid Edgar ſitting in a barge, and ſtirring the ſame vpon the water of Dee, made the ſaid kings to row the barge, ſaieng that his ſucceſſors might well be toſtull to haue the prerogatiue of ſo great honour, and the ſuperioritie of ſo manie mightie princes to be ſubiect vnto their monarchie.

Edward, the ſonne of this Edgar, was next king of England, in whoſe time this Keneth king of Scots cauſed Malcolme king of Scotland to be poiſoned. Wherevpon king Edward made warre againſt him, which ceaſed not vntill this Keneth ſubmitted himſelfe, and offered to receiue him for prince of Scotland, whome king Edward would appoint. Herevpon king Edward proclamed one Malcolme to be prince of Scotland, who immediatlie came into England, and there did homage vnto the ſaine king Edward.

Edward Confeſſ.

Ethelred, brother of this Edward ſucceeded next ouer England, againſt whome Swaine king of Denmarke conſpired with this laſt Malcolme then king of Scots. But ſhortlie after, this Malcolme ſorrowfullie ſubmitted himſelfe into the defenſe of Ethelred: who conſidering how that which could not be amended, muſt onelie be repented, benignlie receiued him. By helpe of whoſe ſeruice at laſt Ethelred recouered his realme againe out of the hands of Swaine, and reigned ouer the whole monarchie eight and thirtie yeeres.

Edmund ſurnamed Ironſide, ſonne of this Ethelred, was next king of England, in whoſe time Canutus a Dane inuaded the realme with much cruelties. But at the laſt he married with Emme ſometime wife vnto Ethelred and mother of this Edmund. Which Emme, as arbitratrix betweene hir naturall loue to the one, and matrimoniall dutie to the other, procured ſuch amitie betweene them in the end, that Edmund was contented to diuide the realme with Canutus: and keeping to himſelfe all England on this ſide Humber, gaue all the reſt beyond Humber, with the ſeignioric of Scotland to this Canutus. Wherevpon Malcolme then king of Scots (after a little accuſtomable reſiſtance) did homage to the ſame Canutus for the kingdome of Scotland. Thus the ſaid Canutus held the ſame ouer of this Edmund king of England by the like ſeruices, ſo long as they liued togither. This Canutus in memorie of this victorie, and glorie of his ſeignioric ouer the Scots, commanded Malcolme their king to build a church in Buchquhan in Scotland, (where a field betweene him and them was fought) to be dedicated to Olauus patrone of Norwaie and Denmarke, which church was by the ſame Malcolme accordinglie performed.

William Baſtard.

Edward called the Confeſſour, ſonne of Ethelred, and brother to Edmund Ironſide, was afterward king of England: he tooke from Malcolme king of Scots his life and his kingdome, and made Malcolme ſonne to the king of Cumberland and Northumberland king of Scots, who did him homage and fealtie.

William Rufus.

This Edward peruſed the old lawes of the realme, and ſomewhat added to ſome of them: as to the law of Edgar for the wardſhip of the lands vntill the heire ſhould accompliſh the age of one and twentie yeeres. He added, that the marriage of ſuch heire ſhould alſo belong to the lord of whom the ſame land was holden. Alſo, that euerie woman marrieng a free man, ſhould (notwithſtanding ſhe had no children by that huſband) enioie the third part of his inheritance during hir life: with manie other lawes which the ſame Malcolme king of Scots obeied, and which as well by them in Scotland, as by vs in England be obſerued to this day, and directlie proueth the whole to be then vnder his obeiſance.

To whome the marriage of the ward perteineth.

Henrie 1.

By reaſon of this law, Malcolme the ſonne of Duncane next inheritor to the crowne of Scotland, being within age, was by the nobles of Scotland deliuered as ward to the cuſtodie alſo of king Edward. During whoſe minoritie, one Makebeth a Scot traitorouſlie vſurped the crowne of Scotland. Againſt whome the ſaid Edward made warre, in which

Dauid.

which the ſaid Mackbeth was ouercome and ſlaine. Whereupon the ſaid Malcolme was crowned king of Scots at Scone, in the eight yeere of the reigne of king Edward aforeſaid. This Malcolme alſo by tenor of the ſaid new law of wardſhip, was married vnto Margaret the daughter of Edward ſonne of Edmund Ironſide and Agatha, by the diſpoſition of the ſame king Edward, and at his full age did homage to this king Edward the Confeſſour for the kingdome of Scotland.

Edward the Confeſſour.

Moreouer, Edward of England, hauing no iſſue of his bodie, and miſtruſting that Harald the ſon of Godwine, deſcended of the daughter of Harald Harefot the Dane, would vſurpe the crowne, if he ſhould leaue it to his couſine Edgar Eatling (being then within age) and partlie by the petition of his ſubiects, who before had ſworne neuer to receiue anie kings ouer them of the Daniſh nation, did by his ſubſtantiall will in writing (as all our clergie writers affirme) demiſe the crowne of great Britaine vnto William Baſtard, then duke of Normandie, and to his heires, conſtituting him his heire teſtamentarie. Alſo there was proximitie in bloud betweene them: for Emme daughter of Richard duke of Normandie was wife vnto Ethelred, on whom he begat Alured and this Edward: and this William was ſon of Robert ſonne of Richard, brother of the whole bloud to the ſame Emme. Whereby appeareth that this William was heire by title, and not by conqueſt, albeit that partlie to extinguiſh the miſtruſt of other titles, and partlie for the glorie of his victorie, he chalenged in the end, the name of a conquerour, and hath béene ſo written euer ſince the time of his arriuall.

William Baſtard.

Furthermore, this William, called the Baſtard and the Conquerour, ſuppoſed not his conqueſt perfect till he had likewiſe ſubdued the Scots. Wherfore to bring the Scots to iuſt obeiſance after his coronation, as heire teſtamentarie to Edward the Confeſſour; he entred Scotland, where after a little reſiſtance made by the inhabitants, the ſaid Malcolme then their king did homage to him at Abirnethie in Scotland for the kingdome of Scotland, as to his ſuperiour alſo by meane of his late conqueſt.

William Rufus.

William ſurnamed Rufus, ſonne to this William called the Conquerour, ſucceeded next in the throne of England, to whome the ſaid Malcolme king of Scots did like homage for the whole kingdome of Scotland. But afterward he rebelled, and was by this William Rufus ſlaine in plaine field. Whereupon the Scotiſhmen did chooſe one Donald or Dunwall to be their king. But this William Rufus depoſed him, and created Dunkane ſonne of Malcolme to be their king, who did like homage to him. Finallie, this Dunkane was ſlaine by the Scots, and Dunwall reſtored, who once againe by this William Rufus was depoſed; and Edgar ſon of Malcolme, and brother to the laſt Malcolme, was by him made their king, who did like homage for Scotland to this William Rufus.

Henrie 1.

Henrie called Beauclerke the ſonne of William called the Conqueour, after the death of his brother William Rufus, ſucceeded to the crowne of England, to whome the ſame Edgar king of Scots did homage for Scotland: this Henrie Beauclerke maried Mawd the daughter of Malcolme K. of Scots, and by hir had iſſue Mawd afterward empreſſe.

Alexander the ſonne of Malcolme brother to this Mawd was next king of Scots, he did like homage for the kingdome of Scotland to this Henrie the firſt, as Edgar had done before him.

Mawd.

Mawd called the empreſſe, daughter and heire to Henrie Beauclerke and Mawd his wife, receiued homage of Dauid, brother to hir and to this Alexander next king of Scots, before all the temporall men of England for the kingdome of Scotland. This Mawd the empreſſe gaue vnto Dauid in the marriage, Mawd the daughter and heire of Waldoſius earle of Huntingdon & Northumberland. And herein their euaſion appeareth, by which they allege that their kings homages were made for the earledome of Huntingdon. For this Dauid was the firſt that of their kings was earle of Huntingdon, which was ſince all the homages of their kings before recited, and at the time of this mariage, & long after the ſaid Alexander his brother was king of Scots, doing the homage aforeſaid to Henrie Beauclerke ſon to the aforeſaid ladie, of whome I find this epitaph worthie to be remembred:

Ortu magna, viro maior, ſed maxima partu,
Hîc iacet Henrici filia, ſponſa, parens.

In the yeere of our Lord 1136, and firſt yeere of the reigne of king Stephan, the ſaid Dauid king of Scots being required to doo his homage, refuſed it: for ſo much as he had donne homage to Mawd the empreſſe before time; notwithſtanding the ſonne of the ſaid Dauid did homage to king Stephan.

Henrie 2.

Henrie called Fitz empreſſe, the ſonne of Mawd the empreſſe daughter of Mawd, daughter of Malcolme king of Scots, was next king of England. He receiued homage for Scotland of Malcolme ſonne of Henrie, ſonne of the ſaid Dauid their laſt king. Which Malcolme after this homage attended vpon the ſame king Henrie in his warres againſt Lewis then king of France. Whereby appeareth that their French league was neuer renewed after the laſt diuiſion of their countrie by Offright king of England. But after theſe warres finiſhed with the French king, this Malcolme being againe in Scotland rebelled: whereupon king Henrie immediatlie ſeized Huntingdon and Northumberland into his owne hands by confiſcation, and made warres vpon him in Scotland: during which the ſame Malcolme died without iſſue of his bodie.

William brother of this Malcolme was next king of Scots, he with all the nobles of Scotland (which could not be now for anie earledome) did homage to the ſonne of Henrie the ſecond, with a reſeruation of the dutie to king Henrie the ſecond his father. Alſo the earledome of Huntingdon was (as ye haue heard) before this forfeited by Malcolme his brother, and neuer after reſtored to the crowne of Scotland.

Becauſe they were taken from him before.

This William did afterward attend vpon the ſame Henrie the ſecond, in his warres in Normandie againſt the French king (notwithſtanding their French league) and then being licenced to depart home in the tenth of this prince, and vpon the fifteenth of Februarie he returned, and vpon the ſixteenth of October did homage to him for the realme of Scotland. In token alſo of his perpetuall ſubiection to the crowne of England, he offered vp his cloake, his ſaddle, and his ſpeare at the high altar in Yorke: whereupon he was permitted to depart home into Scotland, where immediatlie he mooued cruell warre in Northumberland againſt the ſame king Henrie, being as yet in Normandie. But God tooke the defenſe of king Henries part, and deliuered the ſame William king of Scots into the hands of a few Engliſhmen, who brought him priſoner to king Henrie into Normandie in the twentith yeere of his reigne. But at the laſt, at the ſute of Dauid his brother, Richard biſhop of ſaint Andrews, and other biſhops and lords, he was put to this fine for the amendment of his treſpaſſe; to wit, to paie ten thouſand pounds ſterling, and to ſurrender all his title to the earldome of Huntingdon, Cumberland, & Northumberland into the hands of king Henrie,

which he did in all things accordinglie, ſealing his charters thereof with the great ſeale of Scotland, and ſignets of his nobilitie yet to be ſeene: wherein it was alſo compriſed, that he and his ſucceſſours ſhould hold the realme of Scotland of the king of England and his ſucceſſours for euer. And hereupon he once againe did homage to the ſame king Henrie, which now could not be for the earledome of Huntingdon, the right whereof was alreadie by him ſurrendred. And for the better aſſurance of this faith alſo, the ſtrengths of Berwike, Edenborough, Rorborough, and Striueling were deliuered into the hands of our king Henrie of England, which their owne writers confeſſe. But Hector Boetius ſaith, that this treſpaſſe was amended by fine of twentie thouſand pounds ſterling, and that the erledome of Huntingdon, Cumberland, and Northumberland were deliuered as morgage into the hands of king Henrie, vntill other ten thouſand pounds ſterling ſhould be to him paid, which is ſo farre from truth, as Hector was (while he liued) from well meaning to our comtrie. But if we grant that it is true, yet proueth he not that the monie was paid, nor the land otherwiſe redéemed, or euer after came to anie Scotiſh kings hands. And thus it appeareth that the earledome of Huntingdon was neuer occaſion of the homages of the Scotiſh kings to the kings of England, either before this time or after.

This was done 1175. Moreouer I read this note hereof gathered out of Robertus Montanus or Montenſis that liued in thoſe daies, and was (as I take it) confeſſor to king Henrie. The king of Scots doth homage to king Henrie for the kingdome of Scotland, and is ſent home againe, his biſhops alſo did promiſe to doo the like to the archbiſhop of Yorke, and to acknowledge themſelues to be of his prouince and iuriſdiction. By vertue alſo of this compoſition the ſaid Robert ſaith, that *Rex Angliæ dabat honores, epiſcopatus, abbatias, & alias dignitates in Scotia, vel ſaltem eius conſilio dabantur*, that is, The king of England gaue honors, biſhoprikes, abbatſhips, and other dignities in Scotland, or at the leaſtwiſe they were not giuen without his aduiſe and counſell.

At this time Alexander biſhop of Rome (ſuppoſed to haue generall iuriſdiction eccleſiaſticall through chriſtendome) eſtabliſhed the whole cleargie of Scotland (according to the old lawes) vnder the iuriſdiction of the archbiſhop of Yorke.

In the yeare of our Lord 1185, in the moneth of Auguſt, at Cairleill, Rouland Talmant lord of Galwaie, did homage and fealtie to the ſaid king Henrie with all that held of him.

In the two and twentith yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the ſecond, Gilbert ſonne of Ferguſe prince of Galwaie, did homage and fealtie to the ſaid king Henrie, and left Dunecan his ſonne in hoſtage for conſeruation of his peace.

Richard ſurnamed Cœur de Lion, becauſe of his ſtoutneſſe, and ſonne of this Henrie was next king of England, to whome the ſame William king of Scots did homage at Canturburie for the whole kingdome of Scotland.

This king Richard was taken priſoner by the duke of Oſtrich, for whoſe redemption the whole realme was tared at great ſummes of monie, vnto the which this William king of Scots (as a ſubiect) was contributorie, and paied two thouſand markes ſterling.

In the yeare of our Lord 1199, John king of England ſent to William king of Scots, to come and doo his homage, which William came to Lincolne in the moneth of December the ſame yeare, and did his homage vpon an hill in the preſence of Hubert archbiſhop of Canturburie, and of all the people there aſſembled, and therevnto toke his oth and was ſworne vpon the croſſe of the ſaid Hubert: alſo he granted by his charter confirmed, that he ſhould haue the mariage of Alexander his ſonne, as his liegeman, alwaies to hold of the king of England: promiſing moreouer that he the ſaid king William and his ſonne Alexander, ſhould keepe and hold faith and allegiance to Henrie ſonne of the ſaid king John, as to their chiefe lord againſt all maner of men that might liue and die.

Alſo whereas William king of Scots had put John biſhop of ſaint Andrew out of his biſhoprike, pope Clement wrote to Henrie king of England, that he ſhould moue and induce the ſame William; and if néed required by his roiall power and prerogatiue ouer that nation, to compell him to leaue his rancor againſt the ſaid biſhop, and ſuffer him to haue and occupie his ſaid biſhoprike againe.

In the yeare of our Lord 1216, and fiue & twentith of the reigne of Henrie, ſonne to king John, the ſame Henrie and the quéene were at Yorke at the feaſt of Chriſtmaſſe, for the ſolemnization of a mariage made in the feaſt of ſaint Stephan the martyr the ſame yeare, betwéene Alexander king of Scots, and Margaret the kings daughter, and there the ſaid Alexander did homage to Henrie king of England for all the realme of Scotland.

In buls of diuerſe popes were admonitions giuen to the kings of Scots, as appeareth by that of Gregorie the fift and Clement his ſucceſſor, that they ſhould obſerue and trulie kéepe all ſuch appointments, as had béene made betwéene the kings of England and Scotland. And that the kings of Scotland ſhould ſtill hold the realme of Scotland of the kings of England, vpon paine of curſſe and interdiction.

After the death of Alexander king of Scots, Alexander his ſonne, being nine yeares of age, was by the lawes of Edgar, in ward to king Henrie the third, & by the nobles of Scotland brought to Yorke, and there deliuered vnto him. During whoſe minoritie king Henrie gouerned Scotland, and to ſubdue a commotion in this realme, vſed the aid of fiue thouſand Scotiſhmen. But king Henrie died during the nonage of this Alexander, whereby he receiued not his homage, which by reaſon and law was reſpited vntill his full age of one and twentie yeares.

Edward the firſt after the conqueſt, ſonne of this Henrie was next king of England; immediatlie after whoſe coronation, Alexander king of Scots, being then of full age, did homage to him for Scotland at Weſtminſter, ſwearing (as all the reſt did) after this maner.

I. D. N. king of Scots ſhall be true and faithfull vnto you lord E. by the grace of God king of England, the noble and ſuperior lord of the kingdome of Scotland, and vnto you I make my fidelitie for the ſame kingdome, the which I hold and claime to hold of you. And I ſhall beare you my faith and fidelitie of life and lim, and worldlie honour againſt all men, faithfullie I ſhall knowlege and ſhall doo you ſeruice due vnto you of the kingdome of Scotland aforeſaid, as God me ſo helpe and theſe holie euangelies.

This Alexander king of Scots died, leauing one onelie daughter called Margaret for his heire, who before had maried Yanigo, ſonne to Magnus king of Norwaie, which daughter alſo ſhortlie after died, leauing one onelie daughter hir heire, of the age of two yeares, whoſe cuſtodie and mariage by the lawes of king Edgar, and Edward the confeſſor, belonged to Edward the firſt: wherevpon the nobles of Scotland were commanded by our king Edward to ſend into Norwaie, to conuete this yong quæne into

England

England to him, whome he intended to haue maried to his ſonne Edward: and ſo to haue made a perfect vnion long wiſhed for betweene both realmes. Herevpon their nobles at that time conſidering the ſame tranquillitie that manie of them haue ſince refuſed, ſtood not vpon ſhifts and delaies of minoritie nor contempt, but moſt gladlie conſented, and therevpon ſent two noble men of Scotland into Norwaie, for hir to be brought to this king Edward, but ſhe died before their comming thither, and therefore they required nothing but to inioie the lawfull liberties that they had quietlie poſſeſſed in the laſt king Alexanders time.

After the death of this Margaret, the Scots were deſtitute of anie heire to the crowne from this Alexander their laſt king, at which time this Edward deſcended from the bodie of Mawd daughter of Malcolme ſometime king of Scots, being then in the greateſt broile of his warres with France, minded not to take the poſſeſſion of that kingdome in his owne right, but was contented to eſtabliſh Balioll to be king thereof, the weake title betweene him, Bruſe, & Haſtings, being by the humble petition of all the realme of Scotland cõmitted to the determination of king Edward, wherein by autentike writing they confeſſed the ſuperioritie of the realme to remaine in king Edward, ſealed with the ſeales of foure biſhops, ſeuen earles, and twelue barons of Scotland, and which ſhortlie after was by the whole aſſent of the three eſtates of Scotland, in their ſolemne parlement confeſſed and enacted accordinglie, as moſt euidentlie doth apeare.

The Balioll in this wiſe made king of Scotland, did immediatlie make his homage and fealtie at Newcaſtell vpon ſaint Stéeuens daie (as did likewiſe all the lords of Scotland, each one ſetting his hand to the compoſition in writing) to king Edward of England for the kingdome of Scotland: but ſhortlie after defrauding the benigne goodneſſe of his ſuperiour, he rebelled, and did verie much hurt in England. Herevpon king Edward inuaded Scotland, ſeized into his hands the greater part of the countrie, and tooke all the ſtrengths thereof. Whervpon Balioll king of Scots came vnto him to Pauntroſſe in Scotland with a white wand in his hand, and there reſigned the crowne of Scotland, with all his right, title, and intereſt to the ſame, into the hands of king Edward, and thereof made his charter in writing, dated and ſealed the fourth yeare of his reigne. All the nobles and gentlemen of Scotland alſo repaired to Berwike, and did homage and fealtie to king Edward, there becomming his ſubiects. For the better aſſurance of whoſe oths alſo, king Edward kept all the ſtrengths and holdes of Scotland in his owne hands; and herevpon all their lawes, proceſſes, all iudgements, gifts of aſſiſes and others, paſſed vnder the name and authoritie of king Edward. Leland touching the ſame rehearſall, writeth thereof in this maner.

"In the yeare of our Lord 1295, the ſame Iohn king of Scots, contrarie to his faith and allegiance rebelled againſt king Edward, and came into England, and burnt and ſlue without all modeſtie and mercie. Where vpon king Edward with a great hoſt went to Newcaſtell vpon Tine, paſſed the water of Twéed, beſieged Berwike, and got it. Alſo he wan the caſtell of Dunbar, and there were ſlaine at this brunt 15700 Scots. Then he proceeded further, and gat the caſtell of Rokeſborow, and the caſtell of Edenborow, Striuelin and Gedworth, and his people harried all the land. In the meane ſeaſon, the ſaid king Iohn of Scots, conſidering that he was not of power to withſtand king Edward, ſent his letters and beſought him of treatie and peace, which our prince benignlie granted, and ſent to him againe that he ſhould come to the towne of Brechin, and bring thither the great lords of Scotland with him. The king of England ſent thither Antonie Becke biſhop of Durham, with his roiall power, to conclude the ſaid treatiſe. And there it was agreed that the ſaid Iohn and all the Scots ſhould vtterlie ſubmit themſelues to the kings will. And to the end the ſubmiſſion ſhould be performed accordinglie, the king of Scots laid his ſonne in hoſtage and pledge vnto him. There alſo he made his letters ſealed with the common ſeale of Scotland, by the which he knowledging his ſimplenes and great offenſe done to his lord king Edward of England, by his full power and frée will yeelded vp all the land of Scotland, with all the people and homage of the ſame. When our king went forth to ſée the mounteins, and vnderſtanding that all was in quiet and peace, he turned to the abbeie of Scone, which was of chanons regular, where he tooke the ſtone called the Regall of Scotland, vpon which the kings of that nation were wont to ſit, at the time of their coronations for a throne, & ſent it to the abbeie of Weſtminſter, commanding to make a chaire therof for the prieſts that ſhould ſing maſſe at the high altar: which chaire was made, and ſtandeth yet there at this daie to be ſéene.

The Scots dreame that this was the ſtone whereon Iacob ſlept when he fled into Meſopotamia.

In the yeare of our Lord 1296, the king held his parlement at Berwike: and there he tooke homage ſingularlie of diuerſe of the lords & nobles of Scotland. And for a perpetuall memorie of the ſame, they made their letters patents ſealed with their ſeales, and then the king of England made William Warreine earle of Surrie and Southſar lord Warden of Scotland, Hugh of Creſſingham treaſurer, and William Ormesbie iuſtice of Scotland, and forthwith ſent king Iohn to the Tower of London, and Iohn Comin, and the earle Badenauth, the earle of Bohan and other lords into England to diuerſe places on this ſide of the Trent.

And after that, in the yeare of our Lord 1297, at the feaſt of Chriſtmas, the king called before him the ſaid Iohn king of Scots, although he had committed him to ward: and ſaid that he would burne or deſtroie their caſtels, townes and lands, if he were not recompenſed for his coſts and damages ſuſteined in the warres; but king Iohn and the other that were in ward, anſwered that they had nothing, ſith their liues, their deaths, and goods were in his hands. The king vpon that anſwer mooued with pitie, granted them their liues; ſo that they would doo their homage, and make their oth ſolemnelie at the high altar (in the church of the abbeie of Weſtminſter) vpon the euchariſt, that they and euerie of them ſhould hold and keepe true faith, obedience, and allegiance to the ſaid king Edward and his heires kings of England for euer. And where the ſaid king of Scots ſaw the kings banner of England diſplaied, he and all his power ſhould draw therevnto. And that neither he or anie of his from thenceforth ſhould beare armes againſt the king of England or anie of his blood. Finallie, the king rewarding with great gifts the ſaid king Iohn and his lords, ſuffered them to depart. But they went into Scotland alwaie imagining (notwithſtanding this their ſubmiſſion) how they might oppreſſe king Edward, and diſturbe his realme. The Scots ſent alſo to the king of France for ſuccour and helpe, who ſent them ſhips to Berwike furniſhed with men of armes, the king of England then being in Flanders.

In the yeare of our Lord 1298, the king went into Scotland with a great hoſt, and the Scots alſo aſſembled in great number, but the king fought with them at Fawkirke on S. Marie Magdalens daie, where were ſlaine threeſcore thouſand Scots, & William

liam Walleis that was their capteine fled, who being taken afterward, was hanged, drawen, & quartered at London, for his treſpalles.

After this the Scots rebelled againe, and all the lords of Scotland chole Robert Bruſe to be king, except onelie Iohn Commin earle of Carrike, who would not conſent thereto bicauſe of his oth made to the king of England. Wherefore Robert Bruſe flue him at Dumfriſe, and then was crowned at Schons abbeie. Herevpon the king of England aſſembled a great hoaſt, and rode through all Scotland, diſcomfited Robert Bruſe, flue eight thouſand Scots, & tooke the moſt part of all the lords of Scotland, putting the temporall lords to deth bicauſe they were forſworne.

This was done vpon the nine & twentith of Ianuarie, 1306.

Edward borne at Carnaruan ſonne of this Edward, was next king of England, who from the beginning of his reigne enioied Scotland peaceablie, doing in all things as is aboue ſaid of king Edward his father, vntill toward the later end of his reigne, about which time this Robert Bruſe conſpired againſt him, and with the helpe of a few forſworne Scots, forſwore himſelfe king of Scots. Herevpon this Edward with Thomas earle of Lancaſter and manie other lords made warre vpon him, about the feaſt of Marie Magdalene, the ſaid Bruſe and his partakers being alreadie accurſſed by the pope for breaking the truce that he had eſtabliſhed betwixt them. But being infortunate in his firſt warres againſt him, he ſuffered Edward the ſonne of Balioll to proclame himſelfe king of Scots; and neuertheleſſe held forth his warres againſt Bruſe, before the ending of which he died, as I read.

Edward borne at Windſore ſonne of Edward the ſecond was next king of England, at the age of fiftéene yeares, in whoſe minoritie the Scots practiſed with Iſabell mother to this Edward, and with Roger Mortimer earle of the March to haue their homages releaſed: whoſe good will therein they obteined, ſo that for the ſame releaſe they ſhould paie to this king Edward thirtie thouſand pounds ſterling, in three yeares next following, that is to ſaie, ten thouſand pounds ſterling yeerelie. But bicauſe the nobilitie and commons of this realme would not by parlement conſent vnto it, their king being within age, the ſame releaſe proceeded not, albeit the Scots ceaſed not their practiſes with this quéene and earle. But before thoſe three yeares, in which their monie (if the bargaine had taken place) ſhould haue béene paied, were expired, our king Edward inuaded Scotland, and ceaſſed not the warre, vntill Dauid the ſonne of Robert le Bruſe (then by their election king of Scotland) abſolutelie ſubmitted himſelfe vnto him. But for that the ſaid Dauid Bruſe had before by practiſe of the quéene and the earle of March, married Iane the ſiſter of this king Edward: he moued by naturall zeale to his ſiſter, was contented to giue the realme of Scotland to this Dauid Bruſe, and to the heires that ſhould be begotten of the bodie of the ſaid Iane (ſauing the reuerſion and meane homages to this king Edward and to his owne children) wherewith the ſame Dauid Bruſe was right well contented, and therevpon immediatlie made his homage for all the realme of Scotland to him.

Howbeit, ſhortlie after cauſeleſſe conceiuing cauſe of diſpleaſure, this Dauid procured to diſſolue this ſame eſtate tailé, and therevpon not onelie rebelled in Scotland, but alſo inuaded England, whileſt king Edward was occupied about his wars in France. But this Dauid was not onelie expelled England in the end, but alſo thinking no place a ſufficient defenſe to his vntruth, of his owne accord fled out of Scotland: whereby the countries of Annandale, Gallowaie, Mars, Teuſdale, Tweedale, and Ethrike were ſeized into the king of Englands hands, and new marches ſet betwéene England and Scotland at Cockburnes path & Sowtrie hedge. Which when this Dauid went about to recouer againe, his power was diſcomfited, and himſelfe by a few Engliſhmen taken & brought into England, where he remained priſoner eleuen yeares after his ſaid apprehenſion.

During this time, king Edward enioied Scotland peaceablie, and then at the contemplation and wearie ſuit of his ſorowfull ſiſter, wife of this Dauid, he was contented once againe to reſtore him to the kingdome of Scotland. Wherevpon it was concluded, that for this rebellion Dauid ſhould paie to king Edward, the ſumme of one hundred thouſand markes ſterling, and thereto deſtroie all his holdes and fortreſſes ſtanding againſt the Engliſh borders, and further aſſure the crowne of Scotland to the children of this king Edward for lacke of heire of his owne bodie, all which things he did accordinglie. And for the better aſſurance of his obeiſance alſo, he afterward deliuered into the hands of king Edward ſundrie noble men of Scotland in this behalfe as his pledges. This is the effect of the hiſtorie of Dauid, touching his delings. Now let vs ſée what was done by Edward Balioll, whereof our chronicles do report, that in the yéere of our Lord 1326, Edward the third, king of England, was crowned at Weſtminſter, and in the firſt yeare of his reigne Edward Balioll right heire to the kingdome of Scotland came in, and claimed it as due to him. Sundrie lords and gentlemen alſo, which had title to diuerſe lands there, either by themſelues, or by their wiues, did the like. Wherevpon the ſaid Balioll and they went into Scotland by ſea, and landing at Kinghorne with 3000 Engliſhmen, diſcomfited 10000 Scots, and ſlue 1200, and then went forth to Dunfermeline, where the Scots aſſembled againſt them with 40000 men, and in the feaſt of ſaint Laurence, at a place called Gaſtmore (or otherwiſe Gladmore) were ſlaine flue earls, thirtéene barons, a hundred and three ſcore knights, two thouſand men of armes, and manie other; in all fortie thouſand: and there were ſlaine on the Engliſh part but thirtéene perſons onelie, if the number be not corrupted.

In the eight yeare of the reigne of king Edward, he aſſembled a great hoaſt, and came to Berwike vpon Twéed, and laid ſiege therto. To him alſo came Edward Balioll king of Scots, with a great power to ſtrengthen & aid him againſt the Scots, who came out of Scotland in foure batels well armed & araied.

Edward king of England, and Edward king of Scots, apparrelled their people either of them in foure battels: and vpon Halidon hill, beſide Berwike, met theſe two hoaſts, and there were diſcomfited of the Scots flue and twentie thouſand and ſeauen hundred, whereof were ſlaine eight earles, a thouſand and three hundred knights and gentlemen. This victorie done, the king returned to Berwike, & then the towne with the caſtell were yéelded vp vnto him. In the eight yeare of the reigne of king Edward of England, Edward Balioll king of Scots came to Newcaſtell vpon Tine, and did homage for all the realme of Scotland.

In the yeare of our Lord 1346, Dauid Bruſe by the prouocation of the king of France rebelled, and came into England with a great hoaſt vnto Neuils croſſe: but the archbiſhop of Yorke, with diuerſe temporall men, fought with him; and the ſaid king of Scots was taken, and William earle of Duglas with Morrife earle of Strathorne were brought to London, and manie other lords ſlaine, which with Dauid did homage to Edward king of England.

And in the thirtith yeare of the kings reigne, and the yeare of our Lord 1355, the Scots wone the towne of Berwicke, but not the caſtell. Herevpon the

the king came thither with a great hoaſt, and anon the towne was yéelded vp without anie reſiſtance.

Edward Balioll, conſidering that God did ſo manie marueilous and gratious things for king Edward, at his owne will gaue vp the crowne and the realme of Scotland to king Edward of England at Rokeſborough, by his letters patents. And anon after the king of England, in preſence of all his lords ſpirituall and temporall, let crowne himſelfe king there of the realme of Scotland, & ordeined all things to his intent, and ſo came ouer into England.

Richard the ſonne of Edward, called the Blacke prince, ſonne of this king Edward, was next king of England, who for that the ſaid Jane, the wife of the ſaid king Dauid of Scotland was deceaſſed without iſſue, and being informed how the Scots deuiſed to their vttermoſt power to breake the limitation of this inheritance touching the crowne of Scotland, made forthwith war againſt them, wherein he burnt Edenbrough, ſpoiled all their countrie, toke all their holds, & held continuallie war againſt them vntill his death, which was Anno Dom. 1389.

Henrie the fourth of that name was next king of England, he continued theſe warres begun againſt them by king Richard, and ceaſſed not vntill Robert king of Scots (the third of that name) reſigned his crowne by appointment of this king Henrie, and deliuered his ſonne James, being then of the age of nine yeares, into his hands to remaine at his cuſtodie, wardſhip and diſpoſition, as of his ſuperiour lord, according to the old lawes of king Edward the confeſſor. All this was done Anno Dom. 1404, which was within fiue yeares after the death of king Richard. This Henrie the fourth reigned in this eſtate ouer them fourteene yeares.

Henrie the fift of that name, ſonne to this king Henrie the fourth, was next king of England. He made warres againſt the French king, in all which this James then king of Scots attended vpon him, as vpon his ſuperiour lord, with a conuenient number of Scots, notwithſtanding their league with France. But this Henrie reigned but nine yeares, whereby the homage of this James their king (hauing not fullie accompliſhed the age of one & twentie yeares) was by reaſon and law reſpited. Finallie the ſaid James with diuerſe other lords attended vpon the corps of the ſaid Henrie vnto Weſtminſter, as to his dutie apperteined.

Henrie the ſixt, the ſonne of this Henrie the fift, was next king of England, to whome the ſeigniorie of Scotland & cuſtodie of this James by right, law, and reaſon deſcended, married the ſame James king of Scots to Jane daughter of John earle of Summerſet, at ſaint Marie ouer Iſe in Southwarke, and toke for the value of this mariage, the ſumme of one hundred thouſand markes ſterling.

This James king of Scots at his full age, did homage to the ſame king Henrie the ſixt, for the kingdome of Scotland at Windſore, in the moneth of Januarie.

Since which time, vntill the daies of king Henrie the ſeuenth, grandfather to our ſouereigne ladie that now is, albeit this realme hath béene moleſted with diuerſitie of titles, in which vnmeet time neither law nor reaſon admit preſcription to the preiudice of anie right: yet did king Edward the fourth next king of England, by preparation of war againſt the Scots in the latter end of his reigne, ſufficientlie by all lawes induce to the continuance of his claime to the ſame ſuperioritie ouer them.

After whoſe death, vnto the beginning of the reigne of our ſouereigne lord king Henrie the eight, excéeded not the number of ſeauen and twentie yeares, about which time the impediment of our claime of the Scots part, chanced by the nonage of James their laſt king, which ſo continued the ſpace of one and twentie yeares. And like as his minoritie was by all law and reaſon an impediment to himſelfe to make homage, ſo was the ſame by like reaſon an impediment to the king of this realme to demand anie, ſo that the whole time of intermiſſion of our claime in the time of the ſaid king Henrie the eight, is deduced vnto the number of thirteene yeares. And thus much for this matter.

Of the wall ſometime builded for a *partition betweene England and the* Picts and Scots.

Chap. 23.

HAuing hitherto diſcourſed vpon the title of the kings of England, vnto the Scotiſh kingdome: I haue now thought good to adde herevnto the deſcription of two walles that were (in times paſt) limits vnto both the ſaid regions, and therefore to be touched in this firſt booke, as generallie appertinent vnto the eſtate of the whole Iland; and no leſſe famous than that which Anaſtaſius Dicorus made afterward from the Euxine vnto the Myrcian ſea, conteining 420 furlongs in length, and twelue foot in breadth, & diſtant from Conſtantinople 280 furlongs, albeit that of Hadrian was made of turffe and timber. The author therefore of the firſt wall was Hadrian the emperour, who (as Ælius Spartianus ſaith) erected the ſame of foure ſcore miles in length, twelue foot in heigth, and eight in breadth, to diuide the barbarous Britons from the more ciuill ſort, which then were generallie called by the name of Romans ouer all. *The firſt beginner of the Picts wall.*

After his time Seuerus the emperour comming againe into this Ile (where he had ſerued before in repreſſion of the tumults here begun, after the death of Lucius) amongſt other things he made another wall (but of ſtone) betwéene eightie and a hundred miles from the firſt, & of thirtie two miles in length, reaching on both ſides alſo to the ſea, of whome the Britons called it S. Purſeueri, or Gwall Seueri, that is, The wall of Seuerus, or Seuerus dale, which later indureth vntill theſe daies in freſh memorie, by reaſon of the ruines & ſquare ſtones there oft found, whoſe inſcriptions declare the authors of that worke. It is worthie the noting alſo, how that in this voiage he loſt 50000 men in the Scotiſh ſide, by one occaſion and other, which hinderance ſo incenſed him, that he determined vtterlie to extinguiſh their memorie from vnder heauen, and had ſo done in déed, if his life had indured but vntill another yeare. Sextus Aurelius writing of Seuerus, addeth, how that the wall made by this prince conteined two and thirtie miles, whereby the breadth of this Iland there, and length of the wall conteineth onelie ſo manie miles, as may be gathered by his words. But chéeflie for the length of the wall, Spartianus who touching it among other things ſaith of Seuerus as followeth: *Britanniam (quod maximum eius imperij decus eſt) muro per tranſuerſam inſulam ducto, vtring, ad finem oceani muniuit*, that is, He fortified Britaine (which is one of the chéefe acts recorded of his time) with a wall made ouerthwart the Ile, that reached on both ſides euen to the verie Ocean. *The finiſher of the wall.* *The wall goeth not ſtreict by a line, but in and out in manie places.*

That this wall was of ſtone alſo, the ruines therof (which haue miniſtred much matter to ſuch as dwell néere thereunto in their buildings) is triall ſufficient. Hereby in like ſort it commeth to paſſe, that where *The ſtuffe of the wall.*

the ſolle about it is leaſt inhabited, there is moſt mention of the ſaid wall, which was wrought of ſquared ſtone, as vntill this daie maie euidentlie be confirmed. Howbeit, theſe two walles were not the onelie partitions betweene theſe two kingdoms, ſith Iulius Capitolinus in vita Antonini Pij doth write of another that Lollius Vrbicus made beyond the ſame, of turffe, in the time of the ſaid prince, who (for his victories in Britaine) was alſo called Britannicus, which neuertheleſſe was often throwne downe by the Scots, and eftſoones repared againe, vntill it was giuen ouer and relinquiſhed altogither. It runneth (as I take it) alſo within the wall about an arrow ſhot from that of ſtone: but how farre it went, as yet I cannot find. This onlie remaineth certeine, that the walles made by Hadrian & Seuerus, were ditched with notable ditches and rampires made in ſuch wiſe, that the Scotiſh aduerſarie had much a do to enter and ſcale the ſame in his aſſaults. And yet for all this, I read that the Scots oftentimes pulled downe great parcels of the ſame, to make their acceſſe more eaſie into the ſouth parts: but as it was eftſoons repared againe, ſo the laſt time of all it was amended by the Romane ſoldiors, which came ouer verie little before the time of Vortiger, at which ſeaſon the land was in maner left void of ſoldiors and munition. Betwixt Thirlewall and the north Tine, are alſo in the waſte grounds, manie parcels of that wall of Seuerus yet ſtanding, whereof the common people do babble manie things.

Two other wals.

Rampire.

The courſe of the wall from weſt to eaſt.

Beginning therefore with the courſe thereof, from the weſt ſea, I find that it runneth from Bolneſſe to Burgh, about foure miles, and likewiſe from thence within halfe a mile of Carleill, and leſſe on the north ſide, and beneath the confluence of the Peder and the Eden. From hence it goeth to Terrebie, a village about a mile from Caerleill, then through the baronie of Linſtocke, and Gilleſland, on the north ſide of the riuer Irding or Arding, and a quarter of a mile from the abbeie of Leuercoſt. Thence three miles aboue Leuercoſt, and aboue the confluence of Arding, and the Poltroſe becke (which diuideth Gilleſland in Cumberland, from ſouth Tindale in Northumberland) it goeth to Thirlwall caſtell, then to the wall towne, next of all ouer the riuer to Swenſheld, Carraw (peraduenture Cairuorcen tower) to Walwic, and ſo ouer ſouth Tine, to Cockelie tower, Portgate, Halton ſheles, Wincheſter, Rutcheſter, Heddon, Walhottle, Denton, and to Newcaſtell, where it is thought that ſaint Nicholas church ſtandeth on the ſame. Howbeit Leland ſaith, that it goeth within a mile of Newcaſtell, and then crooketh vp toward Tinmouth vnto Walleſend, three miles from the mouth of the ſaid riuer, ſo called becauſe the aforeſaid wall did end at the ſame place. And thus much I read of the Pictiſh wall. As for the Romane coine that is often found in the courſe thereof, the curious bricks about the ſame neere vnto Caerleill, beſide the excellent cornellines and other coſtlie ſtones alreadie intailed for ſeales oftentimes taken vp in thoſe quarters, I paſſe them ouer as not incident to my purpoſe.

In like maner I would gladlie alſo haue ſet downe the courſe of Offaes ditch, which was march betweene the Mercian dominions, and the Welſhmen in his time: but for ſo much as the tractation thereof is not to be referred to this place, becauſe it is not a thing generall to the whole Iland, I omit to ſpeake of that alſo. Yet thus much will I note here, as well by the report of one (who ſaith how he did tread it out) that he followed it from the Dee to Kirnaburgh hill through Treuelach forreſt, by eſt of Crekith, Cauch hill, Montgomerie caſtell, the Newcaſtell and Diſcoid, and hauing brought it hitherto, either loſt it, or ſought after it no further: as by the teſtimonie of another, who writing thereof, ſaith, that it ſtretched from the ſouth ſide by Bruſtow, along vnder the mounteins of Wales northwards, ouer the riuer of Sauerne, and to the verie mouth alſo of the Dee, where it falleth into the ſea. And ſo much of ſuch things as concerne the generall eſtate of the whole Iland, which labour herein I could verie well haue ſpared, and would, if Quintus had performed the requeſt of Cicero his brother, who promiſed to ſend him ouer a ſound aduertiſement of the condition of Britaine in thoſe daies: as appeareth in the ſecond booke of his familiar epiſtles, where he ſaith; *Modò mihi date Britanniam, quam pingam coloribus tuis penicillo meo, &c.* But ſithence that was not performed, and the treatiſe of Demetrius and other of the ſame argument are periſhed, which were of ſome value, let this trifle (I beſeech you) not be reiected, till ſome other man of better ſkill ſhall haue drawne a more abſolute peece of workemanſhip, whereunto my vnſkilfulneſſe (I hope) ſhall prooue no hinderance.

Of the maruels of *England*.

Chap. 24.

SUch as haue written of the wonders of our countrie in old time, haue ſpoken (no doubt) of manie things, which deſerue no credit at all: and therefore in ſeeking thankes of their poſteritie by their trauell in this behalfe; they haue reaped the reward of iuſt reproch, and in ſtead of fame purchaſed vnto themſelues nought elſe but meere diſcredit in their better and more learned treatiſes. The like commonlie happeneth alſo to ſuch, as in reſpect of lucre do publiſh vnprofitable and pernicious volumes, whereby they do conſume their times in vaine, and in manifold wiſe become preiudiciall vnto their common wealths. For my part I will not touch anie man herein particularlie, no not our Demetrius, of whom Plutarch ſpeaketh in his oracles (if thoſe bookes were written by him, for ſome thinke that Plutarch neuer wrote them, although Euſebius lib. 4. cap. 8. doth acknowledge them to be his) which Demetrius left ſundrie treatiſes behind him, conteining wonderfull things collected of our Iland. But ſith that in my time they are found to be falſe, it ſhould be far vnmeet to remember them anie more: for who is he which will beleeue, that infernall ſpirits can die and giue vp their ghoſts like mortall men? though Saxo ſeeme to conſent vnto him in this behalfe. In ſpeaking alſo of the out Iles, he ſaith thus: Beyond Britaine are manie deſolate Ilands, whereof ſome are dedicated to the Gods, ſome to the noble Heroes. I ſailed (ſaith he) by the helpe of the king vnto one that laie neere hand, onelie to ſee and view the ſame, in which I found few inhabitants, and yet ſuch as were there, were reputed and taken for men of great pietie and holineſſe. During the time alſo that I remained in the ſame, it was vexed with great ſtorme and tempeſt, which cauſed me not a little to doubt of my ſafe returne. In the end, demanding of the inhabitants what the cauſe ſhould be of this ſo great and ſudden mutation of the aire: they anſwered, that either ſome of the Gods, or at the leaſt of the Heroes were latelie deceaſed: for as a candle (ſaid they) hurteth none whileſt it burneth, but being ſtenderlie put out annoieth manie with the filthie ſauour: ſo theſe Gods, whileſt they liued, were either not

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ders
land.

not hurtfull, or verie beneficiall to mankind; but being once deceaſſed, they ſo moue the heauens and aire, that much miſchéefe doth inſue eſtſoones vpon the ſame.

Being alſo inquiſitiue of the ſtats of other Iles not farre off, they told him further, how there was one hard by, wherin Saturne being ouertaken with a dead ſléepe, was watched by Briareus as he laie, which Saturne alſo had manie ſpirits attending vpon him in ſundrie functions and offices. By which reports it is eaſie to conceiue, with what vaine ſtuffe that volume of Demetrius is interlaced. But of ſuch writers as we haue to to manie, ſo among the ſaid rable Geruaſe of Tilberie is not the leaſt famous, a man as it were euen ſold to vtter matters of more admiration than credit to the world. For what a tale telleth he in his *De otio imperiali*, of Wandleburie hilles, that lie within ſight & by ſouth of Cambridge (where the Vandals incamped ſometime, when they entered into this Iland) and of a ſpirit that would of cuſtome in a meane ſhine night (if he were chalenged and called thereunto) run at tilt and turneie in complet armor with anie knight or gentleman whomſoeuer, in that place: and how one Olbert of Barnewell, hearing the report thereof, armed himſelfe, and being well mounted, rode thither alone with one eſquier, and called for him, who forthwith appeared in rich armour, and anſwered his chalenge, ſo that running togither verie fiercelie, they met with ſuch rigor, that the anſwerer was ouerthrowne and borne downe to the ground. After this they bickered on foot ſo long, till Olbert ouercame and draue him to flight, who departed, leauing his horſſe behind him, which was of huge ſtature, blacke (as he ſaith) of colour, with his furniture of the ſame hue, and whereupon he ſeized, giuing him vnto his page, who caried him home, and there kept him till it was néere daie, during which ſpace he was ſéene of manie. But when the daie light began to ſhew it ſelfe ſomewhat cléere, the beaſt ſtamped and ſnorted, and forthwith breaking his raine, he ran awaie, and was no more heard of to his knowledge in that countrie. In the meane ſeaſon Olbert being verie faint, and waxing wearie (for he was ſore wounded in the thigh, which either he knew not of, or at the leaſtwiſe diſſembled to know it) cauſed his leg-harneſſe or ſtéelebotes to be pulled off, which his frends ſaw to be full of bloud ſpilled in the volage. But let who ſo liſt beléeue it, ſith it is either a fable deuiſed, or ſome diueliſh illuſion, if anie ſuch thing were done. And on mine owne behalfe, hauing (I hope) the feare of God before my eies, I purpoſe here to ſet downe no more than either I know my ſelfe to be true, or am credible informed to be ſo, by ſuch godly men, as to whom nothing is more deare than to ſpeake the truth, and not anie thing more odious than to diſcredit themſelues by lieng. In writing therefore of the wonders of England, I find that there are foure notable things, which for their rareneſſe amongſt the common ſort, are taken for the foure miracles and wonders of the land.

Foure wonders of England.

The firſt of theſe is a vehement and ſtrong wind, which iſſueth out of the hilles called the Peke, ſo violent and ſtrong, that at certeine times if a man do caſt his cote or cloake into the caue from whence it iſſueth, it driueth the ſame backe againe, hoiſing it aloft into the open aire with great force and vehemencie. Of this alſo Giraldus ſpeaketh.

The ſecond is the miraculous ſtanding or rather hanging of certeine ſtones vpon the plaine of Saliſburie, whereof the place is called Stonehenge. And to ſaie the truth, they may well be wondered at, not onelie for the manner of poſition, whereby they become verie difficult to be numbred, but alſo for their greatneſſe & ſtrange maner of lieng of ſome of them one vpon another, which ſéemeth to be with ſo tickle hold, that few men go vnder them without feare of their preſent ruine. How and when theſe ſtones were brought thither, as yet I can not read; howbeit it is moſt likelie, that they were raiſed there by the Britons, after the ſlaughter of their nobilitie at the deadlie banket, which Hengiſt and his Saxons prouided for them, where they were alſo buried, and Vortigerne their king apprehended and led awaie as captiue. I haue heard that the like are to be ſéene in Ireland; but how true it is as yet I can not learne. The report goeth alſo, that theſe were brought from thence, but by what ſhip on the ſea, and cariage by land, I thinke few men can ſafelie imagine.

The third is an ample and large hole vnder the ground, which ſome call *Carcer Æoli*, but in Engliſh Chedderhole, whereinto manie men haue entred & walked verie farre. Howbeit, as the paſſage is large and nothing noiſome: ſo diuerſe that haue aduentured to go into the ſame, could neuer as yet find the end of that waie, neither ſée anie other thing than prétie riuerets and ſtreames, which they often croſſed as they went from place to place. This Chedderhole or Chedder rocke is in Summerſetſhire, and thence the ſaid waters run till they méet with the ſecond Ar that riſeth in Dwkie hole.

The fourth is no leſſe notable than anie of the other. For weſtward vpon certeine hilles a man ſhall ſée the clouds gather togither in faire weather vnto a certeine thickneſſe, and by and by to ſpread themſelues abroad and water their fields about them, as it were vpon the ſudden. The cauſes of which diſperſion, as they are vtterlie vnknowne: ſo manie men coniecture great ſtore of water to be in thoſe hilles, & verie néere at hand, if it were néedfull to be ſought for.

Beſides theſe foure maruelles, there is a little rockie Ile in Aber Barrie (a riueret that falleth into the Sauerne ſea) called Barrie, which hath a riſt or clift nert the firſt ſhore; whereunto if a man do laie his eare, he ſhall heare ſuch noiſes as are commonlie made in ſmiths forges, to wit, clinking of iron barres, beating with hammers, blowing of bellowſes, and ſuch like: whereof the ſuperſtitious ſort do gather manie toies, as the gentiles did in old time of their lame god Vulcans pot. The riuer that runneth by Cheſter changeth hir chanell euerie moneth: the cauſe whereof as yet I can not learne; neither doth it ſwell by force of anie land-flood, but by ſome vehement wind it oft ouer-runneth hir banks. In Snowdonie are two lakes, whereof one beareth a mouable Iland, which is carried to and fro as the wind bloweth. The other hath three kinds of fiſhes in it, as eeles, trowts, and perches: but herein reſteth the wonder, that all thoſe haue but one eie a péece onelie, and the ſame ſituate in the right ſide of their heads. And this I find to be confirmed alſo by authors: There is a well in the forreſt of Gnareſborow, whereof the ſaid forreſt doth take the name; which water, beſide that it is cold as Stix, in a certeine period of time knowne, conuerteth wood, fleſh, leaues of trées, and moſſe into hard ſtone, without alteration or changing of ſhape. The like alſo is ſéene there in frogs, wormes, and ſuch like liuing creatures as fall into the ſame, and find no readie iſſue. Of this ſpring alſo Leland writeth thus; A little aboue March (but at the further banke of Mide riuer as I came) I ſaw a well of wonderfull nature called Dropping well, becauſe the water thereof diſtilleth out of great rockes hard by into it continuallie, which is ſo cold, and thereto of ſuch nature, that what thing ſoeuer falleth out of thoſe rocks into this pit, or groweth néere thereto, or be caſt into it by mans hand,

hand, it turneth into ſtone. It may be (ſaith he) that ſome ſand or other fine ground iſſueth out with this water from theſe hard rocks, which cleauing vnto thoſe things, giueth them in time the forme of ſtones &c. Neere vnto the place where Winburne monaſterie ſometimes ſtood, alſo not farre from Bath there is a faire wood, whereof if you take anie peece, and pitch it into the ground thereabouts, or throw it into the water, within twelue moneths it will turne into hard ſtone. In part of the hilles eaſt ſoutheaſt of Alderleie, a mile from Kingſwood, are ſtones dailie found, perfectlie faſhioned like cockles and mightie oiſters, which ſome dreame haue lien there euer ſince the floud. In the cliffs betweene the Blacke head and Trewardeth baie in Cornwall, is a certeine caue, where things appeare like images guilded, on the ſides of the ſame, which I take to be nothing but the ſhining of the bright ore of coppar and other mettals readie at hand to be found there, if anie diligence were vſed. Howbeit, becauſe it is much maruelled at as a rare thing, I doo not thinke it to be vnmeet to be placed amongſt our wonders. Maiſter Guiſe had of late, and ſtill hath (for aught that I know) a manor in Glocеſterſhire, where certeine okes doo grow, whoſe rootes are verie hard ſtone. And beſide this, the ground is ſo fertile there (as they ſaie) that if a man hew a ſtake of anie wood, and pitch it into the earth, it will grow and take rooting beyond all expectation. Siluceſter towne alſo is ſaid to conteine foureſcore acres of land within the walles, whereof ſome is corne-ground (as Leland ſaith) and the graine which is growing therein doth come to verie good perfection till it be readie to be cut downe: but euen then, or about that time it vaniſheth away & becommeth altogither vnprofitable. Is it any wonder (thinke you) to tell of ſundrie caues neere to Brow-ham, on the weſt ſide of the riuer Aimote, wherein are halles, chambers, and all offices of houſhold cut out of the hard rocke? If it be, then may we increaſe the number of maruels verie much by a rehearſall of other alſo. For we haue manie of the like, as one neere ſaint Aſſaphs vpon the banke of Elwie, and about the head of Mendrath Uchan in Wales, whereinto men haue often entred and walked, and yet found nothing but large roomes, and ſandie ground vnder their feet, and other elſe-where. But ſith theſe things are not ſtrange, I let them alone, and go forward with the reſt.

In the pariſh of Landſarnam in Wales, and in the ſide of a ſtonie hill, is a place wherein are foure and twentie ſeats hewen out of the hard rockes; but who did cut them, and to what end, as yet it is not learned. As for the huge ſtone that lieth at Pember in Guitherie pariſh, and of the notable carcaſſe that is affirmed to lie vnder the ſame, there is no cauſe to touch it here: yet were it well done to haue it remoued, though it were but onlie to ſee what it is, which the people haue in ſo great eſtimation & reuerence. There is alſo a pole in Logh Taw, among the blacke mounteins in Brecknockſhire, where (as is ſaid) is the head of Taw that commeth to Swanſeie, which hath ſuch a propertie, that it will breed no fiſh at all, & if anie be caſt into it, they die without recouerie: but this peraduenture may grow through the accidentall corruption of the water, rather than the naturall force of the element it ſelfe. There is alſo a lin in Wales, which in the one ſide beareth trowts ſo red as ſamons, and in the other, which is the weſterlie ſide, verie white and delicate. I heare alſo of two welles not far from Landien, which ſtand verie neere together, and yet are of ſuch diuerſitie of nature, that the one beareth ſope, and is a maruellous fine water; the other altogither of contrarie qualities. Which is not a litle to be muſed at, conſidering (I ſaie) that they participate of one ſoile, and riſe ſo nigh one to another. I haue notice giuen me moreouer of a ſtone not farre from ſaint Dauids, which is verie great, as a bed, or ſuch like thing: and being raiſed vp, a man may ſtirre it with his thumbe; but not with his ſhoulder or force of his whole bodie.

There is a well not farre from ſtonie Stratford, which conuerteth manie things into ſtone; and an other in Wales, which is ſaid to double or triple the force of anie edge tole that is quenched in the ſame. In Tegenia, a parcell of Wales, there is a noble well (I meane in the pariſh of Kilken) which is of maruellous nature, and much like to another well at Seuill in Spaine: for although it be ſix miles from the ſea, it ebbeth and floweth twiſe in one daie; alwaies ebbing when the ſea doth vſe to flow, and in flowing likewiſe when the ſea doth vſe to ebbe; whereof ſome doo fable, that this well is ladie and miſtreſſe of the ocean. Not farre from thence alſo is a medicinable ſpring called Schinant of old time, but now Wenefrides well, in the edges whereof doth breed a verie odoriferous and delectable moſſe, wherewith the head of the ſmeller is maruellouſlie refreſhed. Other welles and water-courſes we haue likewiſe, which at ſome times burſt out into huge ſtreames, though at other ſeaſons they run but verie ſoftlie, whereby the people gather ſome alteration of eſtate to be at hand. And ſuch a one there is at Henlei, & another at Croidon; & ſuch a one alſo in the golden dale beſide Anderne in Picardie, whereof the common ſort imagine manie things. Some of the greater ſort alſo giue ouer to run at all in ſuch times, whereof they conceiue the like opinion. And of the ſame nature, though of no great quantitie, is a pit or well at Langlete parke in Kent, whereof (by good hap) it was my lucke to read a notable hiſtorie in an ancient chronicle that I ſaw of late. What the fooliſh people dreame of the hell Kettles, it is not worthie the rehearſall; yet to the end the lewd opinion conceiued of them may grow into contempt, I will ſaie thus much alſo of thoſe pits. There are certeine pits, or rather three little poles, a mile from Darlington, and a quarter of a mile diſtant from the Theſe banks which the people call the Kettles of hell, or the diuels Kettles, as if he ſhould ſeeth ſoules of ſinfull men and women in them. They adde alſo, that the ſpirits haue oft beene heard to crie and yell about them, with other like talke ſauoring altogether of pagan infidelitie. The truth is, and of this opinion alſo was Cutbert Tunſtall late biſhop of Durham, a man (notwithſtanding the baſeneſſe of his birth, being begotten by one Tunſtall vpon a daughter of the houſe of the Commers, as Leland ſaith) of great learning and iudgement, that the cole-mines in thoſe places are kindled, or if there be no coles, there may a mine of ſome other vnctuous matter be ſet on fire, which being here and there conſumed, the earth falleth in, and ſo doth leaue a pit. Indeed the water is now and then warme (as they ſaie) and beſide that it is not cleere: the people ſuppoſe them to be an hundred fadam deepe. The biggeſt of them alſo hath an iſſue into the Theſe, as experience hath confirmed. For doctor Bellowes *alias* Belzis made report, how a ducke marked after the faſhion of the duckes of the biſhoprike of Durham, was put into the ſame betwixt Darlington and Theſe banke, and afterward ſeene at a bridge not farre from maiſter Clereuar houſe. If it were worth the noting, I would alſo make relation of manie wooden croſſes found verie often about Haldon, whereof the old inhabitants conceiued an opinion that they were fallen from heauen; whereas in truth, they were made and borne by king Oſwald and his men in the battell wherein they preuailed ſometimes againſt the Britiſh infidels,

vpon

vpon a ſuperſtitious imagination, that thoſe croſſes ſhould be their defenſe and ſhield againſt their aduerſaries. Beda calleth the place where the ſaid field was fought, Heauen field; it lieth not far from the Pictiſh wall, and the famous monaſterie of Hagulſtad. But more of this elſewhere. Neither will I ſpeake of the little hillets ſéene in manie places of our Ile, whereof though the vnſkilfull people babble manie things: yet are they nothing elſe but *Tumuli* or graues of former times, as appeareth by ſuch toms & carcaſſes as be daily found in the ſame, when they be digged downe. The like fond imagination haue they of a kind of lunarie, which is to be found in manie places, although not ſo well knowen by the forme vnto them, as by the effect thereof, becauſe it now and then openeth the lockes hanging on the horſes fét as hit vpon it where it groweth in their féeding. Roger Bacon our countrieman noteth it to grow plentiouſlie in Tuthill fields about London. I haue heard of it to be within compaſſe of the parith where I dwell, and do take it for none other than the Sfera Cauallo, whereof Machiolus and the herbariſts do write, albeit that it hath not béene my lucke at ante time to behold it. Plinie calleth it Aethiopis: and Aelianus, Oppianus, Kyramis, and Trebius haue written manie ſuperſtitious things thereof, but eſpeciallie our Chymiſts, who make it of farre more vertue than our ſmiths do their ferne ſéed, whereof they babble manie wonders, and prats of ſuch effects as may well be performed indéed when the ferne beareth ſéed, which is commonly *Ad calendas Græcas*, for before it will not be found. But to proceéd. Where is a well in Darbiſhire called Tideſwell (ſo named of the word tide, or to ebbe and flow) whoſe water often ſéemeth to riſe and fall, as the ſea which is fortie miles from it doth vſuallie accuſtome to ebbe and flow. And hereof an opinion is growen that it kéepeth an ordinarie courſe as the ſea doth. Howbeit, ſith diuerſe are knowne to haue watched the ſame, it may be that at ſometimes it riſeth, but not continuallie; and that it ſo doth I am fullie perſuaded to beléeue. But euen inough of the wonders of our countrie, leaſt I do ſéeme by talking longer of them, wonderoullie to ouerſhot my ſelfe, and forget how much doth reſt behind of the deſcription of my countrie. As for thoſe that are to be touched of Scotland, the deſcription of that part ſhall in ſome part remember them.

The Contents of the ſecond Booke.

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Of the ancient and preſent eſtate *of the church of England.*

Chap. 1.

THere are now two prouinces onelie in England, of which the firſt and greateſt is ſubiect to the ſée of Canturburie, comprehending a parte of Lhoegres, whole Cambria, & alſo Ireland, which in time paſt were ſeuerall, & brought into one by the archbiſhop of the ſaid ſée & aſſiſtance of the pope; who in reſpect of méed, did yéeld vnto the ambitious deſires of ſundrie archbiſhops of Canturburie, as I haue elſewhere declared. The ſecond prouince is vnder the ſée of Yorke, and of theſe; either hath hir archbiſhop reſident commonlie within hir owne limits, who hath not onelie the chéefe dealing in matters apperteining to the hierarchie and iuriſdiction of the church; but alſo great authoritie in ciuill affaires touching the gouernement of the common wealth: ſo far forth as their commiſſions and ſeuerall circuits do extend.

In old time there were thrée archbiſhops, and ſo manie prouinces in this Ile; of which one kept at London, another at Yorke, and the third at Caerlheon vpon Uſke. But as that of London was tranſlated to Canturburie by Auguſtine, and that of Yorke remaineth (notwithſtanding that the greateſt part of his iuriſdiction is now bereft him and giuen to the Scotiſh archbiſhop) ſo that of Caerlheon is vtterlie extinguiſhed, and the gouernement of the countrie vnited to that of Canturburie in ſpirituall cauſes: after it was once before remoued to S. Da-

nids

uids in Wales by Dauid ſucceſſor to Dubritius, and vncle to king Arthur, in the 519 of Grace, to the end that he and his clearkes might be further off from the crueltie of the Saxons, where it remained till the time of the Baſtard, and for a ſeaſon after, before it was annexed vnto the ſée of Canturburie.

The archbiſhop of Canturburie is commonlie called primat of all England; and in the coronations of the kings of this land, and all other times, wherein it ſhall pleaſe the prince to weare and put on his crowne, his office is to ſet it vpon their heads. They beare alſo the name of their high chapleins continuallie, although not a few of them haue preſumed (in time paſt) to be their equals, and void of ſubiection vnto them. That this is true, it may eaſilie appéere by their owne acts yet kept in record; beſide their epiſtles & anſwers written or in print; wherein they haue ſought not onelie to match but alſo to mate them with great rigor and more than open tyrannie. Our aduerſaries will peraduenture denie this abſolutelie, as they do manie other things apparant, though not without ſhameleſſe impudencie, or at the leaſt wiſe defend it as iuſt and not ſwaruing from common equitie; bicauſe they imagine euerie archbiſhop to be the kings equall in his owne prouince. But how well their doing herein agreeth with the ſaieng of Peter, & examples of the primitiue church, it may eaſilie appéere. Some examples alſo of their demeanor (I meane in the time of poperie) I will not let to remember, leaſt they ſhould ſaie I ſpeake of malice, and without all ground of likelihood.

Of their practiſes with meane perſons I ſpeake not, neither will I begin at Dunſtane the author of all their pride and preſumption here in England. But for ſomuch as the dealing of Robert the Norman againſt earle Godwine is a rare hiſtorie, and deſerueth to be remembred, I will touch it in this place; proteſting to deale withall in more faithfull maner than it hath heretofore beene deliuered vnto vs by the Norman writers, or French Engliſh, who (of ſet purpoſe) haue ſo defaced earle Godwine, that were it not for the teſtimonie of one or two méere Engliſhmen liuing in thoſe daies, it ſhould be impoſſible for me (or anie other) at this preſent to declare the truth of that matter according to hir circumſtances. Marke therefore what I ſaie. For the truth is, that ſuch Normans as came in with Emma in the time of Ethelred, and Canutus, and the Confeſſor, did fall by ſundrie means into ſuch fauor with thoſe princes, that the gentlemen did grow to beare great rule in the court, and their clearkes to be poſſeſſors of the beſt benefices in the land. Herevpon therefore one Robert, a ſolie ambitious préeſt, gat firſt to be biſhop of London, and after the death of Eadſius, to be archbiſhop of Canturburie by the gift of king Edward; leauing his former ſée to William his countrieman. Alſo alſo a Norman was preferred to Lincolne, and other to other places, as the king did thinke conuenient.

Theſe Norman clerkes, and their frends, being thus exalted, it was not long yer they began to mocke, abuſe, and deſpiſe the Engliſh: and ſo much the more, as they dailie ſaw themſelues to increaſe in fauour with king Edward, who alſo called diuerſe of them to be of his ſecret councell, which did not a litle incenſe the harts of the Engliſh againſt them. A fraie alſo was made at Douer, betweene the ſeruants of earle Godwine and the French, whoſe maiſters came ouer to ſée and ſalute the king: whereof I haue ſpoken in my Chronologie, which ſo inflamed the minds of the French cleargie and courtiers againſt the Engliſh nobilitie, that each part ſought for opportunitie of reuenge, which yer long tooke hold betweene them. For the ſaid Robert, being called to be archbiſhop of Canturburie, was no ſooner in poſſeſſion of his ſée, than he began to quarrell with earle Godwine (the kings father in law by the mariage of his daughter) who alſo was readie to acquit his demeanor with like malice; and ſo the miſchiefe begun. Herevpon therefore the archbiſhop charged the earle with the murther of Alfred the kings brother, whom not he but Harald the ſonne of Canutus and the Danes had cruellie made awaie. For Alfred and his brother comming into the land with fiue and twentie ſaile, vpon the death of Canutus, and being landed; the Normans that arriued with them gliuing out how they came to recouer their right, to wit, the crowne of England; & therevnto the vnskilfull yoong gentlemen, ſhewing themſelues to like of the rumour that was ſpred in this behalfe, the report of their demeanor was quicklie brought to Harald, who cauſed a companie forthwith of Danes priuilie to laie wait for them, as they roade toward Gilford, where Alfred was ſlaine, and whence Edward with much difficultie eſcaped to his ſhips, and ſo returned into Normandie.

But to proceed. This affirmation of the archbiſhop being greatlie ſoothed out with his craftie vtterance (for he was lerned) confirmed by his French frends, (for they had all conſpired againſt the erle) and therevnto the king being deſirous to reuenge the death of his brother, bred ſuch a grudge in his mind againſt Godwine, that he baniſhed him and his ſons cleane out of the land. He ſent alſo his wife the erles daughter priſoner to Wilton, with one onelie maiden attending vpon hir, where ſhe laie almoſt a yeare before ſhe was releaſed. In the meane ſeaſon, the reſt of the peeres, as Siward earle of Northumberland ſurnamed Digara or Fortis, Leofric earle of Cheſter, and other went to the king, before the departure of Godwine, indeuouring to perſuade him vnto the reuocation of his ſentence; and deſiring that his cauſe might be heard and diſcuſſed by order of law. But the king incenſed by the archbiſhop and his Normans would not heare on that ſide, ſaieng plainelie, and ſwearing by ſaint John the euangeliſt (for that was his common oth) that earle Godwine ſhould not haue his peace till he reſtored his brother Alfred aliue againe vnto his preſence. With which anſwer the peeres departed in choler from the court, and Godwine toward the coaſt.

Comming alſo vnto the ſhore and readie to take ſhipping, he kneeled downe in preſence of his conduct (to wit at Boſenham in the moneth of September, from whence he intended to ſaile into Flanders vnto Baldwine the earle) and there praied openlie before them all, that if euer he attempted anie thing againſt the kings perſon of England, or his roiall eſtate, that he might neuer come ſafe vnto his couſine, nor ſée his countrie any more, but periſh in this voiage. And herewith he went aboord the ſhip that was prouided for him, and ſo from the coaſt into the open ſea. But ſée what followed. He was not yet gone a mile waie from the land, before he ſaw the ſhore full of armed ſouldiers, ſent after by the archbiſhop and his frends to kill him yer he ſhould depart and go out of the countrie: which yet more incenſed the harts of the Engliſh againſt them.

Being come alſo to Flanders, he cauſed the earle, the French king, and other of his frends, among whome alſo the emperour was one, to write vnto the king in his behalfe; but all in vaine: for nothing could be obteined from him, of which the Normans had no liking, whereupon the earle and his ſonnes changed their minds, obteined aid, and inuaded the land in ſundrie places. Finallie ioining their powers they came by the Thames into Southwarke néere London where they lodged, and looked for the king to incounter

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incounter with them in the field. The king ſéeing what was done, commanded the Londoners not to aid nor vittell them. But the citizens made anſwer, how the quarrell of Godwine was the cauſe of the whole realme, which he had in maner giuen ouer vnto the ſpoile of the French: and therevpon they not onelie vittelled them aboundantlie, but alſo receiued the earle and his chiefe frends into the citie, where they lodged them at their eaſe, till the kings power was readie to ioine with them in battell.

Great reſort alſo was made vnto them from all places of the realme, ſo that the earles armie was wonderfullie increaſed, and the date and place choſen wherein the battell ſhould be fought. But when the armies met, the kings ſide began ſome to flée to the earle, other to laie downe their weapons, and not a few to run awaie out right; the reſt telling him plainelie that they would neuer fight againſt their owne countriemen, to mainteine Frenchmens quarrels. The Normans alſo ſeeing the ſequele, fled awaie ſo faſt as they might gallop, leauing the king in the field to ſhift for himſelfe (as he beſt might) whileſt they did ſaue themſelues elſewhere.

In the meane ſeaſon the earles power would haue ſet vpon the king, either to his ſlaughter, or apprehenſion; but he ſtaied them, ſaieng after this maner: The king is my ſonne (as you all know) and it is not for a father to deale ſo hardlie with his child, neither a ſubiect with his ſouereigne; it is not he that hath hurt or done me this iniurie, but the proud Normans that are about him: wherfore to gaine a kingdome, I will do him no violence. And therewithall caſting aſide his battell ax he ran to the king, that ſtood altogither amazed, and falling at his féet he craued his peace, accuſed the archbiſhop, required that his cauſe might be heard in open aſſemblie of his péeres; and finallie determined as truth and equitie ſhould deſerue.

The king (after he had pauſed a prettie while) ſeeing his old father in law to lie groueling at his féet, and conceiuing with himſelfe that his ſute was not vnreaſonable; ſeeing alſo his children, and the reſt of the greateſt barons of the land to kneele before him, and make the like requeſt: he lifted vp the earle by the hand, bad him be of good comfort, pardoned all that was paſt, and frendlie hauing kiſſed him and his ſonnes vpon the cheekes, he lead them to his palace, called home the queene, and ſummoned all his lords vnto a councell.

Wherein it is much to read, how manie billes were preſented againſt the biſhop & his Normans; ſome conteining matter of rape, other of robberie, extortion, murder, manſlaughter, high treaſon, adulterie; and not a few of batterie. Wherwith the king (as a man now awaked out of ſléepe) was ſo offended, that vpon conſultation had of theſe things, he baniſhed all the Normans out of the land, onelie three or foure excepted, whome he reteined for ſundrie neceſſarie cauſes, albeit they came neuer more ſo nére him afterward as to be of his priuie councell.

After this alſo the earle liued almoſt two yeares, and then falling into an apoplexie, as he ſat with the king at the table, he was taken vp and carried into the kings bedchamber, where (after a few daies) he made an end of his life. And thus much of our firſt broile raiſed by the cleargie, and practiſe of the archbiſhop. I would intreat of all the like examples of tyrannie, practiſed by the prelats of this ſée, againſt their lords and ſouereignes: but then I ſhould rather write an hiſtorie than a deſcription of this Iland.

Wherefore I refer you to thoſe reports of Anſelme and Becket, ſufficientlie penned by other, the which Anſelme alſo making a ſhew, as if he had bin verie vnwilling to be placed in the ſée of Canturburie, gaue this anſwer to the letters of ſuch his frends, as did make requeſt vnto him to take the charge vpon him. *Secularia negotia neſcio, quia ſcire nolo, eorum námque occupationes horreo, liberum affectans animum. Voluntati ſacrarum intendo ſcripturarum, vos diſſonantiam facitis, verendúmque eſt nè aratrum ſanctæ eccleſiæ, quod in Anglia duo boues validi & pari fortitudine, ad bonum certantes, id eſt rex & archiepiſcopus, debeant trahere, nunc oue vetula cum tauro indomito iugata, diſtorqueatur à recto. Ego ouis vetula, qui ſi quietus eſſem, verbi Dei lacte, & operimento lanæ, aliquibus poſſem fortaſſis non ingratus eſſe, ſed ſime cum hoc tauro coniungitis, videbitis pro diſparilitate trahentium, aratrum non rectè procedere, &c.* Which is in Engliſh thus: Of ſecular affaires I haue no ſkill, becauſe I will not know them, for I euen abhor the troubles that riſe about them, as one that deſireth to haue his mind at libertie. I aplie my whole indeuor to the rule of the ſcriptures, you lead me to the contrarie. And it is to be feared leaſt the plough of holie church, which two ſtrong oxen of equall force, and both like earneſt to contend vnto that which is good (that is the king and the archbiſhop) ought to draw, ſhould thereby now ſwarue from the right forrow, by matching of an old ſheepe with a wild vntamed bull. I am that old ſheepe, who if I might be quiet, could peraduenture ſhew my ſelfe not altogither vngratfull to ſome, by feeding them with the milke of the word of God, and couering them with woll: but if you match me with this bull, you ſhall ſée that thorough want of equalitie in draught the plough will not go to right, &c: as followeth in the proceſſe of his letters. The ſaid Thomas Becket was ſo proud, that he wrote to king Henrie the ſecond, as to his lord, to his king, and to his ſonne, offering him his counſell, his reuerence, and due correction, &c. Others in like ſort haue profeſſed, that they owght nothing to the kings of this land, but their counſell onelie, reſerning all obedience vnto the ſée of Rome. Thomas Becket.

And as the old cocke of Canturburie did crow in this behalfe, ſo the yong cockerels of other ſées did imitate his demeanor, as may be ſéene by this one example alſo in king Stephans time, worthie to be remembred; vnto whome the biſhop of London would not ſo much as ſweare to be true ſubiect: wherein alſo he was mainteined by the pope, as appeareth by theſe letters.

Eugenius epiſcopus ſeruus ſeruorum Dei, dilecto in Chriſto filio Stephano illuſtri regi Anglorũ ſalutẽ, & apoſtolicã benedictionẽ. Ad hæc ſuperna prouidẽtia in eccleſia pontifices ordinauit, vt Chriſtianus populus ab eis paſcua vitæ reciperet, & tam principes ſeculares, quàm inferioris conditionis homines, ipſis pontificibus tanquam Chriſti vicarijs reuerentiam exhiberent. Venerabilis ſiquidem frater noſter Robertus London epiſcopus, tanquam vir ſapiens & honeſtus, & relligionis amator, à nobilitate tua benignè tractandus eſt, & pro collata à Deo prudentia propenſiùs honorandus. Quia ergò, ſicut in veritate comperimus cum animæ ſuæ ſalute, ac ſuæ ordinis periculo, fidelitate quæ ab eo requiritur aſtringi non poteſt: volumus, & ex paterno tibi affectu conſulimus, quatenus prædictum fratrem noſtrum ſuper hoc nullatenus inquietes, immò pro beati Petri & noſtra reuerentia, cum in amorem & gratiam tuam recipias. Cùm autem illud iuramentum præſtare non poſſit, ſufficiat diſcretioni tuæ, vt ſimplici & veraci verbo promittat, quòd læſionem tibi vel terræ tuæ non inferat: Vale. Dat. Meldis 6. cal. Iulij.

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Thus we ſée, that kings were to rule no further than it pleaſed the pope to like of; neither to challenge more obedience of their ſubiects than ſtood alſo

ſo with their good will and pleaſure. He wrote in like ſort vnto quéene Mawd about the ſame matter, making hir Samſons calfe (the better to bring his purpoſe to paſſe) as appeareth by the ſame letter here inſuing.

Solomone atteſtante, didicimus quòd mulier ſapiens ædificat domum; inſipiens autem conſtructam deſtruet manibus. Gaudemus pro te, & deuotionis ſtudium in Domino collaudamus; quoniam ſicut relligioſorum relatione accepimus, timorem Dei præ oculis habens, operibus pietatis intẽdis, & perſonas eccleſiaſticas & diligis & honoras. Vt ergo de bono in melius (inſpirante Domino) proficere valeas, nobilitatẽ tuam in Domino rogamus, & rogando monemus, & exhortamur in Domino, quatenus bonis initijs exitus meliores iniungas, & venerabilem fratrem noſtrum Robertum London epiſcopũ, pro illius reuerentia, qui cùm olim dilectus eſſet, pro nobis pauper fieri voluit, attentiùs diligas, & honores. Apud virum tuum & dilectum filium noſtrum Stephanum, inſignem regem Anglorum efficere ſtudeas, vt monitis, hortatu, & cõſilio tuo, ipſum in benignitatem & dilectionem ſuam ſuſcipiat, & pro beati Petri, & noſtra reuerentia propenſiùs habeat commendatum. Et quia ſicut (veritate teſte) attendimus eum ſine ſalute, & ſui ordinis periculo, præfato filio noſtro aſtringi non poſſe; volumus, & paterno ſibi & tibi affectu conſulimus, vt vobis ſufficiat, veraci & ſimplici verbo promiſſionẽ ab eo ſuſcipere, quòd læſionem vel detrimentum ei, vel terræ ſuæ nõ inferat. Dat. vt ſupra.

Is it not ſtrange, that a peeuiſh order of religion (deuiſed by man) ſhould breake the expreſſe law of God, who commandeth all men to honour and obeie their kings and princes, in whome ſome part of the power of God is manifeſt and laid open vnto vs? And euen vnto this end the cardinall of Oſtia alſo wrote to the canons of Paules, after this maner; couertlie incouraging them to ſtand to their election of the ſaid Robert, who was no more willing to giue ouer his new biſhoprike, than they carefull to offend the king; but rather imagined which waie to keepe it ſtill maugre his diſpleaſure: & yet not to ſweare obedience vnto him, for all that he ſhould be able to do or performe vnto the contrarie.

Humilis Dei gratia Oſtienſis epiſcopus, Londinenſis eccleſiæ canonicis ſpiritũ conſilij in Domino. Sicut rationi contraria prorſus eſt abijcienda petitio, ita in hijs, quæ iuſtè deſyderantur, effectum negare omninò non conuenit. Sanè nuper accepimus, quòd Londinenſis eccleſia, diu proprio deſtituta paſtore, communi voto, & pari aſſenſu cleri & populi, venerabilem filium noſtrum Robertum, eiuſdem eccleſiæ archidiaconum, in paſtorem & epiſcopum animarum ſuarum ſuſceperit & elegerit. Nouimus quidem eum eſſe perſonam, quam ſapientia deſuper ei attributa, & honeſtas conuerſationis, & morum reuerentia plurimùm commẽdabilem reddidit. Inde eſt quòd fraternitati veſtræ mandando conſulimus, vt propoſito veſtro bono (quod vt credimus ex Deo eſt) & vt ex literis domini papæ cognoſcetis, non tepidè, non lentè debitum finem imponatis: ne tam nobilis eccleſia, ſub occaſione huiuſmodi, ſpiritualium, quod abſit, & temporalium detrimentum patiatur. Ipſius námque induſtria credimus, quòd antiqua relligio, & forma diſciplinæ, & grauitas habitus, in eccleſia veſtra reparari: & ſi quæ fuerint ipſius contentiones, ex paſtoris abſentia, Dei gratia cooperante, & eodem præſente, poterint reformari. Dat. &c.

Forſitan naturalem.

Hereby you ſée how king Stephan was dealt withall. And albeit the archbiſhop of Canturburie is not openlie to be touched herewith, yet it is not to be doubted, but he was a doer in it, ſo far as might tend to the maintenance of the right and prerogatiue of holie church. And euen no leſſe vnquietneſſe had another of our princes with Iohn of Arundell, who fled to Rome for feare of his head, and cauſed the pope to write an ambitious and contumelious letter vnto his ſouereigne about his reſtitution. But when (by the kings letters yet extant) it beginning thus; *Thomas proditionis non expers noſtræ regiæ maieſtati inſidias fabricauit*, the pope vnderſtood the botome of the matter, he was contented that Thomas ſhould be depriued, and another archbiſhop choſen in his ſted.

Neither did this pride ſtaie at archbiſhops and biſhops, but deſcended lower, euen to the rake-helles of the clergie and puddels of all vngodlineſſe. For beſide the iniurie receiued of their ſuperiors, how was B. Iohn dealt withall by the vile Ciſtertians at Lincolne in the ſecond of his reigne? Certes, when he had (vpon iuſt occaſion) conceiued ſome grudge againſt them for their ambitious demeanor; and vpon deniall to paie ſuch ſummes of monie as were allotted vnto them, he had cauſed ſeizure to be made of ſuch horſſes, ſwine, neate, and other things of theirs, as were mainteined in his forreſts. They denounced him as fall amongſt themſelues with bell, booke and candle, to be accurſſed and excommunicated. Therevnto they ſo handled the matter with the pope and their friends, that the king was faine to yéeld to their good graces: inſomuch that a meeting for pacification was appointed betweene them at Lincolne, by meanes of the preſent archbiſhop of Canturburie, who went oft betweene him and the Ciſtertian commiſſioners before the matter could be finiſhed. In the end, the king himſelfe came alſo vnto the ſaid commiſſioners as they ſat in their chapiter houſe, and there with teares fell downe at their feet, crauing pardon for his treſpaſſes againſt them, and heartilie requiring that they would (from thenceforth) commend him and his realme in their praiers vnto the protection of the almightie, and receiue him into their fraternitie: promiſing moreouer full ſatiſfaction of their damages ſuſteined; and to build an houſe of their order in whatſoeuer place of England it ſhould pleaſe them to aſſigne. And this he confirmed by charter, bearing date the ſeauen and twentith of Nouember, after the Scotiſh king was returned into Scotland, & departed from the king. Whereby (and by other the like, as betweene Iohn Stratford and Edward the third, &c.) a man may eaſilie conceiue how proud the clergie-men haue béene in former times, as wholie preſuming vpon the primaſſie of their pope. More matter could I alledge of theſe and the like broiles, not to be found among our common hiſtoriographers: howbeit reſeruing the ſame vnto places more conuenient, I will ceaſſe to ſpeake of them at this time, and go forward with ſuch other things as my purpoſe is to ſpeake of. At the firſt therefore there was like and equall authoritie in both our archbiſhops: but as he of Canturburie hath long ſince obteined the prerogatiue aboue Yorke (although I ſaie not without great trouble, ſute, ſome bloudſhed & contention) ſo the archbiſhop of Yorke is neuertheleſſe written primate of England, as one contenting himſelfe with a péece of a title at the leaſt, when (all) could not be gotten. And as he of Canturburie crowneth the king, ſo this of Yorke doth the like to the quéene, whoſe perpetuall chapleine he is, & hath béene from time to time, ſince the determination of this controuerſie, as writers do report. The firſt alſo hath vnder his iuriſdiction to the

Twenty biſhoprikes vnder the Canturburie. Oncle ſées vnder archbiſhop Yorke.

Deanes.

Canonries.

Ordinarie ſermons.

Ordinarie expoſitions of the ſcriptures.

Twentie one biſhoprikes vnder ỳ ſée of Canturburie.

the number of one and twentie inferiour biſhops, the other hath onlie foure, by reaſon that the churches of Scotland are now remoued from his obedience vnto an archbiſhop of their owne, whereby the greatneſſe and circuit of the iuriſdiction of Yorke is not a little diminiſhed. In like ſort each of theſe ſeauen and twentie ſées haue their cathedrall churches, wherein the deanes (a calling not knowne in England before the conqueſt) do beare the chéefe rule, being men eſpeciallie choſen to that vocation, both for their learning and godlineſſe ſo néere as can be poſſible. Theſe cathedrall churches haue in like maner other dignities and canonries ſtill remaining vnto them, as héeretofore vnder the popiſh regiment. Howbeit thoſe that are choſen to the ſame are no idle and vnprofitable perſons (as in times paſt they haue béene when moſt of theſe liuings were either furniſhed with ſtrangers, eſpeciallie out of Italie, boies, or ſuch idiots as had leaſt ſkill of all in diſcharging of thoſe functions, wherevnto they were called by vertue of theſe ſtipends) but ſuch as by preaching and teaching can and do learnedlie ſet forth the glorie of God, and further the ouerthrow of antichriſt to the vttermoſt of their powers.

Oneſie foure ſées vnder the archbiſhop of Yorke.

Deanes.

Canonries.

These churches are called cathedrall, becauſe the biſhops dwell or lie néere vnto the ſame, as bound to kéepe continuall reſidence within their iuriſdictions, for the better ouerſight and gouernance of the ſame: the word being deriued *A cathedra*, that is to ſaie a chaire or ſeat where he reſteth, and for the moſt part abideth. At the firſt there was but one church in euerie iuriſdiction, wherinto no man entred to praie, but with ſome oblation or other toward the maintenance of the paſtor. For as it was reputed an infamie to paſſe by anie of them without viſitation: ſo it was a no leſſe reproch to appeare emptie before the Lord. And for this occaſion alſo they were builded verie huge and great, for otherwiſe they were not capable of ſuch multitudes as came dailie vnto them, to heare the word, and receiue the ſacraments.

But as the number of chriſtians increaſed, ſo firſt monaſteries, then finallie pariſh churches were builded in euerie iuriſdiction: from whence I take our deanerie churches to haue their originall, now called mother churches, and their incumbents archpréeſts; the reſt being added ſince the conqueſt, either by the lords of euerie towne, or zealous men, loth to trauell farre, and willing to haue ſome eaſe by building them nære hand. Vnto theſe deanerie churches alſo the cleargie in old time of the ſame deanrie were appointed to repaire at ſundrie ſeaſons, there to receiue wholeſome ordinances, and to conſult vpon the neceſſarie affaires of the whole iuriſdiction; if neceſſitie ſo required: and ſome image hereof is yet to be ſæne in the north parts. But as the number of churches increaſed, ſo the repaire of the faithfull vnto the cathedrals did diminiſh: whereby they now become eſpeciallie in their nether parts rather markets and ſhops for merchandize, than ſolemn places of praier, wherevnto they were firſt erected. Moreouer in the ſaid cathedrall churches vpon ſundaies and feſtiuall daies, the canons do make certeine ordinarie ſermons by courſe, wherevnto great numbers of all eſtates do orderlie reſort: and vpon the working daies thrise in the wéeke, one of the ſaid canons, or ſome other in his ſtéed, doth read and expound ſome péece of holie ſcripture, wherevnto the people do verie reuerentlie repaire. The biſhops themſelues in like ſort are not idle in their callings, for being now exempt from court and councell, which is one (and a no ſmall) péece of their felicitie (although Richard archbiſhop of Canturburie thought otherwiſe, as yet appeareth by his letters to pope Alexander, *Epiſtola* 44. Petri Bleſenſis, where he ſaith; Becauſe the cleargie of his time were ſomewhat narrowlie looked vnto, *Supra dorſum eccleſiæ fabricant peccatores, &c.*) they ſo applie their minds to the ſetting forth of the word, that there are verie few of them, which do not euerie ſundaie or oftener reſort to ſome place or other, within their iuriſdictions, where they expound the ſcriptures with much grauitie and ſkill; and yet not without the great miſliking and contempt of ſuch as hate the word. Of their manifold tranſlations from one ſée to another I will ſaie nothing, which is not now done for the benefit of the flocke, as the preferment of the partie fauoured, and aduantage vnto the prince, a matter in time paſt much doubted of, to wit, whether a biſhop or paſtor might be tranſlated from one ſée to another; & leſt vndecided, till preſcription by roiall authoritie made it good. For among princes a thing once done, is well done, and to be done oftentimes, though no warrant be to be found therefore.

Ordinarie ſermons.

Ordinarie expoſitions of the ſcriptures

The biſhops preach diligentlie, whoſe predeceſſors heretofore haue béene occupied in temporall affairs.

They haue vnder them alſo their archdeacons, ſome one, diuerſe two, and manie foure or mo, as their circuits are in quantitie, which archdeacons are termed in law the biſhops eies: and theſe (beſide their ordinarie courts, which are holden within ſo manie or more of their ſeuerall deanries by themſelues or their officials once in a moneth at the leaſt) do kéepe yearelie two viſitations or ſynods (as the biſhop doth in euerie third yeare, wherein he confirmeth ſome children, though moſt care but a litle for that ceremonie) in which they make diligent inquiſition and ſearch, as well for the doctrine and behauiour of the miniſters, as the orderlie dealing of the pariſhioners in reſorting to their pariſh churches and conformitie vnto religion. They puniſh alſo with great ſeueritie all ſuch treſpaſſers, either in perſon or by the purſſe (where permutation of penance is thought more greéuous to the offendor) as are preſented vnto them: or if the cauſe be of the more weight, as in caſes of hereſie, pertinacie, contempt, and ſuch like, they referre them either to the biſhop of the dioceſſe, or his chancellor, or elſe to ſundrie graue perſons ſet in authoritie, by vertue of an high commiſſion directed vnto them from the prince to that end, who in verie courteous maner do ſée the offendors gentlie reformed, or elſe ſeuerlie puniſhed, if neceſſitie ſo inforce.

Archdecons.

High commiſſioners.

Beſide this, in manie of our archdeaconries we haue an exerciſe latelie begun, which for the moſt part is called a propheſie or conference, and erected onelie for the examination or triall of the diligence of the cleargie in their ſtudie of holie ſcriptures. Howbeit, ſuch is the thirſtie deſire of the people in theſe daies to heare the word of God, that they alſo haue as it were with zealous violence intruded themſelues among them (but as hearers onelie) to come by more knowledge through their preſence at the ſame. Herein alſo (for the moſt part) two of the yonger ſort of miniſters do expound each after other ſome péece of the ſcriptures ordinarilie appointed vnto them in their courſes (wherein they orderlie go through with ſome one of the euangeliſts, or of the epiſtles, as it pleaſeth the whole aſſemblie to chooſe at the firſt in euerie of theſe conferences) and when they haue ſpent an houre or a little more betwéene them, then commeth one of the better learned ſort, who being a graduat for the moſt part, or knowne to be a preacher ſufficientlie authoriſed, & of a ſound iudgement, ſupplieth the roome of a moderator, making firſt a breéfe rehearſall of their diſcourſes, and then adding what him thinketh good of his owne knowledge, wherby two houres are thus commonlie ſpent at this moſt profitable méeting. When all is done, if the firſt ſpeakers haue ſhewed anie péece of diligence, they are commended for their trauell, and in-

A propheſie or conference.

couraged to go forward. If they haue béene found to be ſlacke, or not ſound in deliuerie of their doctrine, their negligence and error is openlie reproued before all their brethren, who go aſide of purpoſe from the laitie, after the exerciſe ended, to iudge of theſe matters, and conſult of the next ſpeakers and quantitie of the text to be handled in that place. The laitie neuer ſpeake of courſe (except ſome vaine and buſie head will now and then intrude themſelues with offenſe) but are onelie hearers; and as it is vſed in ſome places wéekelie, in other once in foureteene daies, in diuerſe monethlie, and elſewhere twiſe in a yeare, ſo is it a notable ſpurre vnto all the miniſters, thereby to aplie their bookes, which otherwiſe (as in times paſt) would giue themſelues to hawking, hunting, tables, cards, dice, tipling at the alehouſe, ſhooting of matches, and other like vanities, nothing commendable in ſuch as ſhould be godlie and zealous ſtewards of the good gifts of God, faithfull diſtributors of his word vnto the people, and diligent paſtors according to their calling.

But alas! as Sathan the author of all miſchéefe hath in ſundrie manners heretofore hindered the erection and maintenance of manie good things: ſo in this he hath ſtirred vp aduerſaries of late vnto this moſt profitable exerciſe, who not regarding the commoditie that riſeth thereby ſo well to the hearers as ſpekers; but either ſtumbling (I cannot tell how) at words and termes, or at the leaſt wiſe not liking to here of the reprehenſion of vice, or peraduenture taking a miſliking at the ſlender demeanours of ſuch negligent miniſters, as now and then in their courſes do occupie the romes: haue either by their owne practiſe, their ſiniſter information, or ſuggeſtions made vpon ſurmiſes vnto other procured the ſuppreſſion of theſe conferences, condemning them as hurtfull, pernicious, and daſtie bréeders of no ſmall hurt & inconuenience. But hereof let God be iudge, vnto whome the cauſe belongeth.

Miniſters & deacons.

Our elders or miniſters and deacons (for ſubdeacons and the other inferiour orders, ſometime vſed in popiſh church we haue not) are made according to a certeine forme of conſecration concluded vpon in the time of king Edward the firſt, by the clergie of England, and ſome after confirmed by the three eſtates of the realme, in the high court of parlement. And out of the firſt ſort, that is to ſaie, of ſuch as are called to the miniſterie (without reſpect whether they be married or not) are biſhops, deanes, archdeacons, & ſuch as haue the higher places in the hierarchie of the church elected; and theſe alſo as all the reſt, at the firſt comming vnto anie ſpirituall promotion, do yéeld vnto the prince the entire tare of that their liuing for one whole yeare, if it amount in value vnto ten pounds and vpwards, and this vnder the name and title of firſt fruits.

Faculties.

With vs alſo it is permitted, that a ſufficient man may (by diſpenſation from the prince) hold two liuings, not diſtant either from other aboue thirtie miles; whereby it commeth to paſſe, that as hir maieſtie doth reape ſome commoditie by the facultie, ſo the vnition of two in one man doth bring oftentimes more benefit to one of them in a moneth (I meane for doctrine) than they haue had before peraduenture in manie yeares.

Manie exclame againſt ſuch faculties, as if there were no good preachers that want maintenance, than liuings to mainteine them. In déed when a liuing is void, there are ſo manie ſutors for it, that a man would thinke the report to be true, and moſt certeine: but when it commeth to the triall, who are ſufficient, and who not, who are ſtaied men in conuerſation, iudgement, and learning; of that great number you ſhall hardlie find one or two, ſuch as they ought to be: and yet none more earneſt, to make ſute, to promiſe largelie, beare a better ſhew, or find fault with the ſtate of things than they. Neuertheleſſe, I do not thinke that their exclamations if they were wiſelie handled, are altogither grounded vpon rumors or ambitious minds, if you reſpect the ſtate of the thing it ſelfe, and not the neceſſitie growing through want of able men, to furniſh out all the cures in England, which both our vniuerſities are neuer able to performe. For if you obſerue what numbers of preachers Cambridge and Oxford do yearelie ſend forth; and how manie new compoſitions are made in the court of firſt fruits, by the deaths of the laſt incumbents: you ſhall ſone ſée a difference. Wherefore, if in countrie townes & cities, yea euen in London it ſelfe, foure or fiue of the litle churches were brought into one, the inconuenience would in great part be redreſſed and amended.

And to ſaie truth, one moſt commonlie of theſe ſmall liuings is of ſo little value, that it is not able to mainteine a meane ſcholar; much leſſe a learned man, as not being aboue ten, twelue, ſixtéene, seuentéene, twentie, or thirtie pounds at the moſt, toward their charges, which now (more than before time) do go out of the ſame. I ſaie more than before, becauſe euerie ſmall trifle, noble mans requeſt, or courteſie craued by the biſhop, doth impoſe and command a twentith part, a three ſcore part, or two pence in the pound, &c: out of our liuings, which hitherto hath not béene vſuallie granted, but by conſent of a ſynod, wherein things were decided according to equitie, and the poore ſort conſidered of, which now are equallie burdened.

Tenths.

We paie alſo the tenths of our liuings to the prince yearelie, according to ſuch valuation of ech of them, as hath béene latelie made: which neuertheleſſe in time paſt were not annuall but voluntarie, & paid at requeſt of king or pope. Herevpon alſo hangeth a pleaſant ſtorie though done of late yeares, to wit 1452, at which time the cleargie ſéeing the continuall loſſes that the king of England ſuſteined in France, vpon ſome motion of releéſe made, granted in an open conuocation to giue him two tenths toward the recouerie of Burdeaux, which his grace verie thankefullie receiued. It fortuned alſo at the ſame time that Vincentius Clemens the popes factor was here in England, who hearing what the clergie had done, came into the conuocation houſe alſo in great haſt and leſſe ſpéed, where, in a ſolemne oration he earneſtlie required them to be no leſſe fauourable to their ſpirituall father the pope, and mother the ſée of Rome, than they had ſhewed themſelues vnto his vaſſall and inferiour, meaning their ſouereigne lord in temporall iuriſdiction, &c. In deliuering alſo the cauſe of his ſute, he ſhewed how greéuouſlie the pope was diſturbed by cutthroates, barlots, and harlots, which do now ſo abound in Rome, that his holineſſe is in dailie danger to be made awaie amongſt them. To be ſhort when this fine tale was told, one of the companie ſtood vp and ſaid vnto him; My lord we haue heard your requeſt, and as we thinke it deſerueth litle conſideration and leſſe care, for how would you haue vs to contribute to his aid in ſuppreſſion of ſuch, as he and ſuch as you are do continuall vphold, it is not vnknowen in this houſe what rule is kept in Rome.

I grant (quoth Vincent) that there wanteth iuſt reformation of manie things in that citie, which would haue béene made ſooner, but now it is too late: neuertheleſſe I beſéech you to write vnto his holineſſe, with requeſt that he would leaue and abandon that Babylon, which is but a ſinke of miſchiefe, and kéepe his court elſewhere in place of better fame. And this he ſhall be the better able alſo to performe, if by your liberalitie

liberalitie extended towards him, vnto whome you are moſt bound, he be incouraged thereto. Manie other words paſſed to and fro amongſt them, howbeit in the end Vincent ouercame not, but was diſmiſſed without anie penie obteined. But to returne to our tenths, a paiement firſt as deuiſed by the pope, and afterward taken vp as by the preſcription of the king, wherevnto we may ioine alſo our firſt fruits, which is one whole yeares commoditie of our liuing, due at our entrance into the ſame, the tenths abated vnto the princes cofers, and paid commonlie in two yeares. For the receipt alſo of theſe two paiments, an eſpeciall office or court is erected, which beareth name of firſt fruits and tenths, wherevnto if the partie to be preferred, do not make his dutifull repaire by an appointed time after poſſeſſion taken, there to compound for the paiment of his ſaid fruits, he incurreth the danger of a great penaltie, limited by a certeine ſtatute prouided in that behalfe, againſt ſuch as do intrude into the eccleſiaſticall function, and refuſe to paie the accuſtomed duties belonging to the ſame.

They paie likewiſe ſubſidies with the temporaltie, but in ſuch ſort, that if theſe paie after foure ſhillings for land, the cleargie contribute commonlie after ſix ſhillings of the pound, ſo that of a benefice of twentie pounds by the yeare, the incumbent thinketh himſelfe well acquited, if all ordinarie paiments being diſcharged he may reſerue thirteene pounds ſix ſhillings eight pence towards his owne ſuſtentation, and maintenance of his familie. Seldome alſo are they without the compaſſe of a ſubſidie, for if they be one yeare cleare from this paiement, a thing not often ſeene of late yeares, they are like in the next to heare of another grant: ſo that I ſaie againe they are ſeldome without the limit of a ſubſidie. Herein alſo they ſomewhat find themſelues grieued, that the laitie may at euerie taxation helpe themſelues, and ſo they do through conſideration had of their decaie and hinderance, and yet their impoueriſhment cannot but touch alſo the parſon or vicar, vnto whom ſuch libertie is denied, as is dailie to be ſeene in their accompts and tithings.

Some of them alſo, after the mariages of their children, will haue their proportions qualified, or by frendſhip get themſelues quite out of the booke. But what ſtand I vpon theſe things, who haue rather to complaine of the iniurie offered by ſome of our neighbors of the laitie, which dailie indeuor to bring vs alſo within the compaſſe of their fifteens or taxes for their owne eaſe, whereas the taxe of the whole realme, which is commonlie greater in the champeigne than woodland ſoile, amounteth onelie to 37930 pounds nine pence halfepenie, is a burden eaſie inough to be borne vpon ſo manie ſhoulders, without the helpe of the cleargie, whoſe tenths and ſubſidies make vp commonlie a double, if not troubleſome vnto their aforeſaid paiments. Sometimes alſo we are threatned with a *Meliùs inquirendum*, as if our liuings were not racked high inough alreadie. But if a man ſhould ſeeke out where all thoſe church lands, which in time paſt did contribute vnto the old ſumme required or to be made vp, no doubt no ſmall number of the laitie of all ſtates ſhould be contributors alſo with vs, the prince not defrauded of hir expectation and right. We are alſo charged with armor & munitions from thirtie pounds vpwards, a thing more needfull than diuerſe other charges impoſed vpon vs are conuenient, by which & other burdens our caſe groweth to be more heauie by a great deale (notwithſtanding our immunitie from temporall ſeruices) than that of the laitie, and for ought that I ſee not likelie to be diminiſhed, as if the church were now become the aſſe whereon euerie market man is to ride and caſt his wallet.

The other paiments due vnto the archbiſhop and biſhop at their ſeuerall viſitations (of which the firſt is double to the latter) and ſuch alſo as the archdeacon receiueth at his ſynods, &c: remaine ſtill as they did without anie alteration, onelie this I thinke be added within memorie of man, that at the comming of euerie prince, his appointed officers do commonlie viſit the whole realme vnder the forme of an eccleſiaſticall inquiſition, in which the clergie do vſuallie paie double fees, as vnto the archbiſhop. Hereby then, and by thoſe alreadie remembred, it is found that the church of England, is no leſſe commodious to the princes coffers than the ſtate of the laitie, if it do not farre exceed the ſame, ſince their paiments are certeine, continuall, and ſeldome abated, howſoeuer they gather vp their owne duties with grudging, murmuring, ſute, and ſlanderous ſpeeches of the paiers, or haue their liuings otherwiſe hardlie valued vnto the vttermoſt farding, or ſhrewdlie cancelled by the couetouſneſſe of the patrones, of whome ſome do beſtow aduouſons of benefices vpon their bakers, butlers, cookes, good archers, falconers, and horſekéepers, in ſtéed of other recompenſe, for their long and faithfull ſeruice, which they imploie afterward vnto their moſt aduantage.

Certes here they reſemble the pope verie much, for as he ſendeth out his idols, ſo do they their paraſites, pages, chamberleins, ſtewards, grooms, & lackies; and yet theſe be the men that firſt exclame of the inſufficiencie of the miniſters, as hoping thereby in due time to get alſo their glebes and grounds into their hands. In times paſt biſhoprikes went almoſt after the ſame maner vnder the laie princes, and then vnder the pope, ſo that he which helped a clerke vnto a ſee, was ſure to haue a preſent or purſe fine, if not an annuall penſion, beſides that which went to the popes coffers, and was thought to be verie good merchandize. Hereof one example may be touched, as of a thing done in my yonger daies, whileſt quéene Marie bare the ſwaie and gouerned in this land. After the death of Stephan Gardiner, the ſée of Wincheſter was void for a ſeaſon, during which time cardinall Pole made ſeizure vpon the reuenues and commodities of the ſame, pretending authoritie therevnto *Sede vacante*, by vertue of his place. With this act of his the biſhop of Lincolne called White toke ſuch diſpleaſure, that he ſtepped in like a mate, with full purpoſe (as he ſaid) to kéepe that ſée from ruine. He wrote alſo to Paulus the fourth pope, requiring that he might be preferred therevnto, promiſing ſo as he might be *Compos voti*, to paie to the popes coffers 1600 pounds yearlie during his naturall life, and for one yeare after. But the pope nothing liking of his motion, and yet deſirous to reape a further benefit, firſt ſhewed himſelfe to ſtomach his ſimoniacall practiſe verie grieuouſlie, conſidering the dangerouſneſſe of the time and preſent eſtate of the church of England, which hong as yet in balance readie to yéeld anie waie, ſauing forth right, as he alledged in his letters. By which replie he ſo terrified the poore biſhop, that he was driuen vnto another iſſue, I meane to recouer the popes good will, with a further ſumme than ſtood with his eaſe to part withall. In the end when the pope had gotten this fleece, a new deuiſe was found, and meanes made to and by the prince, that White might be biſhop of Wincheſter, which at the laſt he obteined, but in ſuch wiſe as that the pope and his néereſt friends did loſe but a little by it. I could if néed were ſet downe a report of diuerſe other the like practiſes, but this ſhall ſuffice in ſtéed of all the reſt, leaſt in reprehending of vice I might ſhew my ſelfe to be a teacher of vngodlineſſe, or to ſcatter more vngratious ſéed in lewd ground

for their iuſt order of ſucceſſion as yet I am not reſolued, neuertheleſſe the firſt biſhop there was ordeined by Auguſtine the monke, in the yeare of Chriſt 604, in the time of Ceolryc, after he had remoued his ſée further off into Kent: I wote not vpon what ſecret occaſion, if not the ſpeedie hearing of newes from Rome, and readineſſe to flée out of the land, if any trouble ſhould betide him. For iuriſdiction it includeth Eſſex, Middleſex, and part of Herefordſhire, which is neither more nor leſſe in quantitie than the ancient kingdome of the eaſt Angles, before it was vnited to the weſt Saxons. The cathedrall church belonging to this ſée, was firſt begun by Ethelbert of Kent, Indic. 1. 598 of Inuber as I find, whileſt he held that part of the ſaid kingdome vnder his gouernement. Afterward when the Danes had ſundrie times defaced it, it was repaired and made vp with hard ſtone, but in the end it was taken downe, and wholie reedified by Mawrice biſhop of that ſée, and ſometimes chapleine to the baſtard Henrie the firſt, allowing him ſtone and ſtuffe from Baſnards caſtell nére vnto Ludgate, then ruinous for the furtherance of his work. [redacted] of the quire was not ſtat[redacted] of ſome of his ſucceſſors; [redacted] ace 1256, it was [redacted] her forme, and [redacted] alſo the bodies [redacted] taken vp and beſtowed in the walles, [redacted] their memories ſhould be of longer continuance. The iuriſdiction of this ſée alſo vnder the biſhop, is committed to foure archdeacons, to wit, of London, Eſſex, Middleſex, and Colcheſter, who haue amongſt them to the number of 363 pariſh churches, or thereabouts, beſide the peculiars belonging to the archbiſhop and chapiter of that houſe, and at euerie alienation the biſhop paieth for his owne part 119 pounds, eight ſhillings and foure pence (but in old time 3000 florens) which diuerſe ſuppoſe to be more, than (as it now ſtandeth) the biſhop is able to make of it. Of the archdeconrie of S. Albons added therevnto by king Henrie the eight (whereby the biſhop hath fiue elies) I ſpeake not, for although it be vnder the biſhop of London for viſitations and ſynods, yet is it otherwiſe reputed as member of the ſée of Lincolne, and therefore worthilie called an exempt, it hath alſo fiue and twentie pariſhes, of which foure are in Buckingham, the reſt in Herefordſhire.

Chicheſter. The firſt beginning of the ſée of Chicheſter was in the Ile of Seales or Seolſeie, and from thence tranſlated to Chicheſter, in the time of William the baſtard, and generall remouing of ſées from ſmall villages vnto the greater townes. It conteineth Suſſex onelie vnder hir iuriſdiction, wherein are fiftéene deanries, and 551 pariſh churches, it paid at euerie alienation to the ſée of Rome 333 ducats: and after Edbert the firſt biſhop, one Cella ſucceeded, after whome the pontificall chaire (not then worth 677 pounds by the yéere as now it is) was void by many yeares. It was erected in Seoleſeie alſo 711, by the decrée of a ſynod holden in Suſſex, which borowed it from the iuriſdiction of Wincheſter, whereof before it was reputed a parcell. Of all the biſhops that haue béene in this ſée, Thomas Kempe alwaies excepted, I read not of anie one that hath béene of more eſtimation than William Read, ſometime fellow of Merteine college in Oxford, doctor of diuinitie, and the moſt profound aſtronomer that liued in his time, as appeareth by his collection which ſometime I did poſſeſſe; his image is yet in the librarie there, and manie inſtruments of aſtronomie reſerued in that houſe (a college erected ſometime by Walter Merton biſhop of Rocheſter, and lord chancellor of England) he builded alſo the caſtell of Imberlete from the perie foundation, as Edward Seozie or Stozie his ſucceſſor did the new croſſe in the market place of Chicheſter.

The biſhop of Wincheſter was ſometime called biſhop of the weſt Saxons, and of Dorcheſter, which towne was giuen to Birinus and his ſucceſſors, by Kinigils and Oſwald of the Northumbers, in whoſe time it was erected by Birinus and his fellowes. In my time it hath iuriſdiction onelie ouer Hamſhire, Surrie, Jardeſeie, Gardeſeie, and the Wight, conteining eight deaneries, two hundred ſeuentie and ſix pariſh churches, and beſide all this he is perpetuall prelate to the honorable order of the Garter, deuiſed by Edward the third: he paid in old time to Rome 12000 ducates or florens, but now his firſt fruits are 2491 pounds nine ſhillings eight pence halfe penie. Canturburie was ſaid to be the higher racke, but Wincheſter hath borne the name to be the better mangler. There are alſo which make Lucius to be the firſt founder of an houſe of prater in Wincheſter, as Kinigils did build the ſecond, and Kinwaldus his ſonne the third; but you ſhall ſée the truth hereof in the chronologie inſuing. And hereunto if the old catalog of the biſhops of this ſée [redacted] dered of, and the acts of the greater [redacted] differentlie weighed, as the [redacted] ſtories, you ſhall find the [redacted] crites, the ſtouteſt warriours, the [redacted] the richeſt monimongers, and politike [redacted] in temporall affaires to haue, I wote not by what ſecret working of the diuine prouidence, béene placed here in Wincheſter, ſince the foundation of that ſée, which was erected by Birinus 639 (whome pope Honorius ſent hither out of Italie) and firſt planted at Dorcheſter, in the time of Kinigils, then tranſlated to Wincheſter, where it doth yet continue. winchester.

Salisburie. Salisburie was made the chéefe ſée of Shirburne by biſhop Harman (predeceſſor to Osmond) who brought it from Shirburne to that citie; it hath now Barkeſhire, Wiltſhire, and Dorſetſhire vnder hir iuriſdiction. For after the death of Hedda, which was 704, Wincheſter was diuided in two, ſo that onelie Hamſhire and Surrie were left vnto it, and Wilton, Dorſet, Barkeſhire, Sommerſet, Deuon & Cornewill aſſigned vnto Shirburne, till other order was taken. Biſhop Adelme did firſt ſit in that biſhoprike (704 as I ſaid) and placed his chaire at Shirburne vpon the ſaid diuiſion. And as manie lerned biſhops did ſucceed him in that roome, before and after it was remoued to Sarum; ſo there was neuer a more noble ornament to that ſée than biſhop Juell, of whoſe great learning and iudgement the world it ſelfe beareth witneſſe, notwithſtanding that the papiſts prefer S. Osmond (as they call him) becauſe he builded the minſter there, and made the portelle called *Ordinale eccleſiaſtici officij*, which old prieſts were wont to vſe. The biſhops alſo of this ſée were ſometimes called biſhops of Sunning, of their old manſion houſe nére vnto Reading (as it ſhould ſeeme) and among thoſe that liued before the ſaid Juell, one Roger builded the caſtell of the Vies in the time of Henrie the firſt, taken in thoſe daies for the ſtrongeſt hold in England, as vnto whoſe gate there were regals and gripes for ſix or ſeuen port cullises. Finallie this ſée paid vnto Rome 4000 florens, but vnto hir maieſtie in my time 1367 pounds twelue ſhillings eight pence, as I did find of late.

Excester. Excester hath Deuonſhire and Cornewall, ſometime two ſeuerall biſhoprikes, but in the end brought into one of Cornewall, and from thence to Excester in the time of the Baſtard or ſome after. It began vpon this occaſion, Anno Gratiæ 905, in a prouinciall councell holden by the elder Edward & Plegimond archbiſhop of Canturburie, among the Gewiſes, wherein

wherein it was found, that the see of Winchester had not onelie beene without hir pastor by the space of seuen yeres, but also that hir iurisdiction was farre greater than two men were able well to gouerne; therefore from the former two, to wit, Winchester and Shirburne, three other were taken, whereby that see was now diuided into fiue parts; the latter three being Welles, Birton, and Cornwall: this of Cornwall hauing hir see then at saint Patroks, not farre from north-Wales vpon the riuer Helmouth: he of Deuon holding his iurisdiction in Deuonshire, Birton, or Cridioc: and the bishop of Welles being allowed Dorset and Barkshires for his part, to gouerne and looke vnto according to his charge. Finallie, these two of Deuon and Cornwall being vnited, the valuation thereof was tared by the see of Rome at six thousand ducats in flozens, which were trulie paid at euerie alienation; but verie hardlie (as I gesse) sith that in my time, wherein all things are racked to the verie vttermost, I find that it is little worth aboue fiue hundreth pounds by the yere, bicause hir tenths are but fiftie.

Bath. Bath, whose see was sometime at Welles, before John the bishop there annexed the church of Bath vnto it, which was 1094, hath Summersetshire onlie, and the valuation thereof in the court of Rome was foure hundred & thirtie flozens: but in hir maiesties books I find it fiue hundred thirtie and three pounds, and about one od shilling: which declareth a precise examination of the estate of that see. Of the erection of this bishoprike, mentioned in the discourse of Excester, I find the former assertion confirmed by another author, and in somewhat more large maner, which I will also remember, onelie because it pleaseth me somewhat better than the words before alleged out of the former writer. This bishoprike (saith he) was erected 905, in a councell holden among the Gewisses, whereat king Edward of the west-Saxons, and Plegimond archbishop of Canturburie were present. For that part of the countrie had beene seuen yeres without anie pastorall cure. And therfore in this councell it was agreed, that for the two bishoprikes (whereof one was at Winchester, another at Shireburne) there should be fiue ordeined, whereby the people there might be the better instructed. By this meanes Frithstan was placed at Winchester, and Ethelme at Shireburne, both of them being then bold. Shireburne also susteined the subdiuision; so that Werstane was made bishop of Cridioc or Deuonshire (whose see was at Birton) Herstan of Cornwall, and Sadulfe of Welles, vnto whome Barkshire and Dorsetshire were appointed. But now you see what alteration is made, by consideration of the limits of their present iurisdictions.

The bishoprike of Shirburne diuided into three.

Worcester. Worcester sometime called *Episcopatus Wicciorum* (that is, the bishoprike of the Wiccies or Huiccies) hath Worcester, & part of Warwikeshires. And before the bishoprike of Glocester was taken out of the same, it paid to the pope two thousand ducats of gold at euerie change of prelat: but now the valuation thereof is one thousand fortie nine pounds, seauen pence halfe penie farthing (except my remembrance dow deceiue me.) This see was begunne either in, or not long before the time of Offa king of the east-Angles, and Boselus was the first bishop there; after whome succeeded Offort, then Egwine who went in pilgrimage to Rome, with Kinredus of Mercia and the said Offa, and there gat a monasterie (which he builded in Worcester) confirmed by Constantine the pope. In this see was one of your lordships ancestors sometime bishop, whose name was Cobham, and doctor both of diuinitie and of the canon law, who, during the time of his pontificalitie there, builded the vault of the north side of the bodie of the church, and there lieth buried in the same (as I haue beene informed.) Certes this man was once elected, and should haue beene archbishop of Canturburie in the rome of Reginald that died 1313 vnder Edward the second: but the pope frustrated his election, fearing least he would haue shewed himselfe more affectionate towards his prince than to his court of Rome; wherefore he gaue Canturburie to the bishop of Worcester then being. And furthermore, least he should seeme altogither to reiect the said Thomas and displease the king, he gaue him in the end the bishoprike of Worcester, whereinto he entred 1317, *March* 31, being thursdaie (as appeareth by the register of that house) after long plee holden for the aforesaid see of Canturburie in the court of Rome, wherein most monie did oftentimes preuaile. This is also notable of that see, that fiue Italians succeeded eche other in the same, by the popes prouision; as Egidius, Syluester, Egidius his nephue (for nephues might say in those daies; Father shall I call you vncle? And vncles also; Son I must call thee nephue) Iulius de Medices, afterward pope Clement, and Hieronymus de Nugutijs, men verie likelie, no doubt, to benefit the common people by their doctrine. Some of these being at the first but poore men in Rome, and yet able by selling all they had to make a round summe against a rainie daie, came first into fauor with the pope, then into familaritie, finallie into orders; and from thence into the best liuings of the church, farre off where their parentage could not easilie be heard of, nor made knowne vnto their neighbours.

Glocester. Glocester hath Glocestershire onelie, wherein are nine deanries, and to the number of 294 parish churches, as I find by good record. But it neuer paid anie thing to Rome, bicause it was erected by king Henrie the eight, after he had abolished the vsurped authoritie of the pope, except in quéene Maries, if anie such thing were demanded, as I doubt not but it was: yet is it worth yerelie 315 pounds, seauen shillings three pence, as the booke of first fruits declareth.

Hereford. Hereford hath Herefordshire and part of Shropshire, and it paid to Rome at euerie alienation 1800 ducats at the least, but in my time it paieth vnto hir maiesties cofers 768 pounds, ten shillings, ten pence, halfe penie, farthing. In this see there was a bishop sometime called John Bruten, vpon whome the king then reigning, by likelihood for want of competent maintenance, bestowed the keeping of his wardrobe, which he held long time with great honour, as his register saith. A wonderfull preferment that bishops should be preferred from the pulpit, to the custodie of wardrobes: but such was the time. Neuertheless his honorable custodie of that charge is more solemnlie remembred, than anie good sermon that euer he made, which function peraduenture he committed to his suffragane, sith bishops in those daies had so much businesse in the court, that they could not attend to doctrine and exhortation.

Lichfield. Lichefield, whereunto Couentrie was added, in the time of Henrie the first, at the earnest sute of Robert bishop of that see, hath Staffordshire, Darbishire, part of Shropshire, and the rest of Warwikeshire, that is void of subiection to the see of Worcestershire. It was erected in the time of Peada king of the south Mercians, which lie on this side the Trent, and therein one Dinas was installed, about the yeare of Grace 656, after whom Rellac first, then Tunber an Englishman succeeded, this later being well learned, and consecrated by the Scots. In the time of the bastard, I wot not vpon what occasion, one Peter bishop of this see translated his chaire

to

to Cheſter, and there held it for a ſeaſon, whereby it came to paſſe that the biſhops of Lichfield were for a while called biſhops of Cheſter. But Robert his ſucceſſor not liking of this preſident, remoued his chaire from Cheſter to Couentrie, and there held it whileſt he liued, whereby the originall diuiſion of the biſhoprike of Lichfield into Lichfield, Cheſter, and Couentrie, doth eaſilie appeare, although in my time Lichfield and Couentrie be united, and Cheſter remaineth a biſhoprike by it ſelfe. It paid the pope at euerie alienation 1733 florens, or (as ſome old bookes haue) 3000, a good round ſumme, but not without a taſt puniſhment, as one ſaith, ſith that anno 765, Eadulfe biſhop there vnder Offa king of Mercia, would by his helpe haue bereaued the archbiſhop of Canturburie of his pall, & ſo did in deed vnder pope Hadrian, holding the ſame vntill things were reduced vnto their ancient forme. Before the time alſo of biſhop Langton, the prebends of this ſee laie here and there abroad in the citie, where the vicars alſo had an houſe, of which this honeſt biſhop miſliked not a little for ſundrie cauſes; wherefore he began their cloſe, and beſtowed ſo much in building the ſame, and pauing the ſtreets, that his hungrie kinſmen did not a little grudge at his expenſes, thinking that his emptie coffers would neuer make them gentlemen, for which preferment the frends of moſt biſhops gaped earneſtlie in thoſe daies. King John was the greateſt benefactor vnto this ſee, next vnto Offa; and it is called Lichfield, *Quaſi mortuorum campus*, becauſe of the great ſlaughter of chriſtians made there (as ſome write) vnder Diocleſian. Howbeit in my time the valuation thereof is 703 pounds, fiue ſhillings two pence, halfepenie, farthing, a ſumme verie narrowlie caſt by that auditor which tooke it firſt in hand.

Oxford hath Oxfordſhire onelie, a verie yong iuriſdiction, erected by king Henrie the eight, & where in the time of quéene Marie, one Boldwell was biſhop, who (as I remember) was a Ieſuit, dwelling in Rome, and more conuerſant (as the conſtant fame went) in the blacke art, than skilfull in the ſcriptures, and yet he was of great countenance amongſt the Romane monarchs. It is ſaid that obſeruing the canons of his order, he regarded not the temporalities of that ſée: but I haue heard ſince that he wiſt well inough what became of thoſe commodities, for by one meane and other he found the ſweetneſſe of 354 pounds ſixteene ſhillings three pence halfe penie, yearelie growing to him, which was euen inough (if not too much) for the maintenance of a frier toward the drawing out of circles, characters, & lineaments of imagerie, wherein he was paſſing skilfull, as the fame then went in Rome, and not vnheard of in Oxford.

Elie. Elie hath Cambridgſhire, and the Ile of Elie. It was erected 1109 by Henrie the firſt, being before a rich and wealthie abbeie. One Henrie alſo was made biſhop there, as I haue found in a regiſter, belonging ſometime to that houſe being tranſlated from Bangor. Finallie it paid to the pope at euerie alienation 7000 ducats, as the regiſters there do teſtifie at large. Albeit that in my time I find a note of 2134 pounds ſixteene ſhillings three pence halfe penie farthing, whoſe diſme ioined to thoſe of all the biſhoprikes in England, do yéeld yearelie to hir maieſties coffers 23370 pounds ſixteene ſhillings three pence halfe penie farthing: whereby alſo the huge ſums of monie going out of this land to the court of Rome doth in ſome meaſure appéere. Ethelwold afterward biſhop of Wincheſter builded the firſt monaſterie of Elie vpon the ruines of a nunrie then in the kings hands, howbeit the ſame houſe, whereof he himſelfe was abbat, was yer long deſtroied by enimies, and he in lieu of his old preferment rewarded by king Edgar, with the aforeſaid biſhoprike, from whence with more than lionlike boldneſſe he expelled the ſecular prieſts, and ſtored with monkes prouided from Abandune néere Oxford, by the helpe of Edgar and Dunſtane then metropolitane of England. There was ſometime a grieuous contention betweéne Thomas Lild biſhop of this ſée, and the king of England, about the yeare of Grace 1355, which I will here deliuer out of an old record, becauſe the matter is ſo particularlie penned by ſome of the brethren of that houſe, in fauour of the biſhop; & for that I was alſo abuſed with the ſame in the entrance thereof at the firſt into my chronologie. The blacke prince fauoring one Robert Stretton his chapleine, a man vnlearned and not worthie the name of a clearke, the matter went on ſo farre, that what for loue, and ſomewhat elſe, of a canon of Lichfield he was choſen biſhop of that ſée. Herevpon the pope vnderſtanding what he was by his Nuncio here in England, ſtaied his conſecration by his letters for a time, and in the meane ſeaſon committed his examination to the archbiſhop of Canturburie, and the biſhop of Rocheſter, who felt and dealt ſo fauourablie with him in golden reaſoning, that his worthineſſe was commended to the popes holineſſe, & to Rome he goeth. Being come to Rome the pope himſelfe apposed him, and after ſecret conference vtterlie diſableth his election, till he had proued by ſubſtantiall argument and of great weight before him alſo, that he was not ſo lightlie to be reiected. Which kind of reaſoning ſo well pleaſed his holineſſe, that *Ex mera plenitudine poteſtatis*, he was made capable of the benefice and ſo returneth into England; when he came home, this biſhop being in the kings preſence told him how he had done he wiſt not what in preferring ſo vnmeet a man vnto ſo high a calling. With which ſpeach the king was ſo offended, that he commanded him out of hand to auoid out of his preſence. In like ſort the ladie Wake then ducheſſe of Lancaſter, ſtanding by, and hearing the king hir couſine to gather vp the biſhop ſo roundlie, and thereto an old grudge againſt him for ſome other matter, doth preſentlie picke a quarrell againſt him about certeine lands then in his poſſeſſion, which he defended & in the end obteined againſt hir by plée and courſe of law yer long alſo afore hapned in a part of hir houſe, for which ſhe accuſed the biſhop, and in the end by verdict of twelue men found that he was priuie vnto the fact of his men in the ſaid fact, wherfore he was condemned in nine hundred pounds damages, which he paid euerie penie.

Neuertheleſſe, being ſore grieued, that ſhe had (as he ſaid) wreſted out ſuch a verdict againſt him, and therein packed vp a queſt at hir owne choiſe: he taketh his horſſe, goeth to the court, and there complaineth to the king of his great iniurie receiued at hir hands. But in the deliuerie of his tale, his ſpeech was ſo blockiſh, & termes ſo euill fauoredlie (though maliciouſlie) placed, that the king tooke yet more offenſe with him than before; inſomuch that he led him with him into the parlement houſe, for then was that court holden, and there before the lords accuſed him of no ſmall miſdemeanor toward his perſon by his rude and threatening ſpeeches. But the biſhop egerlie denieth the kings obiections, which he ſtill auoucheth vpon his honor; and in the end confirmeth his allegations by witneſſe: wherevpon he is baniſhed from the kings preſence during his naturall life by verdict of that houſe. In the meane time the ducheſſe hearing what was done, ſhe beginneth a new to be dealing with him: and in a brabling fraie betweene their ſeruants one of hir men was ſlaine: for which he was called before the magiſtrat, as chiefe acceſſarie vnto the fact. But he fearing the ſequele

of

of his third cauſe by his ſucceſſe had in the two firſt, yeeldeth himſelfe after he had ſold all his moouables, and committed the monie vnto his truſtie friends. And being found giltie by the inqueſt, the king ſeiſeth vpon his poſſeſſions, and calleth vp the biſhop to anſwer vnto the treſpaſſe. Who be ſhort, vpon ſafe-conduct the biſhop commeth to the kings preſence, where he denieth that he was acceſſarie to the fact, either before, at, or after the deed committed, and thereupon craueth to be tried by his peeres. But this petition was in vaine: for ſentence paſſeth againſt him alſo by the kings owne mouth. Whereupon he craueth helpe of the archbiſhop of Canturburie and priuileges of the church, hoping by ſuch meanes to be ſolemnlie reſcued. But they fearing the kings diſpleaſure, who bare ſmall fauour to the clergie of his time, gaue ouer to vſe anie ſuch meanes; but rather willed him to ſubmit himſelfe vnto the kings mercie, which he refuſed, ſtanding vpon his innocencie from the firſt vnto the laſt. Finallie, growing into choler, that the malice of a woman ſhould ſo preuaile againſt him, he writeth to Rome, requiring that his caſe might be heard there, as a place wherein greater iuſtice (ſaith he) is to be looked for than to be found in England. Vpon the peruſall of theſe his letters alſo, his accuſers were called thither. But for ſo much as they appeered not at their peremptorie times, they were excommunicated. Such of them alſo as died before their reconciliations were taken out of the churchyards, and buried in the fields and dong-hilles, *vnde timor & turba* (ſaith my note) *in Anglia*. For the king inhibited the bringing in and receipt of all proceſſes, billes, and whatſoeuer inſtruments ſhould come from Rome: ſuch alſo as aduentured contrarie to this prohibition to bring them in, were either diſmembred of ſome ioint, or hanged by the necks. Which rage ſo incenſed the pope, that he wrote in verie vehement maner to the king of England, threatening far greater curſſes, except he did the ſooner ſtaie the furie of the lady, reconcile himſelf vnto the biſhop, and finallie, making him amends for all his loſſes ſuſteined in theſe broiles. Long it was yer the king would be brought to peace. Neuertheleſſe, in the end he wrote to Rome about a reconciliation to be had betweene them: but yer all things were concluded, God himſelfe did end the quarrell, by taking awaie the biſhop. And thus much out of an old pamphlet in effect word for word: but I haue ſomewhat framed the forme of the report after the order that Stephan Birchington doth deliuer it, who alſo hath the ſame in manner as I deliuer it.

Norwich. The ſee of Norwich called in old time *Epiſcopatus Donnicenſis, Dononie*, or *Eaſtanglorum*, was erected at Felſtow or Felixſtow, where Felix of Burgundie (ſometime ſchoolemaſter to Sigebert of the eaſt-Angles, by whoſe perſuaſion alſo the ſaid Sigebert erected the vniuerſitie at Cambridge) being made biſhop of the eaſt-Angles firſt placed his ſee, afterward it was remoued from thence to Donwich, & thence to Helmham, *Anno* 870, about the death of Celnothus of Canturburie; thirdlie, to Theodford, or Thetford; & finallie, after the time of the Baſtard, to Norwich. For iuriſdiction it containeth in our daies Norfolke and Suffolke onelie, whereas at the firſt it included Cambridgeſhire alſo, and ſo much as laie within the kingdome of the eaſt-Angles. It began about the yeere 632, vnder Terpenwald king of the eaſt-Saxons, who beſtowed it vpon Felix, whome pope Honorius alſo confirmed, and after which he held it by the ſpace of ſeauenteene yeeres. It paid ſometimes at euerie alienation 5000 ducats to Rome. But in my time hir maieſtie hath 899 pounds, 8 ſhillings 7 pence farthing, as I haue been informed. In the ſame iuriſdiction alſo there were once 1563 pariſh churches, and 88 religious houſes: but in our daies I can not heare of more churches than 1200: and yet of theſe I know one conuerted into a barne, whileſt the people heare ſeruice further off vpon a greene: their bell alſo when I heard a ſermon there preached in the greene, hanged in an oke for want of a ſteeple. But now I vnderſtand that the oke likewiſe is gone. There is neuertheleſſe a litle chappellet hard by on that common, but nothing capable of the multitude of Aſhlie towne that ſhould come to the ſame in ſuch wiſe, if they did repaire thither as they ought.

Peterborow, ſometimes a notable monaſterie, hath Northampton and Rutland ſhires vnder hir iuriſdiction, a dioceſſe erected alſo by king Henrie the eight. It neuer paid firſt fruits to the pope before queene Maries daies (if it were then deliuered) whereof I doubt, becauſe it was not recorded in his ancient regiſter of tenths and fruits, although peraduenture the collectors left it not vngathered, I wot not for what purpoſe; it yeeldeth now foure hundred and fiftie pounds, one penie abated. I haue ſeene and had an ancient farre of the lands of this monaſterie, which agreeth verie well with the hiſtorie of Hugo le Blanc monke of that houſe. In the charter alſo of donation annexed to the ſame, I ſaw one of Wulfhere king of Mercia, ſigned with his owne, & the marks of Sigher king of Suſſex, Sebbie of Eſſex, with the additions of their names: the reſt of the witneſſes alſo inſued in this order:

Ethelred brother to Wulfehere,
Kindburg and Kindſwith ſiſters to Wulfhere,
Deuſdedit archbiſhop,
Idamar biſhop of Rocheſter,
Wina biſhop of London,
Iarnman biſhop of Pearc,
Wilfride and Eoppa prieſts,
Saxulfe the abbat.

When all the earles and eldermen of England in order; and after all theſe, the name of pope Agatho, who confirmed the inſtrument at the inſtance of Wilfride archbiſhop of Yorke, in a councell holden at Rome 680, of a hundred & fiue and twentie biſhops, wherein alſo theſe churches were appropriated to the ſaid monaſterie, to wit, Breding, Reping, Cedenac, Swineſhened, Lulgerd, Edelminglond, and Barchaing: whereby we haue in part an euident teſtimonie how long the practiſe of appropriation of benefices hath beene vſed to the hinderance of the goſpell, and maintenance of idle monks, an humane inuention grounded vpon hypocriſie.

Peterborow.

Briſtow hath Dorſetſhire ſometime belonging to Saliſburie, a ſee alſo latelie erected by king Henrie the eight, who tooke no ſmall care for the church of Chriſt, and therefore eaſed a number of ancient ſees of ſome part of their huge and ouer-large circuits, and beſtowed thoſe portions deduced, vpon ſuch other erections as he had appointed for the better regiment and feeding of the flocke: the value thereof is three hundred foure ſcore and three pounds, eight ſhillings, and foure pence (as I haue beene informed.)

Briſtow.

Lincolne of all other of late times was the greateſt; and albeit that out of it were taken the ſees of Oxford and Peterborow, yet it ſtill reteineth Lincolne, Leiceſter, Huntingdon, Bedford, Buckingham ſhires, and the reſt of Hertford; ſo that it extendeth from the Thames vnto the Humber, and paid vnto the pope fiue thouſand ducats (as appeareth by his note) at euerie alienation. In my time, and by reaſon of hir diminution it yeeldeth a tribute to whom tribute belongeth, of the valuation of eight hundred ninetie and nine pounds, eight ſhillings, ſeauen pence farthing. It began ſince the conqueſt, about

Lincolne.

about the beginning of William Rufus, by one Remigius, who remoued his sée from Dorchester to Lincolne (not without licence well paid for vnto the king.) And thus much of the bishoprikes which lie within Lhoegres or England, as it was left vnto Locrinus. Now it followeth that I proceed with Wales.

Landaffe. Landaffe, or the church of Taw hath ecclesiasticall iurisdiction in Glamorgan, Monmouth, Brechnoch, and Radnor shires. And although it paid seuen hundred ducats at euerie exchange of prelat; yet is it scarselie worth one hundred fiftie and fiue pounds by the yeare (as I haue heard reported.) Certes it is a poore bishoprike, & (as I haue heard) the late incumbent thereof being called for not long since by the lord president in open court made answer. The daffe is here, but the land is gone. What he meant by it I can not well tell; but I hope, that in the séed time and the frée planting of the gospell, the meate of the labourer shall not be diminished and withdrawen.

Dewy.

S. Dauids. S. Dauids hath Penbroke and Caermardine shires, whose liuerie or first fruits to the sée of Rome was one thousand and fiue hundred ducats, at the hardest (as I thinke.) For if record be of anie sufficient credit, it is little aboue the value of foure hundred fiftie and seauen pounds, one shilling, and ten pence farthing, in our time, and so it paieth vnto hir maiesties coffers; but in time past I thinke it was farre better. The present bishop misliketh verie much of the cold situation of his cathedrall church; and therfore he would gladlie pull it downe, and set it in a warmer place: but it would first be learned what suertie he would put in to see it well performed: of the rest I speake not.

Bangor. Bangor is in north-Wales, and hath Caernarnon, Anglesey, and Merioneth shires vnder hir iurisdiction. It paid to Rome 126 ducats, which is verie much. For of all the bishoprikes in England it is now the least for reuenues, and not worth aboue one hundred and one and thirtie pounds, and sixteene pence to hir maiesties coffers at euerie alienation (as appéareth by the tenths, which amount to much lesse than those of some good benefice) for it yeeldeth not yéerelie aboue thirteene pounds, three shillings, and seauen pence halfe penie, as by that court is manifest.

S. Asaphes. S. Asaphes hath Prestholme and part of Denbigh and Flintshires vnder hir iurisdiction in causes ecclesiasticall, which being laid togither doo amount to little more than one good countie, and therefore in respect of circuit the least that is to be found in Wales, neuertheless it paid to Rome 470 ducates at euerie alienation. In my time the first fruits of this bishoprike came vnto 187 pounds eleuen shillings six pence, wherby it seemeth to be somewhat better than Landaffe or Bangor last remembred. There is one Howell a gentleman of Flintshire in the compasse of this iurisdiction, who is bound to giue an harpe of siluer yearelie to the best harper in Wales, but did anie bishop thinke you deserue that in the popish time? Howell or Aphowell in English is all one (as I haue heard) and signifie so much as Hugo or Hugh. Hitherto of the prouince of Canturburie, for so much therof as now lieth within the compasse of this Iland. Now it resteth that I proceed with the curtailed archbishoprike of Yorke, I saie curtailed because all Scotland is cut from his iurisdiction and obedience.

Yorke. The sée of Yorke was restored about the yeare of Grace 625, which after the comming of the Saxons laie desolate and neglected, howbeit at the said time Iustus archbishop of Canturburie ordeined Paulinus to be first bishop there, in the time of Eadwin king of Northumberland. This Paulinus sate six yeares yer he was driuen from thence, & after whose expulsion that seat was void long time, wherby Lindesfarne grew into credit, and so remained vntill the daies of Oswie of Northumberland, who sent Wilfred the priest ouer into France, there to be consecrated archbishop of Yorke: but whilest he taried ouer long in those parts, Oswie impatient of delaie preferred Ceadda or Chad to that rome, who held it three yeares, which being expired Wilfred recouered his rome, and held it as he might, vntill it was seuered in two, to wit, Yorke, Hagulstade, or Lindesfarne, where Cata was placed, at which time also Egfride was made bishop of Lincolne or Lindsie in that part of Mercia which he had goten from Wolfhere. Of it selfe it hath now iurisdiction ouer Yorkeshire, Nottinghamshire (whose shire towne I meane the new part thereof with the bridge was builded by king Edward the first surnamed the elder before the conquest) and the rest of Lancastershire onelie not subiect to the sée of Chester; and when the pope bare authoritie in this realme, it paid vnto his sée 1000 ducates, beside 5000 for the pall of the new elect, which was more than he could well spare of late, considering the curtailing & diminution of his sée, thorough the erection of a new metropolitane in Scotland, but in my time it yeeldeth 1609 pounds nineteene shillings two pence to hir maiestie, whom God long preserue vnto vs to his glorie, hir comfort, and our welfares.

Chester. Chester vpon Dee, otherwise called Westchester, hath vnder hir iurisdiction in causes ecclesiasticall, Chestershire, Darbishire, the most part of Lancastershire (to wit vnto the Ribell) Richmond and a part of Flint & Denbigh shires in Wales. It was made a bishoprike by king H. 8. anno regni 33. Iulij 16, and so hath continued since that time, being valued 420 pounds by the yeare beside od twentie pence (a streict reckoning) as the record declareth.

Durham. Durham hath the countie of Durham and Northumberland with the Wales onelie vnder hir iurisdiction, and hereof the bishops haue sometimes beene earles palantines & ruled the rest vnder the name of the bishoprike and succession of S. Cuthbert. It was a sée (in mine opinion) more profitable of late vnto hir maiesties coffers by 221 pounds eighteene shillings ten pence farthing, and yet of lesse countenance than hir prouinciall, nevertheles the sunneshine thereof (as I heare) is now somewhat eclipsed and not likelie to recouer the light, for this is not a time wherein the church may looke to increase in hir estate. I heare also that some other flitches haue forgone the like collops, but let such matters be scanned by men of more discretion. Capgraue saith how that the first bishop of this sée was called bishop of Lindsie (or Lincolne) & that Ceadda laie in Liechfield of the Mercians in a mansion house néere the church. But this is more worthie to be remembred, that Cuthred of the Northumbers, and Alfred of the Westsaxons bestowed all the land betweéne the Wese & the Tine now called the bishoprike vpon S. Cuthbert, beside whatsoeuer belonged to the sée of Hagulstade. Edgar of Scotland also in the time of the Bastard gaue Coldingham and Berwike withall their appurtenances to that house; but whether these donations be extant or no as yet I cannot tell. Yet I thinke not but that Leland had a sight of them, from whome I had this ground. But whatsoeuer this bishoprike be now, in externall & outward apparance, sure it is that it paid in old time 9000 ducates at euerie alienation to Rome, as the record expresseth. Aidan a Scot or Irishman was the first bishop of this sée, who held himselfe (as did manie of his successors) at Colchester and in Lindesfarne Ile, till one came that remoued it to Durham. And now iudge you

you whether the allegation of Capgraue be of anie accompt or not.

Caerleill. Caerleill was erected 1132 by Henrie the firſt, and hereof one Ethelwolfe confeſſor to Osmond biſhop of Sarum was made the firſt biſhop, hauing Cumberland & Weſtmerland aſſigned to his ſhare; of the deaneries and number of pariſh churches conteined in the ſame as yet I haue no knowledge, more than of manie other. Howbeit hereof I am ſure, that notwithſtanding the preſent valuation be riſen to 531 pounds fourteene ſhillings eleuen pence halfe penie, the pope receiued out of it but 1000 florens, and might haue ſpared much more, as an aduerſarie thereto confeſſed ſometime euen before the pope himſelfe, ſuppoſing no leſſe than to haue gained by his tale, and ſo peraduenture ſhould haue done, if his platforme had taken place. But as wiſe men oft eſpie the practiſes of flatteries, ſo the pope ſaw to what end this profitable ſpeach was vttered. As touching Caerleill it ſelfe it was ſometime ſacked by the Danes, and eftſoones repared by William Rufus, & planted with a colonie of ſoutherne men. I ſuppoſe that in old time it was called Cairdotill. For in an ancient booke which I haue ſéene, and yet haue, intituled, *Liber formularum literarum curiæ Romanæ, octo capitulorum, epiſcopatus Cardocenſis*. And thus much generallie of the names and numbers of our biſhoprikes of England, whoſe tenths in old time yearelie amounting vnto 21111 pounds, twelue ſhillings one penie halfe penie farthing, of currant monie in thoſe daies, do euidentlie declare, what ſtore of coine was tranſported out of the land vnto the papall vſes, in that behalfe onelie.

Certes I take this not to be one quarter of his gaines gotten by England in thoſe daies, for ſuch commodities were raiſed by his courts holden here, ſo plentifullie gat he by his perquiſits, as elections, procurations, appeales, preuentions, pluralities, tot quots, trialities, tollerations, legitimations, bulles, ſeales, pálls, concubines, eating of flеſh and white meats, diſpenſations for marriages, & times of celebration, Peter pence, and ſuch like faculties, that not ſo little as 1200000 pounds went yearelie from hence to Rome. And therefore no maruell though he ſéeke much in theſe daies to reduce vs to his obedience. But what are the tenths of England (you will ſaie) in compariſon of all thoſe of Europe. For notwithſtanding that manie good biſhoprikes latelie erected be left out of his old bookes of record, which I alſo haue ſéene, yet I find neuertheles that the whole ſum of them amounted to not aboue 61521 pounds as monie went 200 yeares before my time, of which portion poore ſaint Peter did neuer heare, of ſo much as one graie grote. Marke therfore I praie you whether England were not fullie anſwerable to a third part of the reſt of his tenths ouer all Europe, and therevpon tell me whether our Iland was one of the beſt paire of bellowes or nut, that blue the fire in his kitchen, wherewith to make his pot ſeeth, beſide all other commodities.

Man. Beſide all theſe, we haue another biſhoprike yet in England almoſt ſlipped out of my remembrance, becauſe it is verie obſcure, for that the biſhop thereof hath not wherewith to mainteine his countenance ſufficientlie, and that is the ſee of Mona or Man, ſometime named *Epiſcopatus Sodorenſis*, whereof one Wimundus was ordeined the firſt biſhop, and John the ſecond, in the troubleſome time of king Stephan. The gift of this prelacie reſteth in the earles of Darbie, who nominate ſuch a one from time to time thereto as to them doth ſéeme conuenient. Howbeit it that ſée did know and might reape hir owne commodities, and diſcerne them from other mens poſſeſſions (for it is ſuppoſed that the mother hath deuoured the daughter) I doubt not but the ſtate of hir biſhop would quicklie be amended. Hauing therefore called this later ſée after this maner vnto mind, I ſuppoſe that I haue ſufficientlie diſcharged my dutie concerning the ſtate of our biſhoprike, and maner how the eccleſiaſticall iuriſdiction of the church of England is diuided among the ſhires and counties of this realme. Whoſe biſhops as they haue béene heretofore of leſſe learning, and yet of greater port & doings in the common-wealth, than at this preſent, ſo are they now for the moſt part the beſt learned that are to be found in anie countrie of Europe, ſith neither high parentage, nor great riches (as in other countries) but onelie learning and vertue, commended ſomewhat by frendſhip, do bring them to this honour.

I might here haue ſpoken more at large of diuerſe other biſhoprikes, ſometime in this part of the Iland, as of that of Caerleon tofore ouerthrowen by Edelfred in the behalfe of Auguſtine the monke (as Malmeſburie ſaith) where Dubritius gouerned, which was afterward tranſlated to S. Dauids, and taken for an archbiſhoprike: ſecondlie of the biſhoprike of Leiceſter called Legerenſis, whoſe fourth biſhop (Unwon) went to Rome with Offa king of Mercia: thirdlie of Ramſbirie or Wiltun, and of Gloceſter (of which you ſhall read in Matth. Weſtm. 489) where the biſhop was called Eldad: alſo of Hagulſtade, one of the members whereinto the ſee of Yorke was diuided after the expulſion of Wilfrid. For (as I read) when Egfrid the king had driuen him awaie, he diuided his ſee into two parts, making Boſa ouer the Deirans that held his ſée at Hagulſtade or Lindfarne: and Eatta ouer the Bernicians, who ſate at Yorke: and thereto placing Edhedus ouer Lindſeie (as is afore noted) whoſe ſucceſſors were Ethelwine, Edgar, and Kinibert, notwithſtanding that one Seruulfus was ouer Lindſeie before Edhedus, who was biſhop of the Mercians and middle England, till he was baniſhed from Lindſeie, and came into thoſe quarters to ſéeke his refuge and ſuccour.

Gloceſter a verie ancient biſhoprike.

I could likewiſe intreat of the biſhops of Whiteherne, or Ad Candidam Caſam, an houſe with the countrie wherein it ſtood belonging to the prouince of Northumberland, but now a parcell of Scotland; alſo of the erection of the late ſée at Weſtminſter by Henrie the eight. But as the one ſo the other is ceaſed, and the lands of this later either ſo diuided or exchanged for worſe tenures, that except a man ſhould ſée it with his eies, & point out with his finger where euerie parcell of them is beſtowed, but a few men would beléeue what is become of the ſame. I might likewiſe and with like eaſe alſo haue added the ſucceſſors of the biſhops of euerie ſée to this diſcourſe of their cathedrall churches and places of abode, but it would haue extended this treatiſe to an vnprofitable length. Neuertheleſſe I will remember the fame of London my native citie, after I haue added one word more of the houſe called Ad Candidam Caſam, in Engliſh Whiteherne, which taketh denomination of the white ſtone wherwith it was builded, and was ſéene far off as ſtanding vpon an hill to ſuch as did behold it.

The

The names and successions of so manie archbishops and bishops of London, as are extant, and to be had, from the faith first receiued.

Archbishops.

Theon.
Eluanus.
Cadocus.
Ouinus.
Conanus.
Palladius.
Stephanus.
Iltutus.
Restitutus, who liued 350 of grace.
Tadwinus *aliàs* Theodwinus, some do write him Tacwinus & Tatwinus.
Tidredus *aliàs* Theodred.
Hilarius.
Fastidius liued Anno Dom. 430.
Vodinus, slaine by the Saxons.
Theonus.

The see void manie yeares.

Augustine the monke, sent ouer by Gregorie the great, till he remoued his sée to Canturburie, to the intent he might the soner flée, if persecution should be raised by the infidels, or heare from, or send more spédilie vnto Rome, without anie great feare of the interception of his letters.

Bishops.

Melitus.

The see void for a season.

Wina.
Erkenwaldus.
Waldherus.
Ingaldus.
Egulphus.
Wigotus.
Eadbricus.
Edgarus.
Kiniwalchus.
Eadbaldus.
Eadbertus.
Oswinus.
Ethelnothus.
Cedbertus.
Cernulphus.
Suiduiphus.
Eadstanus.
Wulfinus.
Ethelwaldus.
Elstanus.
Brithelmus.
Dunstanus.
Tidricus.
Alwijnus.
Elfwoldus.
Robertus a Norman.
Wilhelmus a Norman.
Hugo a Norman.

I read also of a bishop of London called Elfward, or Ailward, who was abbat of Euesham, and bishop of London at one time, and buried at length in Ramsele, howbeit in what order of succession he liued I can not tell, more than of diuerse other aboue remembred, but in this order do I find them.

The see void twelue yeares.

1 Mauricius.
2 Richardus Beaumis.
3 Gilbertus vniuersalis a notable man for three things, anarice, riches, and learning.
4 Robertus de Sigillo.
5 Richardus Beaumis.
6 Gilbertus Folioth.
7 Richardus.
8 Wilhelmus de sancta Maria.
9 Eustathius Falconberg.
10 Rogerus Niger.
11 Fulco Bascet.
12 Henricus Wingham.
Richardus Talbot electus.
15 Richard. Grauesend.
16 Radulfus Gandacensis.
17 Gilbertus Segraue.
18 Richardus de Newport.
19 Stephanus Grauesend.
20 Richard. Bintworth.
21 Radulfus Baldoc who made the tables hanging in the vestrie of Paules.
22 Michael.
23 Simon.
24 Robertus.
25 Thomas.
26 Richardus.
27 Thomas Sauagius.
28 Wilhelmus.
29 Wilhelm. Warham.
30 Wilhelmus Barnes.
31 Cuthbertus Tunstall.
32 Iohannes Stokesleie.
33 Richardus fitz Iames.
34 Edmundus Boner, remoued, imprisoned.
35 Nicholas Ridleie remoued and burned.
Edm. Boner, restored, remoued, & imprisoned.
36 Edmundus Grindall.
37 Edwinus Sandes.
38 Iohannes Elmer.

Hauing gotten and set downe thus much of the bishops, I will deliuer in like sort the names of the deanes, vntill I come to the time of mine old master now liuing in this present yeare 1586, who is none of the least ornaments that haue béene in that seat.

Deanes.

1 Wulmannus, who made a distribution of the psalmes conteined in the whole psalter, and apointed the same dailie to be read amongst the prebendaries.
2 Radulfus de Diceto, whose noble historie is yet extant in their librarie.
3 Alardus Budham.
4 Robertus Watford.
5 Martinus Patteshull.
6 Hugo de Marinis.
7 Radulfus Langfort.
8 Galfridus de Berie.
9 Wilhelmus Stãman.
10 Henricus Cornell.
11 Walterus de Salerne.
12 Robertus Barton.
13 Petrus de Newport.
14 Richardus Talbot.
15 Galfredus de Fering.
16 Iohannes Chishull.
17 Herueus de Boreham.
18 Thomas Eglesthorpe.
19 Rogerus de Lalleie.
20 Wilhelmns de Montfort.
21 Radulfus de Baldoc postea episcopus.
22 Alanus de Cantilup postea cardinalis.
Iohan. Sandulfe electus.
Richardus de Newport electus.
23 Magister Vitalis.
24 Iohannes Eueriſdon.
25 Wilhelmus Brewer.
26 Richardus Kilmingdon.
27 Thomas Trullocke.
28 Iohannes Appulbie.
29 Thomas Euer.
30 Thomas Stow.
31 Thomas More.
32 Reginaldus Kenton.
33 Thomas Lisieux *aliàs* Leseux.
34 Leonardus de Bath.
35 Wilhelmus Saie.
36 Rogerus Ratcliffe.
37 Thom. Winterburne.
38 Wilhelmus Wolseie.
39 Robert Sherebroke.
40 Iohãnes Coller, founder of Paules schoole.
Richardus Paceus.
Richardus Sampson.
Iohannes Incent.
Wilhelmus Maius resignauit.
Iohannes Fakenham *aliàs* Howman resignauit.
Henricus Colus, remoued, imprisoned.
Wilhelmus Maius, restored.
Alexander Nouellus.

And thus much of the archbishops, bishops, and deanes of that honorable sée. I call it honorable, because it hath had a succession for the most part of learned and wise men, albeit that otherwise it be the most troublesome seat in England, not onelie for that it is nére vnto checke, but also the prelats thereof are much troubled with suters, and no lesse subiect to the reproches of the common sort, whose mouthes are alwaies wide open vnto reprehension, and eies readie to espie anie thing that they may reproue and carpe at. I would haue done so much for euerie sée in England, if I had not had consideration of the greatnesse of the volume, and small benefit rising by the same, vnto the commoditie of the readers: neuertheless I haue reserued them vnto the publication of my great chronologie, if (while I liue) it happen to come abrode.

Of Vniuersities.

Chap. 3.

Manie vniuersities sometime in England.

THere haue béene heretofore, and at sundrie times, diuerse famous vniuersities in this Iland, and those euen in my dates not altogither forgotten, as one at Bangor, erected by Lucius, and afterward conuerted into a monasterie, not by Congellus (as some write) but by Pelagius the monke. The second at Carleon vpon Vske, nære to the place where the riuer doth fall into the Seuerne, founded by king Arthur. The third at Theodsord, wherein were 600 students, in the time of one Rond sometime king of that region. The fourth at Stanford, suppressed by Augustine the monke, and likewise other in other places, as Salisburie, Ertdon or Cricklade, Lachlade, Reading, and Northampton; albeit that the two last rehearsed were not authorised, but onelie arose to that name by the departure of the students from Orford in time of ciuill dissention vnto the said townes, where also they continued but for a little season. When that of Salisburie began, I can not tell; but that it flourished most vnder Henrie the third, and Edward the first, I find good testimonie by the writers, as also by the discord which fell 1278, betweene the chancellor for the scholers there on the one part, and William the archdeacon on the other, whereof you shall sée more in the chronologie here following. In my time there are three noble vniuersities in England, to wit, one at Orford, the second at Cambridge, and the third in London; of which, the first two are the most famous, I meane Cambridge and Orford, for that in them the vse of the tongs, philosophie, and the liberall sciences, besides the profound studies of the ciuill law, physicke, and theologie, are dailie taught and had: whereas in the later, the laws of the realme are onlie read and learned, by such as giue their minds vnto the knowledge of the same. In the first there are not onelie diuerse goodlie houses builded foure square for the most part of hard freestone or bricke, with great numbers of lodgings and chambers in the same for students, after a sumptuous sort, through the exceeding liberalitie of kings, quéenes, bishops, noblemen and ladies of the land: but also large liuings and great reuenues bestowed vpon them (the like whereof is not to be séene in anie other region, as Peter Martyr did oft affirme) to the maintenance onelie of such conuenient numbers of poore mens sonnes as the seuerall stipends bestowed vpon the said houses are able to support.

Three vniuersities in England.

When these two schooles should be first builded, & who were their originall founders, as yet it is vncerteine: neuertheless, as there is great likelihood that Cambridge was begun by one Cantaber a Spaniard (as I haue noted in my chronologie) so Alfred is said to be the first beginner of the vniuersitie at Orford, albeit that I cannot warrant the same to be so yong, sith I find by good authoritie, that John of Beuerleie studied in the vniuersitie hall at Orford, which was long before Alfred was either borne or gotten. Some are of the opinion that Cantabrigia was not so called of Cantaber, but Cair Grant of the finisher of the worke, or at the least wise of the riuer that runneth by the same, and afterward by the Saxons Grantcester. An other sort affirme that the riuer is better written Canta than Granta, &c: but whie then is not the towne called Canta, Cantium, or Cantodunum, according to the same? All this is said onlie (as I thinke) to deface the memorie of Cantaber, who comming from the Brigants, or out of Biscaie, called the said towne after his owne and the name of the region from whence he came. Neither hath it béene a rare thing for the Spaniards heretofore to come first into Ireland, and from thense ouer into England, sith the chronologie shall declare that it hath béene often séene, and that out of Britaine, they haue gotten ouer also into Scithia, and contrariwise: coasting still through Yorkeshire, which of them also was called Brigantium, as by good testimonie appeareth.

When the vniuersities were builded vncerteine.

Cambridge burned not long since.

Of these two, that of Orford (which lieth west and by north from London) standeth most pleasantlie, being inuironed in maner round about with woods on the hilles aloft, and goodlie riuers in the bottoms and vallies beneath, whose courses would bréed no small commoditie to that citie and countrie about, if such impediments were remoued as greatlie annoie the same, and hinder the cariage which might be made thither also from London. That of Cambridge is distant from London about fortie and six miles north and by east, and standeth verie well, sauing that it is somewhat nére vnto the fens, whereby the wholesomenesse of the aire there is not a little corrupted. It is excellentlie well serued with all kinds of prouision, but especiallie of freshwater fish and wildfoule, by reason of the riuer that passeth thereby; and thereto the Ile of Elie, which is so nére at hand. Onlie wood is the chéefe want to such as studie there, wherefore this kind of prouision is brought them either from Eller, and other places thereabouts, as is also their cole; or otherwise the necessitie thereof is supplied with gall (a bastard kind of Mirtus as I take it) and seacole, whereof they haue great plentie led thither by the Grant. Moreouer it hath not such store of medow ground as may suffice for the ordinarie expenses of the towne and vniuersitie, wherefore the inhabitants are inforced in like sort to prouide their haie from other villages about, which minister the same vnto them in verie great aboundance.

Orford fifti miles from London.

Cambridge six and fortie miles from London.

Orford is supposed to conteine in longitude eightéene degrees and eight and twentie minuts, and in latitude one and fiftie degrées and fiftie minuts; whereas that of Cambridge standing more northerlie, hath twentie degrees and twentie minuts in longitude, and thereunto fiftie and two degrées and fiftéene minuts in latitude, as by exact supputation is easie to be found.

Longitude & latitude of both.

The colleges of Orford, for curious workemanship and priuat commodities, are much more statelie, magnificent, & commodious than those of Cambridge: and thereunto the streets of the towne for the most part more large and comelie. But for vniformitie of building, orderlie compaction, and politike regiment, the towne of Cambridge, as the newer workmanship, exceedeth that of Orford (which otherwise is and hath béene the greater of the two) by manie a fold (as I gesse) although I know diuerse that are of the contrarie opinion. This also is certeine, that whatsoeuer the difference be in building of the towne streets, the townesmen of both are glad when they may match and annoie the students, by incroching vpon their liberties, and kéepe them bare by extreame sale of their wares, whereby manie of them become rich for a time, but afterward fall againe into pouertie, bicause that goods euill gotten doo seldome long indure.

Castels also they haue both, and in my iudgement is hard to be said, whether of them would be the stronger, if ech were accordinglie repared: howbeit that of Cambridge is the higher, both for maner of building and situation of ground, sith Orford castell

standeth

ſtandeth low and is not ſo apparant to our ſight. That of Cambridge was builded (as they ſaie) by Gurguintus, ſometime king of Britaine, but the other by the lord Robert de Oſilie, a noble man which came in with the conqueror, whoſe wife Editha, a woman giuen to no leſſe ſuperſtition than credulitie, began alſo the abbeie of Oſenie neere vnto the ſame, vpon a fond (but yet a rare) occaſion, which we will heere remember, though it be beſide my purpoſe, to the end that the reader may ſee how readie the ſimple people of that time were to be abuſed by the practiſe of the cleargie. It happened on a time as this ladie walked about the fields, neere vnto the aforeſaid caſtell, to recreate hir ſelfe with certeine of hir maidens, that a number of pies ſat chattering vpon the elmes, which had beene planted in the hedgerowes, and in fine ſo troubled hir with their noiſe, that ſhe wiſhed them all further off, or elſe hir ſelfe at home againe, and this happened diuerſe times. In the end being wearie of hir walke, ſhe demanded of hir chapleine the cauſe wherefore theſe pies did ſo moleſt & vexe hir. Oh madam (ſaith he) the wilieſt pie of all, theſe are no pies but ſoules in purgatorie that craue releefe. And is it ſo in deed quoth ſhe? Now *De pardieux*, if old Robert will giue me leaue, I will doo what I can to bring theſe ſoules to reſt. Herevpon ſhe conſulted, craued, wept, and became ſo importunate with hir husband, that he ioined with hir, and they both began that ſynagog 1120, which afterward proued to be a notable den. In that church alſo lieth this ladie buried with hir image, hauing an heart in hir hand couched vpon the ſame, in the habit of a voweſſe, and yet to be ſeene, except the weather haue worne out the memoriall. But to proceed with my purpoſe.

In each of theſe vniuerſities alſo is likewiſe a church dedicated to the virgin Marie, wherein once in the yeare, to wit, in Julie, the ſcholers are holden, and in which ſuch as haue beene called to anie degree in the yeare precedent, doo there receiue the accompliſhment of the ſame, in ſolemne and ſumptuous maner. In Oxford this ſolemnitie is called an Act, but in Cambridge they vſe the French word Commenſement; and ſuch reſort is made yearelie vnto the ſame from all parts of the land, by the friends of thoſe which doo proceed, that all the towne is hardlie able to receiue and lodge thoſe geſts. When and by whome the churches aforeſaid were builded, I haue elſewhere made relation. That of Oxford alſo was repared in the time of Edward the fourth, and Henrie the ſeuenth, when doctor Fitz James a great helper in that woorke was warden of Merton college, but yer long after it was finiſhed, one tempeſt in a night ſo defaced the ſame, that it left few pinacles ſtanding about the church and ſteeple, which ſince that time haue neuer beene repared. There were ſometime foure and twentie pariſh churches in the towne and ſuburbes, but now there are ſcarſelie ſixteene. There haue beene alſo 1200 burgeſſes, of which 400 dwelled in the ſuburbes, and ſo manie ſtudents were there in the time of Henrie the third, that he allowed them twentie miles compaſſe about the towne, for their prouiſion of vittels.

The common ſchooles of Cambridge alſo are farre more beautifull than thoſe of Oxford, onelie the diuinitie ſchoole at Oxford excepted, which for fine and excellent woorkemanſhip, commeth next the mold of the kings chappell in Cambridge, than the which two with the chappell that king Henrie the ſeauenth did build at Weſtminſter, there are not (in mine opinion) made of lime & ſtone three more notable piles within the compaſſe of Europe.

In all other things there is ſo great equalitie betweene theſe two vniuerſities, as no man can imagin how to ſet downe any greater; ſo that they ſeeme to be the bodie of one well ordered common wealth, onlie diuided by diſtance of place, and not in friendlie conſent and orders. In ſpeaking therefore of the one, I can not but deſcribe the other; and in commendation of the firſt, I can not but extoll the latter; and ſo much the rather, for that they are both ſo deere vnto me, as that I can not readilie tell vnto whether of them I owe the moſt good will. Would to God my knowledge were ſuch, as that neither of them might haue cauſe to be aſhamed of their pupill; or my power ſo great, that I might worthilie requite them both for thoſe manifold kindneſſes that I haue receiued of them. But to leaue theſe things, and proceed with other more conuenient for my purpoſe. The manner to liue in theſe vniuerſities, is not as in ſome other of forren countries we ſee dailie to happen, where the ſtudents are inforced for want of ſuch houſes, to dwell in common innes, and tauerns, without all order or diſcipline. But in theſe our colleges we liue in ſuch exact order, and vnder ſo preciſe rules of gouernement, as that the famous learned man Eraſmus of Roterodame being here among vs 50 yeres paſſed, did not let to compare the trades in liuing of ſtudents in theſe two places, euen with the verie rules and orders of the ancient monks: affirming moreouer in flat words, our orders to be ſuch as not onlie came neere vnto, but rather far exceeded all the monaſticall inſtitutiõs that euer were deuiſed.

In moſt of our colleges there are alſo great numbers of ſtudents, of which manie are found by the reuenues of the houſes, and other by the purueiances and helpe of their rich friends; whereby in ſome one college you ſhall haue two hundred ſcholers, in others an hundred and fiftie, in diuerſe a hundred and fortie, and in the reſt leſſe numbers; as the capacitie of the ſaid houſes is able to receiue: ſo that at this preſent, of one ſort and other, there are about three thouſand ſtudents nouriſhed in them both (as by a late ſurueie it manifeſtlie appeared.) They were erected by their founders at the firſt, onelie for poore mens ſons, whoſe parents were not able to bring them vp vnto learning: but now they haue the leaſt benefit of them, by reaſon the rich doo ſo incroch vpon them. And ſo farre hath this inconuenience ſpread it ſelfe, that it is in my time an hard matter for a poore mans child to come by a felowſhip (though he be neuer ſo good a ſcholer & worthie of that roome.) Such packing alſo is vſed at elections, that not he which beſt deſerueth, but he that hath moſt friends, though he be the woorſt ſcholer, is alwaies ſureſt to ſpeed; which will turne in the end to the ouerthrow of learning. That ſome gentlemen alſo, whoſe friends haue beene in times paſt benefactors to certeine of thoſe houſes, doo intrude into the diſpoſition of their eſtates, without all reſpect of order or eſtatutes deuiſed by the founders, onelie thereby to place whome they thinke good (and not without ſome hope of gaine) the caſe is too too euident: and their attempt would ſoone take place, if their ſuperiors did not prouide to bridle their indeuors. In ſome grammar ſchooles likewiſe, which ſend ſcholers to theſe vniuerſities, it is lamentable to ſee what briberie is vſed; for yer the ſcholer can be preferred, ſuch bribage is made, that poore mens children are commonlie ſhut out, and the richer ſort receiued (who in time paſt thought it dishonor to liue as it were vpon almes) and yet being placed, moſt of them ſtudie little other than hiſtories, tables, dice, and trifles, as men that make not the liuing by their ſtudie the end of their purpoſes, which is a lamentable hearing. Beſide this, being for the moſt part either gentlemen, or rich mens ſonnes, they oft bring the vniuerſities into much ſlander. For ſtanding vpon their reputation and libertie, they ruffle and roiſt it out, exceeding in apparell, and ban-

ting riotous companie (which draweth them from their bookes vnto an other trade.) And for excuse when they are charged with breach of all good order, thinke it sufficient to saie, that they be gentlemen, which greeueth manie not a litle. But to proceed with the rest.

Readers in priuat halles.

Euerie one of these colleges haue in like maner their professors or readers of the tongs and seuerall sciences, as they call them, which dailie trade vp the youth there abiding priuatlie in their halles, to the end they may be able afterward (when their turne commeth about, which is after twelue termes) to shew themselues abroad, by going from thence into the common schooles and publike disputations (as it were *In aream*) there to trie their skilles, and declare how they haue profited since their comming thither.

Publike readers maintained by the prince.

Moreouer, in the publike schooles of both the vniuersities, there are found at the princes charge (and that verie largelie) fiue professors and readers, that is to saie, of diuinitie, of the ciuill law, physicke, the Hebrue, and the Greeke tongs. And for the other lectures, as of philosophie, logike, rhetorike, and the quadriuials, although the latter (I meane arythmetike, musike, geometrie, and astronomie, and with them all skill in the perspectiues are now smallie regarded in either of them) the vniuersities themselues do allow competent stipends to such as reade the same, whereby they are sufficientlie prouided for, touching the maintenance of their estates, and no lesse incouraged to be diligent in their functions.

Studie of the quadriuials and perspectiues neglected.

These professors in like sort haue all the rule of disputations and other schoole exercises, which are dailie vsed in common schooles seuerallie assigned to each of them, and such of their hearers, as by their skill shewed in the said disputations, are thought to haue attained to anie conuenient ripenesse of knowledge, according to the custome of other vniuersities, although not in like order, are permitted solemnlie to take their deserued degrees of schoole in the same science and facultie wherein they haue spent their trauell. From that time forward also, they vse such difference in apparell as becommeth their callings, tendeth vnto grauitie, and maketh them knowne to be called to some countenance.

Sophisters.

The first degree, is that of the generall sophisters, from whence when they haue learned more sufficientlie the rules of logike, rhetorike, and obteined thereto competent skill in philosophie, and in the mathematicals, they ascend higher vnto the estate of

Batchelers of art.

batchelers of art, after foure yeares of their entrance into their sophistrie. From thence also giuing their minds to more perfect knowledge in some or all the other liberall sciences, & the tongs, they rise at the last (to wit, after other three or foure yeares) to

Maisters of art.

be called maisters of art, each of them being at that time reputed for a doctor in his facultie, if he professe but one of the said sciences (beside philosophie) or for his generall skill, if he be exercised in them all. After this they are permitted to chose what other of the higher studies them liketh to follow, whether it be diuinitie, law, or physike: so that being once maisters of art, the next degree if they follow physike, is the doctorship belonging to that profession; and likewise in the studie of the law, if they bend their minds to the knowledge of the same. But if they meane to go forward with diuinitie, this is the order vsed in that profession. First, after they haue necessarilie proceeded maisters of art, they preach one sermon to the people in English, and another to the vniuersitie in Latine. They answer all commers also in their owne persons vnto two seuerall questions of diuinitie in the open schooles, at one time, for the space of two houres; and afterward replie twise against some other man vpon a like number, and on two seuerall daies in the same place: which being done with commendation, he receiueth the fourth degree, that is, batcheler of diuinitie, but not before he hath beene maister of art by the space of seauen yeares, according to their statutes.

Batcheler of diuinitie.

The next and last degree of all is the doctorship after other three yeares, for the which he must once againe performe all such exercises and acts as are afore remembred, and then is he reputed able to gouerne and teach others, & likewise taken for a doctor. I haue read that John of Beuerleie was the first doctor that euer was in Oxford, as Beda was in Cambridge. But I suppose herein that the word doctor is not so strictlie to be taken in this report as it is now vsed, sith euerie teacher is in Latine called by that name, as also such in the primitiue church as kept schooles of catechists, wherein they were trained vp in the rudiments and principles of religion, either before they were admitted vnto baptisme, or anie office in the church.

Doctor.

Thus we see, that from our entrance into the vniuersitie vnto the last degree receiued, is commonlie eightéene or peraduenture twentie yeares, in which time if a student hath not obteined sufficient learning, thereby to serue his owne turne, and benefit his common wealth, let him neuer looke by tarieng longer to come by anie more. For after this time & 40 yeares of age, the most part of students do commonlie giue ouer their wonted diligence, & liue like drone bées on the fat of colleges, withholding better wits from the possession of their places, & yet doing litle good in their own vocation & calling. I could rehearse a number (if I listed) of this sort, aswell in the one vniuersitie as the other. But this shall suffice in sted of a larger report, that long continuance in those places is either a signe of lacke of friends, or of learning, or of good and vpright life, as bishop Fox sometime noted, who thought it sacrilege for a man to tarrie anie longer at Oxford than he had a desire to profit.

This Fox builded Corpus Christi college in Oxford.

A man may (if he will) begin his studie with the law, or physike (of which this giueth wealth, the other honor) so soone as he commeth to the vniuersitie, if his knowledge in the tongs and ripenesse of iudgement serue therefore: which if he do, then his first degree is batcheler of law, or physicke, and for the same he must performe such acts in his owne science, as the bachelers or doctors of diuinitie, do for their parts, the onelie sermons except, which belong not to his calling. Finallie, this will I saie, that the professors of either of those faculties come to such perfection in both vniuersities, as the best students beyond the sea do in their owne or elsewhere. One thing onlie I mislike in them, and that is their vsuall going into Italie, from whense verie few without speciall grace do returne good men, what soeuer they pretend of conference or practise, chiefelie the physicians who vnder pretense of seeking of forreine simples do oftentimes learne the framing of such compositions as were better vnknowen than practised, as I haue heard oft alledged, and therefore it is most true that doctor Turner said; Italie is not to be séene without a guide, that is, without speciall grace giuen from God, because of the licentious and corrupt behauiour of the people.

So much also may be inferred of lawiers.

There is moreouer in euerie house a maister or prouost, who hath vnder him a president, & certeine censors or deanes, appointed to looke to the behauior and maners of the students there, whom they punish verie seuerelie if they make anie default, according to the quantitie and qualitie of their trespasses. And these are the vsuall names of gouernours in Cambridge. Howbeit in Oxford the heads of houses are

now

now and then called preſidents in reſpect of ſuch biſhops as are their viſitors & founders. In ech of theſe alſo they haue one or moe threſurers whom they call Burſarios or Burſers beſide other officers, whoſe charge is to ſée vnto the welfare and maintenance of theſe houſes. Ouer each vniuerſitie alſo there is a ſeuerall chancelor, whoſe offices are perpetuall, howbeit their ſubſtitutes, whom we call vicechancelors, are changed euerie yeare, as are alſo the proctors, taſkers, maiſters of the ſtreates and other officers, for the better maintenance of their policie and eſtate.

And thus much at this time of our two vniuerſities in each of which I haue receiued ſuch degrée as they haue vouchſafed rather of their fauour than my deſert to yéeld and beſtow vpon me, and vnto whoſe ſtudents I wiſh one thing, the execution whereof cannot be préiudiciall to anie that meaneth well, as I am reſolutelie perſuaded, and the caſe now ſtandeth in theſe our daies: When anie benefice therefore becommeth void, it were good that the patrone did ſignifie the vacation therof to the biſhop, and the biſhop the act of the patrone to one of the vniuerſities, with requeſt that the vicechancellor with his aſſiſtents might prouide ſome ſuch able man to ſucceed in the place, as ſhould by their iudgement be méet to take the charge vpon him. Certes if this order were taken then ſhould the church be prouided of good paſtors, by whome God ſhould be glorified, the vniuerſities better ſtored, the ſimoniacall practiſes of a number of patrons vtterlie aboliſhed and the people better trained to liue in obedience toward God and their prince, which were an happie eſtate.

London. To theſe two alſo we may in like ſort ad the third, which is at London (ſeruing onelie for ſuch as ſtudie the lawes of the realme) where there are ſundrie famous houſes, of which thrée are called by the name of Ins of the court, the reſt of the chancerie, and all builded before time for the furtherance and commoditie of ſuch as aplie their minds to our common lawes. Out of theſe alſo come manie ſcholers of great fame, whereof the moſt part haue heretofore béene brought vp in one of the aforeſaid vniuerſities, and proue ſuch commonlie as in proceſſe of time, riſe vp (onelie through their profound ſkill) to great honor in the common-wealth of England. They haue alſo degrées of learning among themſelues, and rules of diſcipline, vnder which they liue moſt ciuilie in their houſes, albeit that the yonger ſort of them abroad in the ſtreats are ſcarſe able to be bridled by anie good order at all. Certes this errour was wont alſo greatlie to reigne in Cambridge and Oxford, betweene the ſtudents and the burgeſſes: but as it is well left in theſe two places, ſo in forreine counteies it cannot yet be ſuppreſſed. Beſides theſe vniuerſities, alſo there are great number of Grammer ſchooles through out the realme, and thoſe verie liberallie indued, for the better reliefe of poore ſcholers, ſo that there are not manie corporat townes now vnder the quéenes dominion, that haue not one Gramar ſchoole at the leaſt, with a ſufficient liuing for a maiſter and vſher appointed to the ſame. Grammar ſchooles.

There are in like maner diuerſe collegiat churches as Windſor, Wincheſter, Eaton, Weſtminſter (in which I was ſometime an vnprofitable Grammarian vnder the reuerend father maiſter Nowell now deane of Paules) and in thoſe a great number of poore ſcholers, dailie maintened by the liberalitie of the founders, with meat, bookes, and apparell, from whence after they haue béene well entered in the knowledge of the Latine and Créeke tongs, and rules of verſifieng (the triall whereof is made by certeine apoſers yearelie appointed to examine them) they are ſent to certeine eſpeciall houſes in each vniuerſitie, where they are receiued the trained vp, in the points of higher knowledge in their priuat hals, till they be adiudged meet to ſhew their faces in the ſchooles, as I haue ſaid alreadie. And thus much haue I thought good to note of our vniuerſities, and likewiſe of colleges in the ſame, whoſe names I will alſo ſet downe here, with thoſe of their founders, to the end the zeale which they bare vnto learning may appeare, and their remembrance neuer periſh from among the wiſe and learned. Windſor. Wincheſter. Eaton. Weſtminſter.

Of the colleges in Cambridge with *their founders.*

Yeares of the foundations.		*Colleges.*		*Founders.*
1546	1	Trinitie college.	by	King Henrie 8.
1441	2	The kings college.		K. Henrie 6. Edward 4. Henrie 7. and Henrie 8.
1511	3	S. Iohns.		L. Margaret grandmother to Henrie 8.
1505	4	Chriſtes college.		K. Henrie 6. and the ladie Margaret aforeſaid.
1446	5	The queenes college.		Ladie Margaret wife to king Hentie 6.
1496	6	Ieſus college.		Iohn Alcocke biſhop of Elie.
1342	7	Bennet college.		(*Chriſti.* The brethren of a popiſh guild called *Corporis*
1343	8	Pembroke hall.		Maria de Valentia, counteſſe of Pembroke.
1256	9	Peter college.		Hugh Balſham biſhop of Elie.
1348	10	Gundeuill and		Edmund Gundeuill parſon of Terrington, and
1557		Caius college.		Iohn Caius doctor of phyſicke.
1354	11	Trinitie hall.		William Bateman biſhop of Norwich.
1326	12	Clare hall.		Richard Badow chancellor of Cambridge.
1459	13	Catharine hall.		Robert Woodlarke doctor of diuinitie.
1519	14	Magdalen college.		Edw. duke of Buckingham, & Thom. lord Awdlie
1585	15	Emanuell college.		Sir Water Mildmaie, &c.

Of colleges in Oxford.

Yeares.	*Colleges.*		*Founders.*	
1539	1 Chriſtes church.	by	King Henrie 8.	
1459	2 Magdalen college.		William Wainflet firſt fellow of Merton college then ſcholer at Wincheſter, and afterward biſhop there.	He founded alſo a good part of Eaton college, and a free ſchole at Wainflet where he was borne.
1375	3 New college.		William Wickham biſhop of Wincheſter.	
1276	4 Merton college.		Walter Merton biſhop of Rocheſter.	
1437	5 All ſoules college.		Henrie Chicheleie archbiſhop of Canturburie.	
1516	6 Corpus Chriſti college.		Richard Fox biſhop of Wincheſter.	
1430	7 Lincolne college.		Richard Fleming biſhop of Lincolne.	
1323	8 Auriell college.		Adam Browne almoner to Edward 2.	
1340	9 The queenes college.		R. Eglesfeld chapleine to Philip queene of England, wife to Edward 3.	
1263	10 Balioll college.		Iohn Balioll king of Scotland.	
1557	11 S. Iohns.		Sir Thomas White knight.	
1556	12 Trinitie college.		Sir Thomas Pope knight.	
1316	13 Exceſter college.		Walter Stapleton biſhop of Exceſter.	
1513	14 Braſen noſe.		William Smith biſhop of Lincolne.	
873	15 Vniuerſitie college.		William archdeacon of Dureſme.	
	16 Gloceſter college.		Iohn Gifford who made it a cell for thirteene moonks.	
	17 S. Marie college.			
	18 Ieſus college now in hand.		Hugh ap Rice doctor of the ciuill law.	

There are alſo in Oxford certeine hoſtels or hals, which may right well be called by the names of colleges, if it were not that there is more libertie in them, than is to be ſéen in the other. I mine opinion the liuers in theſe are verie like to thoſe that are of Ins in the chancerie, their names alſo are theſe ſo farre as I now remember.

Brodegates. Hart hall. Magdalen hall. Alburne hall. Poſtminſter hall.

S. Marie hall. White hall. New In. Edmond hall.

The ſtudents alſo that remaine in them, are called hoſtelers or halliers. Hereof it came of late to paſſe, that the right reuerend father in God Thomas late archbiſhop of Canturburie being brought vp in ſuch an hoſtle at Cambridge, was of the ignorant ſort of Londoners called an hoſteler, ſuppoſing that he had ſerued with ſome inholder in the ſtable, and therfore in deſpite diuerſe hanged vp bottles of haie at his gate, when he began to preach the goſpell, whereas in déed he was a gentleman borne of an ancient houſe & in the end a faithfull witneſſe of Ieſus Chriſt, in whoſe quarrell he refuſed not to ſhed his bloud and yéeld vp his life vnto the furie of his aduerſaries.

Beſides theſe there is mention and record of diuerſe other hals or hoſtels, that haue béene there in times paſt, as Bœfe hall, Mutton hall, &c: whoſe ruines yet appéere: ſo that if antiquitie be to be iudged by the ſhew of ancient buildings, which is verie plentifull in Oxford to be ſéene, it ſhould be an eaſie matter to conclude that Oxford is the elder vniuerſitie. Therin are alſo manie dwelling houſes of ſtone yet ſtanding, that haue béene hals for ſtudents of verie antike workemanſhip, beſide the old wals of ſundrie other, whoſe plots haue béene conuerted into gardens, ſince colleges were erected.

Erection of colleges in Oxford the ouerthrow of hals.

In London alſo the houſes of ſtudents at the Common law are theſe.

Sergeants In. Graies In. The Temple. Lincolnes In. Dauids In. Staple In.

Furniuals In. Cliffords In. Clements In. Lions In. Barnards In. New In.

And thus much in generall of our noble vniuerſities, whoſe lands ſome grédie gripers do gape wide for, and of late haue (as I heare) propounded ſundrie reaſons, whereby they ſuppoſed to haue preuailed in their purpoſes. But who are thoſe that haue attempted this ſute, other than ſuch as either hate learning, pietie, and wiſedome; or elſe haue ſpent all their owne, and know not otherwiſe than by incroching vpon other men how to mainteine themſelues? When ſuch a motion was made by ſome vnto king Henrie the eight, he could anſwer them in this maner; Ah ſirha, I perceiue the abbeie lands haue fleſhed you and ſet your téeth on edge, to aſke alſo theſe colleges. And whereas we had a regard onelie to pull downe ſinne by defacing the monaſteries, you haue a deſire alſo to ouerthrow all godneſſe by ſubuerſion of colleges. I tell you ſirs that I iudge no land in England better beſtowed than that which is giuen to our vniuerſities, for by their maintenance our realme ſhall be well gouerned when we be dead and rotten. As you loue your welfares therfore, follow no more this veine, but content your ſelues with that you haue alreadie, or elſe ſéeke honeſt meanes whereby to increaſe your liuelods, for I loue not learning ſo ill, that I will impaire the reuenues of anie one houſe by a penie, whereby it may be vpholden. In king Edwards daies likewiſe the ſame ſute was once againe attempted (as I haue heard) but in vaine, for ſaith the duke of Summerſet among other ſpéeches tending to that end, who alſo made anſwer thereunto in the kings preſence by his aſſignation; Ilerning decaie, which of wild men maketh ciuill, of blockiſh and raſh perſons wiſe and godlie counſellors, of obſtinat rebels obedient ſubiects, and of euill men good and godlie chriſtians; what ſhall we looke for elſe but barbariſme and tumult? For when the lands of colleges be gone, it ſhall be hard to ſaie, whoſe ſtaffe ſhall ſtand next the doore, for then I doubt not but the ſtate of biſhops, rich farmers, merchants, and the nobilitie ſhall be aſſailed, by ſuch as liue to ſpend all, and thinke that what ſo euer another man hath is more meet for them, and to be at their commandement, than for the proper owner that hath ſweat and laboured for it. In quéene Maries daies the weather was too warme for anie ſuch courſe to be taken in hand, but in the time of our gratious

Now abbeis be gone, our dingthrifts prie after church and college poſſeſſions.

gratious queene Elizabeth, I heare that it was after a ſort in talke the third time, but without ſucceſſe as moued alſo out of ſeaſon, and ſo I hope it ſhall continue for euer. For what comfort ſhould it be for anie good man to ſee his countrie brought into the eſtate of the old Gothes & Vandals, who made lawes againſt learning, and would not ſuffer anie ſkilfull man to come into their councell houſe, by meanes whereof thoſe people became ſauage, tyrants, and mercileſſe helhounds, till they reſtored learning againe, and thereby fell to ciuilitie.

Of the partition of England into *ſhires and counties.*

Chap. 4.

IN reading of ancient writers, as Cæſar, Tacitus, and others, we find mention of ſundrie regions to haue béene ſometime in this Iland, as the Nouantæ, Selgouæ, Dannonij, Gadeni, Oradeni, Epdij, Cerones, Carnonacæ, Careni, Cornabij, Caledonij, Decantæ, Logi, Mertæ, Vacomagi, Venicontes, Texali or Polij, Denani, Elgoui, Brigantes Pariſi, Ordouici *alias* Ordoluci, Cornauij, Coritani, Catieuchlani, Simeni, Trinouantes, Demetæ, Cangi, Silures, Dobuni, Atterbatij, Cantij, Regni, Belgæ, Durotriges, Dumnonij, Giruij, Murotriges, Seueriani, Iceni, Tegenes, Caſij, Cænimagni, Segontiaci, Ancalites, Bibroci, and Kentiſhmen, and ſuch like. But ſith the ſeuerall places where moſt of them laie, are not yet verie perfectlie knowne vnto the learned of theſe daies, I doo not meane to pronounce my iudgement vpon ſuch doubtfull caſes, leaſt that in ſo doing I ſhould but increaſe coniectures, and leading peraduenture the reader from the more probable, intangle his mind in the end with ſuch as are of leſſe value, and things nothing ſo likelie to be true, as thoſe which other men haue remembred and ſet downe before me. Neither will I ſpeake oughts of the Romane partitions, & limits of their legions, whoſe number and place of abode, except of the Victorian and Auguſtane, is to me vtterlie vnknowne.

Alfred brought England into ſhires, which the Britons diuided by cantreds, and the firſt Saxons by families.

It ſhall ſuffice therfore to begin with ſuch a ground as from whence ſome better certeintie of things may be deriued, and that is with the eſtate of our Iland in the time of Alfred, who firſt diuided England into ſhires, which before his daies, and ſince the comming of the Saxons, was limited out by families and hidelands, as the Britons did the ſame in their time, by hundreds of townes, which then were called cantreds; as old records doo witneſſe.

Into how manie ſhires the ſaid Alfred did firſt make this partition of the Iland, it is not yet found out; howbeit if my coniecture be anie thing at all, I ſuppoſe that he left not vnder eight and thirtie, ſith we find by no good author, that aboue fiftéene haue béene added by anie of his ſucceſſours, ſince the time of his deceaſe. This prince therefore hauing made the generall partition of his kingdome into ſhires, or ſhares, he diuided againe the ſame into lathes, as lathes into hundreds, and hundreds into tithings, or denaries, as diuers haue written; and maiſter Lambert following their authorities, hath alſo giuen out, ſaieng almoſt after this maner in his deſcription of Kent; The Danes (ſaith he) both before, & in the time of king Alfred, had flocked by the ſea coaſts of this Iland in great numbers, ſometimes walking and ſpoiling with ſword and fire, whereſoeuer they might arriue, and ſomtime taking great booties with them to their ſhips, without doing anie further hurt or damage to the countrie. This inconuenience continuing for manie yéeres togither, cauſed our husbandmen to abandon their tillage, and gaue occaſion and hardineſſe to euill diſpoſed perſons, to fall to the like pillage, as practiſing to follow the Danes in theſe their theefts and robberies. And the better to cloake their miſchéefe withall, they feigned themſelues to be Daniſh pirats, and would ſometime come a land in one port, and ſometime in another, driuing dailie great ſpoiles (as the Danes had done) vnto their ſhips before them. The good king Alfred therefore (who had marueilouſlie trauelled in repelling the barbarous Danes) eſpieng this outrage, and thinking it no leſſe the part of a politike prince, to root out the noiſome ſubiect, than to hold out the forren aduerſarie: by the aduiſe of his nobilitie, and the example of Moſes (who followed the counſell of Jethro his father in law to the like effect) diuided the whole realme into certeine parts or ſections, which (of the Saxon word Shyran, ſignifieng to cut) he termed ſhires, or as we yet ſpeake, ſhares, or portions, of which ſome one hath fortie miles in length (as Eſſex) and almoſt ſo manie broad, Hereford foure & twentie in length, and twentie in breadth, and Warwike ſix and thirtie in length, &c: and ſome of them alſo conteine ten, twelue, thirtéene, ſixtéene, twentie, or thirtie hundreds, more or leſſe, as ſome hundreds doo ſixtéene, twentie, thirtie, fortie, fiftie or ſixtie townes, out of which the king was alwaies to receiue an hundred able men to ſerue him in the warres, or a hundred men able to be pledges, and ouer each of the portions he appointed either an earle or alderman, or both, to whome he committed the gouernement of the ſame. Theſe ſhires alſo he brake into leſſer parts, whereof ſome were called lathes, of the word Gelathian, which is to aſſemble togither; other hundreds, for that they enioied iuriſdiction ouer an hundred pledges; and other tithings, becauſe there were in each of them to the number of ten perſons, whereof euerie one from time to time was ſuertie for others good abearing. He prouided alſo that euerie man ſhould procure himſelfe to be receiued into ſome tithing, to the end, that if anie were found of ſo ſmall and baſe a credit, that no man would become pledge or ſuertie for him, he ſhould forthwith be committed to priſon, leaſt otherwiſe he might happen to doo more harme abroad. Hitherto maiſter Lambert. By whoſe words we may gather verie much of the ſtate of this Iland in the time of Alfred, whoſe inſtitution continued after a ſort vntill the comming of the Normans, who changed the gouernement of the realme in ſuch wiſe (by bringing in of new officers and offices, after the maner of their countries) that verie little of the old regiment remained more than the bare names of ſome officers (except peraduenture in Kent) ſo that in theſe daies it is hard to ſet downe anie great certeintie of things as they ſtood in Alfreds time, more than is remembred and touched at this preſent.

Engliſhmen noiſome to their owne countrie.

Earle and alderman.

Shire and ſhire all one.

Some as it were roming or rouing at the name Lath, doo ſaie that it is deriued of a barne, which is called in old Engliſh a lath, as they coniecture. From which ſpéech in like ſort ſome deriue the word Laſſow, as if it ſhould be trulie written Lath ſtow, a place wherein to laie vp or laie on things, of whatſoeuer condition. But hereof as yet I cannot abſolutelie be ſatiſfied, although peraduenture ſome likelihood in their iudgements may ſéeme to be therein. Other vpon ſome further conſideration affirme that they were certeine circuits in euerie countie or ſhire conteining an appointed number of townes, whoſe inhabitants alwaies aſſembled to know and vnderſtand of matters touching their portions, in to ſome

what a lath is

one

one appointed place or other within their limits, eſpecially whileſt the cauſes were ſuch as required not the aid or aſſiſtance of the whole countie. Of theſe lathes alſo (as they ſaie) ſome ſhires had more, ſome leſſe, as they were of greatneſſe. And M. Lambert ſéemeth to be of the opinion, that the læts of our time (wherein theſe pledges be yet called Franci plegij of the word Frœ burgh) do yéeld ſome ſhadow of that politike inſtitution of Alfred. But ſith my ſkill is ſo ſmall in theſe caſes that I dare not iudge anie thing at all as of mine owne knowledge, I will not ſet downe anie thing more than I read, leaſt I ſhould roue at random in our obſcure antiquities, and reading no more of lathes my next talke ſhall be of hundreds.

Lætes.

Hundred or Wapentake.

The hundred and the wapentake is all one, as I read in ſome, and by this diuiſion not a name appertinent to a ſet number of townes (for then all hundreds ſhould be of equall quantitie) but a limited iuriſdiction, within the compaſſe whereof were an hundred perſons called pledges (as I ſaid) or ten denaries, or tithings of men, of which ech one was bound for others good abering, and laudable behauiour in the common-wealth of the realme. The chiefe man likewiſe of euerie denarie or tithing was in thoſe daies called a tithing man, in Latine Decurio, but now in moſt places a borſholder or burgholder, as in Kent; where euerie tithing is moreouer named a burgh or burrow, although that in the Weſt countrie he be ſtill called a tithing man, and his circuit a tithing, as I haue heard at large. I read furthermore (and it is partlie afore noted) that the ſaid Alfred cauſed ech man of frée condition (for the better maintenance of his peace) to be aſcribed into ſome hundred by placing himſelfe in one denarie or other, where he might alwais haue ſuch as ſhould ſweare or laie vpon their certeine knowledge for his honeſt behauior and ciuill conuerſation if it ſhould happen at anie time, that his credit ſhould come in queſtion. In like ſort I gather out of Leland and other, that if anie ſmall matter did fall out worthie to be diſcuſſed, the tithing man or borſholder (now officers, at the commandement of the high conſtable of which euerie hundred hath one at the leaſt) ſhould decide the ſame in their lætes, whereas the great cauſes were referred to the hundreds, the greater to the lathes, and the greateſt of all to the ſhire daies, where the earles or aldermen did ſet themſelues, & make finall ends of the ſame, according vnto iuſtice. For this purpoſe likewiſe in euerie hundred were twelue men choſen of good age and wiſedome, and thoſe ſworne to giue their ſentences without reſpect of perſon, and in this manner (as they gather) were things handeled in thoſe daies. Which waie the word wapentake came in vſe, as yet I cannot tell; howbeit the ſignification of the ſame declareth (as I conceiue) that at the chiefe towne the ſoldiers which were to ſerue in that hundred did meet, fetch their weapons, & go togither from thence to the field, or place of ſeruice by an ordinarie cuſtome, then generallie knowen amongſt them. It is ſuppoſed alſo that the word Rape commeth a Rapiendo, as it were of catching and ſnatching, becauſe the tenants of the hundred or wapentakes met vpon one or ſundrie daies & made quicke diſpatch of their lords harneſſ at once and in great haſt. But whether it be a true imagination or not as yet I am vncerteine, and therefore it lieth not in me to determine anie thing thereof: wherefore it ſhall ſuffice to haue touched them in this maner.

Denarie or tithing.

Tithing man in Latine Decurio.

Borſholder.

Burrow.

Twelue men.

Fortie ſhires in England thirteene in Wales.

In my time there are found to be in England fourtie ſhires, and likewiſe thirteene in Wales, and theſe latter erected of late yeares by king Henrie the eight, who made the Britons or Welſhmen equall in all reſpects vnto the Engliſh, and brought to paſſe that both nations ſhould indifferentlie be gouerned by one law, which in times paſt were ordred by diuerſe, and thoſe far diſcrepant and diſagreing one from another: as by the ſeuerall view of the ſame is yet eaſie to be diſcerned. The names of the ſhires in England are theſe, whereof the firſt ten lie betweene the Britiſh ſea and the Thames, as Polydor alſo doth ſet them downe.

Kent. Suſſex. Surreie. Hampſhire. Barkeſhire. — Willſhire. Dorſetſhire. Sommerſet. Deuon. Cornewall.

There are moreouer on the northſide of the Thames, and betweene the ſame and the riuer Trent, which paſſeth through the middeſt of England (as Polydor ſaith) ſirtéene other ſhires, whereof ſix lie toward the eaſt, the reſt toward the weſt, more into the middeſt of the countrie.

Eſſex, ſomtime all forreſt ſaue one hundred. Middleſex. Hartfordſhire. Suffolke. Norffolke. Cambrigeſhire in which are 12 hundreds. Bedford. — Huntington wher in are foure hundreds. Buckingham. Oxford. Northampton. Rutland. Leiceſterſhire. Notinghamſhire. Warwike. Lincolne.

We haue ſix alſo that haue their place weſtward towards Wales, whoſe names inſue.

Glocеſter. Hereford. Worceſter. — Shropſhire. Stafford. Cheſterſhire.

And theſe are the thirtie two ſhires which lie by ſouth of the Trent. Beyond the ſame riuer we haue in like ſort other eight, as

Darbie. Yorke. Lancaſter. Cumberland. Weſtmerland. Richemond, wherein are fiue wapentares, & when it is accompted as parcell of Yorkeſhire (out of which it is taken) then is it reputed for the whole Riding. — Durham. Northumberland.

So that in the portion ſometime called Lhoegres, there are now fortie ſhires. In Wales furthermore are thirteene, whereof ſeuen are in Southwales:

Cardigan, or Cereticon. Penmorke, or Penbroke. Caermardine, wherein are 9 hundreds or commots. — Glamorgan. Monmouth. Brecknocke. Radnor.

In Northwales likewiſe are ſix, that is to ſaie

Angleſeie. Carnaruon. Merioneth. — Denbigh. Flint. Montgomerie.

Which being added to thoſe of England yéeld fiftie and three ſhires or counties, ſo that vnder the quéenes Maieſtie are ſo manie counties, whereby it is eaſilie diſcerned, that hir power farre exceédeth that of Offa, who of old time was highlie honored for that he had ſo much of Britaine vnder his ſubiection as afterward conteined thirtie nine ſhires, when the diuiſion was made, whereof I ſpake before.

Od parcels of ſhires.

This is moreouer to be noted in our diuiſion of ſhires, that they be not alwaies counted or laid togither in one parcell, whereof I haue great marueil. But ſith the occaſiõ hath growen (as I take it) either by priuilege or ſome like occaſion, it is better briefelie to ſet downe how ſome of theſe parts lie than to ſpend the time in ſéeking a iuſt cauſe of this their od diuiſion.

diuiſion. Firſt therefore I note that in the part of Buckinghamſhire betweene Amondeſham, & Beconſfield, there is a peece of Hartfordſhire to be found, inuironed round about with the countie of Buckingham, and yet this patch is not aboue three miles in length and two in breadth at the verie moſt. In Barkeſhire alſo betweene Ruſcombe and Dkingham is a peece of Wiltſhire, one mile in breadth and foure miles in length, whereof one ſide lieth on the Loden riuer. In the borders of Northamptonſhire directlie ouer againſt Lutfeld a towne in Buckinghamſhire, I find a parcell of Oxfordſhire not paſſing two miles in compaſſe.

With Oxfordſhire diuerſe doo participate, in ſo much that a peece of Glocesterſhire, lieth halfe in Warwikeſhire & halfe in Oxfordſhire, not verie far from Honeton. Such another patch is there, of Glocesterſhire not far from long Compton, but lieng in Oxford countie: & a peece of Worcesterſhire, directlie betweene it & Glocesterſhire. Glocester hath the third peece vpon the north ſide of the Winrush neere Falbrooke, as Barkeſhire hath one parcell alſo vpon the ſelfe ſide of the ſame water, in the verie edge of Glocesterſhire: likewiſe an other in Oxfordſhire, not verie farre from Burford: and the third ouer againſt Lach lade, which is parted from the main countie of Barkeſhire, by a little ſtrake of Oxfordſhire. Who would thinke that two fragments of Wiltſhire were to be ſeene in Barkeſhire vpon the Loden, and the riuer that falleth into it: whereof and the like ſith there are verie manie, I thinke good to giue this briefe admonition. For although I haue not preſentlie gone thorough with them all, yet theſe may ſuffice to giue notice of this thing, whereof moſt readers (as I perſuade my ſelfe) are ignorant.

But to proceed with our purpoſe. Ouer each of theſe ſhires in time of neceſſitie is a ſeuerall lieutenant choſen vnder the prince, who being a noble man of calling, hath almoſt regall authoritie ouer the ſame for the time being in manie caſes which doo concerne his office: otherwiſe it is gouerned by a ſhiriffe (a word deriued of Schire and Greue, and pronounced as Shire and Reue) whoſe office is to gather vp and bring his accounts into the exchequer, of the profits of his countie receiued, whereof he is or may be called *Quæſtor comitatus* or *Prouinciæ*. This officer is reſident and dwelling ſomewhere within the ſame countie, and called alſo a vicount, *Quaſi vicarius comitis* or *Procomes*, in reſpect of the earle (or as they called him in time paſt the alderman) that beareth his name of the countie, although it be ſeldome ſeene in England, that the earle hath anie great ſtore of poſſeſſions, or oughts to doo in the ſhire whereof he taketh his name, more than is allowed to him, through his perſonall reſiance, if he happen to dwell and be reſident in the ſame.

In the election alſo of theſe magiſtrates, diuerſe able perſons aſwell for wealth as wiſedome are named by the commons, at a time and place appointed for their choiſe, whoſe names being deliuered to the prince, he forthwith pricketh ſome ſuch one of them, as he pleaſeth to aſſigne vnto that office, to whome he committeth the charge of the countie, and who hereupon is ſhiriffe of that ſhire for one whole yeare, or vntill a new be choſen. The ſhiriffe alſo hath his vnder ſhiriffe that ruleth & holdeth the ſhire courts and law daies vnder him, vpon ſufficient caution vnto the high ſhiriffe for his true execution of iuſtice, preſeruation from impeachment, and yelding of accompt when he ſhall be thereunto called. There are likewiſe vnder him certeine bailiffes, whoſe office is to ſerue and returne ſuch writs and proceſſes as are directed vnto them from the high ſhiriffe: to make ſeiſure of the goods and cattels, and arreſt the bodies of ſuch as doo offend, preſenting either their perſons vnto him, or at the leaſtwiſe taking ſufficient bond, or other aſſurance of them for their dutifull appearance at an appointed time, when the ſhiriffe by order of law ought to preſent them to the iudges according to his charge. In euerie hundred alſo are one or more high conſtables according to the quantitie thereof, who receiuing the writs and iniunctions from the high ſhiriffe vnder his ſeale, or from anie other officers of the prince, either for the prouiſion of vittels or for other cauſes, or priuat purueiance of cates for the maintenance of the roiall familie, doo forthwith charge the petie conſtables of euerie towne within their limits, with the execution of the ſame.

In each countie likewiſe are ſundrie law daies holden at their appointed ſeaſons, of which ſome retaine the old Saxon name, and are called Motelagh, of the word motes and law. They haue alſo an other called the ſhiriffes turne, which they hold twiſe in their times, in euerie hundred, according to the old order appointed by king Edgar (as king Edward reduced the folkmote ordeined by king Arthur to be held yearelie on the firſt of Maie, vntill the firſt of euerie moneth) and in theſe two latter ſuch ſmall matters as oft ariſe amongſt the inferior ſort of people, are heard and well determined. They haue finallie their quarter ſeſſions, wherein they are aſſiſted by the iuſtices and gentlemen of the countrie, & twiſe in the yeare gaile deliuerie, at which time the iudges ride about in their circuits, into euerie ſeuerall countie (where the nobilitie and gentlemen with the iuſtices there reſiant aſſociat them) & miniſter the lawes of the realme, with great ſolemnitie & iuſtice. Howbeit in doing of theſe things, they reteine ſtill the old order of the land in vſe before the conqueſt. For they commit the full examination of all cauſes there to be heard, to the conſideration of twelue ſober, graue, and wiſe men, choſen out of the ſame countie; and foure of them of neceſſitie out of the hundred where the action lieth, or the defendant inhabiteth (which number they call an inqueſt) & of theſe inqueſts there are more or leſſe impanneled at euerie aſſiſe, as the number of caſes there to be handled doth craue and require, albeit that ſome one inqueſt hath often diuerſe matters to conſider of. And when they haue (to their vttermoſt power) conſulted and debated of ſuch things as they are charged withall, they returne againe to the place of iuſtice, with their verdict in writing, according whereunto the iudge doth pronounce his ſentence, be it for life or death, or anie other matter what ſoeuer is brought before him. It is alſo verie often ſeene, that ſuch as are nominated to be of theſe inqueſts, doo after their charge receiued ſeldome or neuer eat or drinke, vntill they haue agreed vpon their verdict, and yelded it vp vnto the iudge of whome they receiued the charge; by meanes whereof ſometimes it commeth to paſſe that diuerſe of the inqueſt haue béene welnere famiſhed, or at leaſt taken ſuch a ſickeneſſe thereby, as they haue hardlie auoided. And this commeth by practiſe, when the one ſide feareth the ſequele, and therefore conueieth ſome one or more into the iurie, that will in his behalfe neuer yéeld vnto the reſt, but of ſet purpoſe put them to this trouble.

Certes it is a common practiſe (if the vnder ſhiriffe be not the better man) for the craftier or ſtronger ſide to procure and packe ſuch a queſt, as he himſelfe ſhall like of, whereby he is ſure of the iſſue before the charge be giuen: and beſide this if the matter doo iuſtlie proceed againſt him, it is a world to ſée now and then how the honeſt yeomen that haue *Bona fide* diſcharged their conſciences ſhall be ſued of an atteint, & bound to appéere at the Starre chamber, with what rigor they ſhall be caried from place to place,

High conſtables.

Petie conſtables.

Motelagh, Shiriffes turne.

Gaile deliuerie or great aſſiſes.

Lieutenants.

Shiriffes.

Inqueſts.

Vnderſhiriffes.

Bailiffes.

Atteint.

place, countie to countie, yea and ſometime in carts, which hath and doth cauſe a great number of them to abſteine from the aſſiſes, & yeeld to pate their iſſues, rather than they would for their good meaning be thus diſturbed & dealt withall. Sometimes alſo they bribe the bailiffes to be kept at home, whervpon poore men, not hauing in their purſſes wherewith to beare their coſtes, are impanelled vpon iuries, who verie often haue neither reaſon nor iudgement to performe the charge they come for. Neither was this kind of ſeruice at anie time halfe ſo painefull as at this preſent: for vntill of late yeares (that the number of lawiers and atturneies hath ſo exceedinglie increaſed, that ſome ſhifts muſt néeds be found and matters ſought out, whereby they may be ſet on worke) a man ſhould not haue heard at one aſſiſe of more than two or three *Niſi prius*, but verie ſeldome of an atteinct, whereas now an hundred & more of the firſt and one or two of the later are verie often perceiued, and ſome of them for a cauſe ariſing of ſixpence or twelue pence. Which declareth that men are growen to be farre more contentious than they haue béene in time paſt, and readier to reuenge their quarels of ſmall importance, whereof the lawiers complaine not. But to my purpoſe, from whence I haue now digreſſed.

Beſide theſe officers afore mentioned, there are ſundrie other in euerie countie, as crowners, whoſe dutie is to inquire of ſuch as come to their death by violence, to attach & preſent the plées of the crowne, to make inquirie of treaſure found, &c. There are diuerſe alſo of the beſt learned of the law, beſide ſundrie gentlemen, where the number of lawiers will not ſuffice (and whoſe reuenues do amount to aboue twentie pounds by the yeare) appointed by eſpeciall commiſſion from the prince, to looke vnto the good gouernement of hir ſubiects, in the counties where they dwell. And of theſe the leaſt skilfull in the law are of the peace, the other both of the peace and quorum, otherwiſe called of Oier and Determiner, ſo that the firſt haue authoritie onelie to heare, the other to heare and determine ſuch matters as are brought vnto their preſence. Theſe alſo do direct their warrants to the kéepers of the gailes within their limitations, for the ſafe kéeping of ſuch offendors as they ſhall iudge worthie to commit vnto their cuſtodie there to be kept vnder ward, vntill the great aſſiſes, to the end their cauſes may be further examined before the reſidue of the countie, & theſe officers were firſt deuiſed about the eighteene yeare of Edward the third, as I haue béene informed.

Iuſtices of peax & quorum.

They méeting alſo & togither with the ſhiriffes, do hold their aforeſaid ſeſſions at foure times in the yeare, whereof they are called quarter ſeſſions, and herein they inquire of ſundrie treſpaſſes, and the common annoiances of the kings liege people, and diuerſe other things, determining vpon them as iuſtice doth require. There are alſo a third kind of ſeſſions holden by the high conſtables and baliffes afore mentioned, called petie ſeſſions, wherein the weights and meaſures are peruſed by the clarke of the market for the countie, who ſitteth with them. At theſe méetings alſo victuellers, and in like ſort ſeruants, labourers, roges, and runnagates are often reformed for their exceſſes, although the burning of vagabounds through their eare be referred to the quarter ſeſſions or higher courts of aſſiſe, where they are iudged either to death, if they be taken the third time, & haue not ſince their ſecond apprehenſion applied themſelues to labour, or elſe to be ſet perpetuallie to worke in an houſe erected in euerie ſhire for that purpoſe, of which puniſhment they ſtand in greateſt feare.

Quarter ſeſſions.

Petie ſeſſions.

I might here deliuer a diſcourſe of ſundrie rare cuſtomes and courts, ſurnamed barons, yet maintened and holden in England: but forſomuch as ſome of the firſt are beaſtlie, and therefore by the lords of the ſoiles now liuing conuerted into monie, being for the moſt part deuiſed in the beginning either by malicious or licentious women, in méere contempt and ſlauiſh abuſe of their tenants, vnder pretenſe of ſome puniſhment due for their exceſſes, I paſſe ouer to bring them vnto light, as alſo the remembrance of ſundrie courts baron likewiſe holden in ſtrange maner; yet none more abſurd and far from law than are kept yearlie at Kings hill in Rochford, and therefore may well be called a lawleſſe court, as moſt are that were deuiſed vpon ſuch occaſions. This court is kept vpon wedneſdaie inſuing after Michaelmaſſe daie after midnight, ſo that it is begun and ended before the riſing of the ſunne. When the tenants alſo are altogither in an alehouſe, the ſteward ſecretlie ſtealeth from them with a lanterne vnder his cloke, and goeth to the Kings hill, where ſitting on a molehill he calleth them with a verie ſoft voice, writing their appéarance vpon a péece of paper with a cole, hauing none other light than that which is incloſed in the lanterne: ſo ſone as the tenants alſo do miſſe the ſteward, they runne to the hill with all their might, and there anſwer all at once, Here here, whereby they eſcape their amercements: which they ſhould not do if he could haue called ouer his bill of names before they had miſſed him in the alehouſe. And this is the verie forme of the court deuiſed at the firſt (as the voice goeth) vpon a rebellion made by the tenants of the honour of Raibie againſt their lord, in perpetuall memorie of their diſobedience ſhewed. I could beſide this ſpeake alſo of ſome other, but ſith one hath taken vpon him to collect a number of them into a particular treatiſe, I thinke it ſufficient for me to haue ſaid ſo much of both.

And thus much haue I thought good to ſet downe generallie of the ſaid counties and their maner of gouernance, although not in ſo perfect order as the cauſe requireth, becauſe that of all the reſt there is nothing wherewith I am leſſe acquainted than with our temporall regiment, which (to ſaie truth) ſmallie concerneth my calling. What elſe is to be added after the ſeuerall ſhires of England with their ancient limits (as they agreed with the diuiſion of the land in the time of Ptolomie and the Romans) and commodities yet extant, I reſerue vnto that excellent treatiſe of my frend W. Cambden, who hath trauelled therein verie farre, & whoſe worke written in Latine ſhall in ſhort time (I hope) be publiſhed, to the no ſmall benefit of ſuch as will read and peruſe the ſame.

Of degrees of people in the common-wealth of England.

Chap. 5.

WE in England diuide our people commonlie into foure ſorts, as gentlemen, citizens or burgeſſes, yeomen, which are artificers, or labourers. Of gentlemen the firſt and chéefe (next the king) be the prince, dukes, marqueſſes, earls, viſcounts, and barons: and theſe are called gentlemen of the greater ſort, or (as our common vſage of ſpéech is) lords and noblemen: and next vnto them be knights, eſquiers, and laſt of all they that are ſimplie called gentlemen; ſo that in effect our gentlemen are diuided into their conditions, whereof in this chapter I will make particular rehearſall.

The

Prince. The title of prince doth peculiarlie belong with vs to the kings eldeſt ſonne, who is called prince of Wales, and is the heire apparant to the crowne; as in France the kings eldeſt ſonne hath the title of Dolphine, and is named peculiarlie Monſieur. So that the prince is ſo termed of the Latine word *Princeps*, ſith he is (as I may call him) the cheefe or principall next the king. The kings yonger ſonnes be but gentlemen by birth (till they haue receiued creation or donation from their father of higher eſtate, as to be either viſconts, earles, or dukes) and called after their names, as lord Henrie, or lord Edward, with the addition of the word Grace, properlie aſſigned to the king and prince, and now alſo by cuſtome conueied to dukes, archbiſhops, and (as ſome ſaie) to marqueſſes and their wiues.

Duke. The title of duke commeth alſo of the Latine word Dux, à ducendo, becauſe of his valor and power ouer the armie: in times paſt a name of office due to the emperour, conſull, or cheefe gouernour of the whole armie in the Romane warres: but now a name of honor, although perished in England, whoſe ground will not long beare one duke at once; but if there were manie as in time paſt, or as there be now earles, I do not thinke but that they would floriſh and proſper well inough.

Marqueſſe. In old time he oneli: was called marqueſſe, *Qui habuit terram limitaneam*, a marching prouince vpon the enimies countries, and thereby bound to keepe and defend the frontiers. But that alſo is changed in common vſe, and reputed for a name of great honor nert vnto the duke, euen ouer counties, and ſometimes ſmall cities, as the prince is pleaſed to beſtow it.

Earle. The name of earle likewiſe was among the Romans a name of office, who had *Comites ſacri palatij, comites ærarij, comites ſtabuli, comites patrimonij, largitionum, ſcholarum, commerciorum*, and ſuch like. But at the firſt they were called Comites, which were ioined in commiſſion with the proconſull, legate, or iudges for counſell and aids ſake in each of thoſe ſeuerall charges. As Cicero epiſtola ad Quintum fratrem remembreth, where he ſaith; *Atque inter hos quos tibi comites, & adiutores negotiorum publicorum dedit ipſa reſpublica duntaxat finibus his præſtabis, quos ante præſcripſi, &c.* After this I read alſo that euerie preſident in his charge was called *Comes*, but our Engliſh Saxons vſed the word Hertoch and earle for *Comes*, and indifferentlie as I geſſe, ſith the name of duke was not in vſe before the conqueſt. Goropius ſaith, that *Comes* and

Viſcont. Graue is all one, to wit the viſcont, called either *Procomes*, or *Vicecomes*: and in time paſt gouerned in the countie vnder the earle, but now without anie ſuch ſeruice or office, it is alſo become a name of dignitie next after the earle, and in degree before the baron. His releefe alſo by the great charter is one hundred pounds, as that of a baronie a hundred marks, and of a knight fiue at the moſt for euerie fee.

Baron. The baron, whoſe degree anſwered to the dignitie of a ſenator in Rome, is ſuch a free lord as hath a lordſhip or baronie, whereof he beareth his name, & hath diuerſe knights or freeholders holding of him, who with him did ſerue the king in his wars, and held their tenures in *Baronia*, that is, for performance of ſuch ſeruice. Theſe Bracton (a learned writer of the lawes of England in king Henrie the thirds time) tearmeth *Barones, quaſi robur belli*. The word *Baro* indeed is older than that it may eaſilie be found from whence it came: for euen in the oldeſt hiſtories both of the Germans and Frenchmen, written ſince the conqueſt, we read of barons, and thoſe are at this daie called among the Germans *Liberi vel Ingenui*, or Freihers in the Germane tong as ſome men do coniecture, or (as one ſaith) the citizens and burgeſſes of good townes and cities were called *Barones*. Neuertheleſſe by diligent inquiſition it is imagined, if not abſolutelie found, that the word *Baro* and *Filius* in the old Scithian or Germane language are all one; ſo that the kings children are properlie called *Barones*, from whome alſo it was firſt tranſlated to their kindred, and then to the nobilitie and officers of greateſt honour indifferentlie. That *Baro* and *Filius* ſignifieth one thing, it yet remaineth to be ſeene, although with ſome corruption: for to this daie, euen the common ſort do call their male children barnes here in England, eſpeciallie in the north countrie, where that word is yet accuſtomablie in vſe. And it is alſo growne into a prouerbe in the ſouth, when anie man ſuſteineth a great hinderance, to ſaie, I am beggered and all my barnes. In the Hebrue tong (as ſome affirme) it ſignifieth *Filij ſolis*, and what are the nobilitie in euerie kingdome but *Filij* or *ſerui regum?* But this is farre fetched, wherefore I conclude, that from henceforth the originall of the word *Baro* ſhall not be anie more to ſeeke: and the firſt time that euer I red thereof in anie Engliſh hiſtorie, is in the reigne of Canutus, who called his nobilitie and head officers to a councell holden at Cirnceſter, by that name, 1030, as I haue elſe-where remembred. Howbeit the word *Baro* doth not alwaies ſignifie or is attributed to a noble man by birth or creation, for now and then it is a title giuen vnto one or other with his office, as the cheefe or high tribune of the exchekер is of cuſtome called lord cheefe baron, who is as it were the great or principall receiuer of accounts nert vnto the lord treaſuror, as they are vnder him are called *Tribuni ærarij, & rationales*. Herevnto I may adde ſo much of the word lord, which is an addition going not ſeldome and in like ſort with ſundrie offices, and to continue ſo long as he or they do execute the ſame, and no longer.

Biſhops. Vnto this place I alſo referre our biſhops, who are accounted honourable, called lords, and hold the ſame rome in the parlement houſe with the barons, albeit for honour ſake the right hand of the prince is giuen vnto them, and whoſe countenances in time paſt were much more glorious than at this preſent it is, becauſe thoſe luſtie prelats ſought after earthlie eſtimation and authoritie with farre more diligence than after the loſt ſheepe of Chriſt, of which they had ſmall regard, as men being otherwiſe occupied and void of leiſure to attend vpon the ſame. Howbeit in theſe daies their eſtate remaineth no leſſe reuerend than before, and the more vertuous they are that be of this calling, the better are they eſteemed with high and low. They reteine alſo the ancient name (lord) ſtill, although it be not a little impugned by ſuch as loue either to heare of change of all things, or can abide no ſuperiours. For notwithſtanding it be true, that in reſpect of function, the office of the elderſhip is equallie diſtributed betweene the biſhop and the miniſter, yet for ciuill gouernements ſake, the firſt haue more authoritie giuen vnto them by kings and princes, to the end that the reſt maie thereby be with more eaſe reteined within a limited compaſſe of vniformitie, than otherwiſe they would be, if ech one were ſuffered to walke in his owne courſe. This alſo is more to be maruelled at, that verie manie call for an alteration of their eſtate, crieng to haue the word lord aboliſhed, their ciuill authoritie taken from them, and the preſent condition of the church in other things reformed; whereas to ſaie trulie, few of them do agree vpon forme of diſcipline and gouernement of the church ſuccedent: wherein they reſemble the Capuans, of whome Liuie doth ſpeake in the ſlaughter of their ſenat. Neither is it poſſible to frame a whole monarchie after the patterne of one

1.Sam. b 15. 1.Reg. a 7.

towne or citie, or to stirre vp such an exquisite face of the church as we imagine or desire, sith our corruption is such that it will neuer yéeld to so great perfection: for that which is not able to be performed in a priuat house, will much lesse be brought to passe in a common-wealth and kingdome, before such a prince be found as Xenophon describeth, or such an orator as Tullie hath deuised. But whither am I digressed from my discourse of bishops, whose estates dw daily decaie, & suffer some diminution? Herein neuertheless their case is growne to be much better than before, for whereas in times past the cleargie men were feared bicause of their authoritie and seuere gouernment vnder the prince, now are they beloued generallie for their painefull diligence dailie shewed in their functions and callings, except peraduenture of some hungrie wombes, that couet to plucke & snatch at the lose ends of their best commodities; with whom it is (as the report goeth) a common guise, when a man is to be preferred to an ecclesiasticall liuing, what part thereof he will first forgo and part with to their vse. Finallie, how it standeth with the rest of the clergie for their places of estate, I neither can tell nor greatlie care to know. Neuertheless with what degrées of honour and worship they haue béene matched in times past Iohannes Bohemus in his *De omnium gentium moribus*, and others dw expresse; and this also found beside their reports, that in time past euerie bishop, abbat, and pelting prior were placed before the earles and barons in most statutes, charters, and records made by the prince, as maie also appeare in the great charter, and sundrie yeares of Henrie the third, wherein no duke was heard of. But as a number of their odious comparisons and ambitious titles are now decaied and worthilie shrunke in the wetting, so giuing ouer in these daies to maintaine such pompous vanitie, they dw thinke it sufficient for them to preach the word, & hold their liuings to their sées (so long as they shall be able) from the hands of such as indeuour for their owne preferrement to fléece and diminish the same. This furthermore will I adde generallie in commendation of the cleargie of England, that they are for their knowlege reputed in France, Portingale, Spaine, Germanie and Polonia, to be the most learned diuines, although they like not anie thing at all of their religion: and thereto they are in deed so skilfull in the two principall tongs, that it is accounted a maime in anie one of them, not to be eractlie séene in the Greeke and Hebrue, much more then to be vterlie ignorant or nothing conuersant in them. As for the Latine tong it is not wanting in anie of the ministerie, especiallie in such as haue bene made within this twelue or fourtéene yeares, whereas before there was small choise, and manie cures were left vnserued, bicause they had none at all. And to saie truth, our aduersaries were the onelie causers hereof. For whilest they made no further accompt of their priesthood, than to construe, sing, read their seruice and their portesse, it came to passe that vpon examination had, few made in quéene Maries daies, and the later end of king Henrie, were able to to dw anie more, and verie hardlie so much, so void were they of further skill, and so vnapt to serue at all.

De Asia, cap. 12

No Greeke, no grace.

Bene con, bene can, bene le.

Duke, marquesse, earle, viscont.

Dukes, marquesses, earles, viscounts, and barons, either be created of the prince, or come to that honor by being the eldest sonnes or highest in succession to their parents. For the eldest sonne of a duke during his fathers life is an erle, the eldest sonne of an erle is a baron, or sometimes a viscont, according as the creation is. The creation I call the originall donation and condition of the honour giuen by the prince for good seruice donne by the first ancestor, with some aduancement, which with the title of that honour is alwaies giuen to him and his heires males onelie. The rest of the sonnes of the nobilitie by the rigor of the law be but esquiers: yet in common speech all dukes and marquesses sonnes, and earles eldest sonnes be called lords, the which name commonlie dooth agrée to none of lower degrée than barons, yet by law and vse these be not estéemed barons.

Barons.

The baronie or degrée of lords dooth answer to the degrée of senators of Rome (as I said) and the title of nobilitie (as we vse to call it in England) to the Romane Patricij. Also in England no man is commonlie created baron, except he maie dispend of yearelie reuenues a thousand pounds, or so much as maie fullie mainteine & beare out his countenance and port. But viscounts, erles, marquesses, and dukes exceed them according to the proportion of their degrée & honour. But though by chance he or his sonne haue lesse, yet he kéepeth this degrée: but if the decaie be excessiue and not able to mainteine the honour, as *Senatores Romani* were *amoti à senatu*: so sometimes they are not admitted to the vpper house in the parlement although they keepe the name of lord still, which can not be taken from them vpon anie such occasion. The most of these names haue descended from the French inuention, in whose histories we shall read of them eight hundred yeares passed.

Of the second degrée of gentlemen.

This also is worthie the remembrance, that Otto the first emperour of that name, indeuouring to restore the decaied estate of Italie vnto some part of hir pristinate magnificence, did after the French example giue *Dignitates & prædia* to such knights and souldiers as had serued him in the warres, whom he also adorned with the names of dukes, marquesses, earles, valuasors or capteins, and valuasines.

Prædia.

His *Prædia* in like maner were tributes, tolles, portage, bankage, stackage, coinage, profits by saltpits, milles, water-courses (and what soeuer emoluments grew by them) & such like. But at that present I read not that the word *Baio* was brought into those parts. And as for the valuasors, it was a denomination applied vnto all degrées of honor vnder the first three (which are properlie named the kings capteins) so that they are called *Maiores, minores, & minimi valuasores*. This also is to be noted, that the word capteine hath two relations, either as the possessor therof hath it from the prince, or from some duke, marquesse, or earle, for each had capteins vnder them. If from the prince, then are they called *Maiores valuasores*, if from anie of his three péeres, then were they *Minores valuasores*: but if anie of these *Valuasors* dw substitute a deputie, those are called *Minimi valuasores*, and their deputies also *Valuasini*, without regard vnto which degrée the valuasor dooth apperteine: but the word *Valuasor* is now growne out of vse, wherefore it sufficeth to haue said thus much of that function.

Valuasores.

Knights be not borne, neither is anie man a knight by succession, no not the king or prince: but they are made either before the battell, to incourage them the more to aduenture & trie their manhood: or after the battell ended, as an aduancement for their courage and prowesse alreadie shewed (& then are they called *Milites*;) or out of the warres for some great seruice donne, or for the singular vertues which dw appeare in them, and then are they named *Equites aurati*, as common custome intendeth. They are made either by the king himselfe, or by his commission and roiall authoritie giuen for the same purpose: or by his lieutenant in the warres. This order séemeth to answer in part to that which the Romans called *Equitum Romanorum*. For as *Equites Romani* were chosen *Ex censu*, that is, according to their substance and riches; so be knights in England most commonlie according to their yearelie reuenues or aboundance of riches, wherewith to mainteine their estates. Yet all

Knights.

Milites.

Equites aurati.

that

that had *Equeſtrem cenſum*, were not choſen to be knights, and no more be all made knights in England that may ſpend a knights lands, but they onelie whome the prince will honour. Sometime diuerſe ancient gentlemen, burgeſſes, and lawiers, are called vnto knighthod by the prince, and neuertheleſſe refuſe to take that ſtate vpon them, for which they are of cuſtome puniſhed by a fine, that redoundeth vnto his cofers, and to ſaie truth, is oftentimes more profitable vnto him than otherwiſe their ſeruice ſhould be, if they did yeeld vnto knighthod. And this alſo is a cauſe, wherfore there be manie in England able to diſpend a knights liuing, which neuer come vnto that countenance, and by their owne conſents. The number of the knights in Rome was alſo vncerteine: and ſo is it of knights likewiſe with vs, as at the pleaſure of the prince. And whereas the *Equites Romani* had *Equum publicum* of cuſtome beſtowed vpon them, the knights of England haue not ſo, but beare their owne charges in that alſo, as in other kind of furniture, as armorie méet for their defenſe and ſeruice. This neuertheleſſe is certeine, that who ſo may diſpend 40 pounds by the yeare of frée land, either at the coronation of the king, or mariage of his daughter, or time of his dubbing, may be inforced vnto the taking of that degrée, or otherwiſe paie the reuenues of his land for one yeare, which is onelie fortie pounds by an old proportion, and ſo for a time be acquited of that title. We name him knight in Engliſh that the French calleth Cheualier, and the Latins *Equitem*, or *Equeſtris ordinis virum*. And when any man is made a knight, he knéeling downe is ſtriken of the king or his ſubſtitute with his ſword naked vpon the backe or ſhoulder, the prince, &c: ſaieng, *Soyes cheualier au nom de Dieu*. And when he riſeth vp the king ſaith *Aduances bon cheualier*. This is the maner of dubbing knights at this preſent, and the tearme (dubbing) is the old tearme for that purpoſe and not creation, howbeit in our time the word (making) is moſt in vſe among the common ſort.

Knights of the bath.

At the coronation of a king or quæne, there be other knights made with longer and more curious ceremonies, called knights of the bath. But how ſoeuer one be dubbed or made knight, his wife is by and by called madame or ladie, ſo well as the barons wife; he himſelfe hauing added to his name in common appellation this ſyllable Sir, which is the title whereby we call our knights in England. His wife alſo of courteſie ſo long as ſhe liueth is called my ladie, although ſhe happen to marie with a gentleman or man of meane calling, albeit that by the cõmon law ſhe hath no ſuch prerogatiue. If hir firſt huſband alſo be of better birth than hir ſecond, though this later likewiſe be a knight, yet in that ſhe pretendeth a priuilege to loſe no honor through courteſie yéelded to hir ſex, ſhe will be named after the moſt honorable or worſhipfull of both, which is not ſéene elſewhere.

Knights of the garter.

The other order of knighthod in England, and the moſt honorable is that of the garter, inſtituted by king Edward the third, who after he had gained manie notable victories, taken king John of France, and king James of Scotland (and kept them both priſoners in the Tower of London at one time) expelled king Henrie of Caſtile the baſtard out of his realme, and reſtored Don Petro vnto it (by the helpe of the prince of Wales and duke of Aquitaine his eldeſt ſonne called the Blacke prince) he then inuented this ſociette of honour, and made a choiſe out of his owne realme and dominions, and throughout all chriſtendome of the beſt, moſt excellent and renowmed perſons in all vertues and honour, and adorned them with that title to be knights of his order, giuing them a garter garniſhed with gold and pretious ſtones, to weare dailie on the left leg onlie: alſo a kirtle, gowne, cloke, chaperon, collar, and other ſolemne and magnificent apparell, both of ſtuffe and faſhion exquiſite & heroicall to weare at high feaſts, & as to ſo high and princelie an order apperteineth. Of this companie alſo he and his ſucceſſors kings and quænes of England, be the ſouereignes, and the reſt by certeine ſtatutes and lawes amongſt themſelues be taken as brethren and fellowes in that order, to the number of fir and twentie, as I find in a certeine treatiſe written of the ſame, an example whereof I haue here inſerted word for word, as it was deliuered vnto me, beginning after this maner.

Round table.

I might at this preſent make a long tractation of the round table and eſtate of the knights thereof, erected ſometimes by Arthur the great monarch, of this Iland; and therevnto intreat of the number of his knights, and ceremonies belonging to the order, but I thinke in ſo doing that I ſhould rather ſet downe the latter inuentions of other men, than a true deſcription of ſuch ancient actions as were performed in deed. I could furthermore with more facilitie deſcribe the roialtie of Charles the great & his twelue péeres, with their ſolemne rites and vſages: but vnto this alſo I haue no great deuotion, conſidering the truth hereof is now ſo ſtained with errours and fables inſerted into the ſame by the lewd religious ſort, that except a man ſhould profeſſe to lie with them for companie, there is little ſound knowledge to be gathered hereof worthie the remembrance. In like maner diuerſe aſwell ſubiects as princes haue attempted to reſtore againe a round table in this land (as for example Roger lord Mortimer at Killingworth) but ſuch were the exceſſiue charges apperteining therevnto (as they did make allowance) and ſo great moleſtation dailie inſued therevpon, beſide the breéding of ſundrie quarrels among the knights, and ſuch as reſorted hitherto from forreine countries (as it was firſt vſed) that in fine they gaue it ouer, and ſuffered their whole inuentions to periſh and decaie, till Edward the third deuiſed an other order not ſo much peſtered with multitude of knights as the round table, but much more honorable for princelie port and countenance, as ſhall appeare hereafter.

Roger Mortimer.

The occaſion of the deuiſe.

The order of the garter therefore was deuiſed in the time of king Edward the third, and (as ſome write) vpon this occaſion. The quænes maieſtie then liuing, being departed from his preſence the next waie toward hir lodging, he following ſone after happened to find hir garter, which ſlacked by chance and ſo fell from hir leg, vneſpied in the throng by ſuch as attended vpon hir. His grœmes & gentlemen alſo paſſed by it, diſdaining to ſtoope and take vp ſuch a trifle: but he knowing the owner, commanded one of them to ſtaie and reach it vp to him. Why and like your grace (ſaieth a gentleman) it is but ſome womans garter that hath fallen from hir as ſhe followed the quænes maieſtie. What ſoeuer it be (quoth the king) take it vp and giue it me. So when he had receiued the garter, he ſaid to ſuch as ſtood about him: You my maiſters do make ſmall account of this blue garter here (and therewith held it out) but if God lend me life for a few moneths, I will make the proudeſt of you all to reuerence the like. And euen vpon this ſlender occaſion he gaue himſelfe to the deuiſing of this order. Certes I haue not read of anie thing, that hauing had ſo ſimple a begining hath growne in the end to ſo great honour and eſtimation. But to proceed. After he had ſtudied awhile about the performance of his deuiſe, and had ſet downe ſuch orders as he himſelfe inuented concerning the ſame, he proclamed a roiall feaſt to be holden at Windſor, whither all his nobilitie reſorted with their ladies, where he publiſhed his inſtitution, and

Peraduenture but a blue ribben.

forthwith inuested an appointed number into the aforeſaid fellowſhip, whoſe names inſue, himſelfe being the ſouereigne and principall of that companie. Next vnto himſelfe alſo he placed

- Edward prince of Wales.
- Henrie duke of Lancaſter.
- N. earle of Warw.
- N. capt. de Boudic.
- N. earle of Stafford.
- N. earle of Sarum.
- N. lord Mortimer.
- Sir Iohn Liſle.
- Sir Bartholomew Burwaſh.
- N. ſonne of ſir Iohn Beauchamp.
- Sir N. de Mahun.
- S. Hugh Courtneie.
- S. Thomas Holland.
- Sir Iohn Graie.
- Sir Rich. Fitzſimon.
- Sir Miles Stapleton.
- Sir Thomas Wale.
- Sir Hugh Wroteſley.
- Sir Neale Lording.
- Sir Iohn Chandos.
- S. Iames Dawdleie.
- Sir Otho Holland.
- Sir Henrie Eme.
- Sir Sanchet Dambricourt.
- Sir Walter Pannell *alias* Paganell.

Election. What order of election, and what eſtatutes were preſcribed vnto the elected at this firſt inſtitution, as yet I can not exactlie vnderſtand; neither can I learne what euerie prince afterward added therevnto before the ſix and thirtith yeare of king Henrie the eight, and third of king Edward the firſt: wherefore of neceſſitie I muſt reſort vnto the eſtate of the ſaid order as it is at this preſent, which I will ſet downe ſo briefflie as I may. When anie man therefore is to be elected (vpon a rome found void for his admiſſion) into this fellowſhip, the king directeth his letters vnto him, notwithſtanding that he before hand be nominated to the ſame, to this effect. Right truſtie and welbeloued we greete you well, aſſerteining you, that in conſideration aſwell of your approued truth and fidelitie, as alſo of your couragious and valiant acts of knighthod, with other your probable merits knowne by experience in ſundrie parties and behalfes: we with the companions of the noble order of the Garter, aſſembled at the election holden this daie within our manour of N. haue elected and choſen you amongſt other to be one of the companions of the ſaid Order, as your deſerts dw condignelie require. Wherefore we will that with conuenient diligence vpon the ſight herof, you repaire vnto our preſence, there to receiue ſuch things as to the ſaid order appertaineth. Dated vnder our ſignet at our maner of N. &c. These letters are the exemplification of certeine, which (as it ſhould ſeeme) were written An. 3. Edwardi ſexti at Greenewich Aprilis 24, vnto the earle of Huntingdon, & the lord George Cobham your lordſhips honorable father, at ſuch time as they were called vnto the aforeſaid companie. I find alſo theſe names ſubſcribed vnto the ſame.

- Edward duke of Summerſet vncle to the king.
- The marq. of Northhampton.
- Earle of Arundell L. Chamberleine.
- Earle of Shrewſburie.
- L. Ruſſell lord priuie ſeale.
- L. S. Iohn lord great maſter.
- Sir Iohn Gage.
- S. Anthonie Wingfield.
- Sir William Paget.

Admiſſion. Being elected, preparation is made for his inſtalling at Windſore (the place appointed alwaies for this purpoſe) whereat it is required that his banner be ſet vp, of two yardes and a quarter in length, and three quarters in breth, beſides the fringe. Secondlie his ſword of whatſoeuer length him ſeemeth good. Thirdlie his helme, which from the charnell vpwards ought to be of three inches at the leaſt. Fourthlie the creſt, with mantels to the helme belonging, of ſuch conuenient ſtuffe and bigneſſe, as it ſhall pleaſe him to appoint.

Item a plate of armes at the backe of his ſtall, and creſt with mantels and beaſts ſupportant, to be grauen in the mettall.

Item lodging ſcutcheons of his armes, inuironned with a garter, and painted in paper or cloth of buckram, which when he trauelleth by the waie are to be fixed in the common Ins where he doth lodge, as a teſtimonie of his preſence and ſtaies from time to time as he did trauell.

Item two mantels, one to remaine in the college at Windſore, the other to vſe at his pleaſure, with the ſcutcheon of the armes of S. George in the garter with laces, taſſelets, and knops of blue ſilke and gold belonging to the ſame.

Item a ſurcote or gowne of red or crimoſine velvet, with a whood of the ſame, lined with white ſarcenet or damaſke.

Item a collar of the garter of thirtie ounces of gold Troie weight.

Item a tablet of S. George, richlie garniſhed with precious ſtones or otherwiſe.

Item a garter for his (left) leg, hauing the buckle and pendant garniſhed with gold.

Item a booke of the ſtatutes of the ſaid order.

Item a ſcutcheon of the armes of S. George in the garter to ſet vpon the mantell. And this furniture is to be prouided againſt his inſtallation.

Inſtallation. When anie knight is to be inſtalled, he hath with his former letters, a garter ſent vnto him, and when he commeth to be inſtalled, he is brought into the chapter houſe, where incontinentlie his commiſſion is read before the ſouereigne, or his deputie, and the aſſemblie preſent: from hence he is lead by two knights of the ſaid order, accompanied with the other of the nobilitie, and officers toward the chappell, hauing his mantell borne before him, either by a knight of the order, or elſe the king at armes, to whome it ſecondarilie appertaineth to beare it. This mantell ſhall be deliuered vnto him for his habit, after his oth taken before his ſtall, and not before: which done, he ſhall returne vnto the chapter houſe, where the ſouereigne, or his deputie, ſhall deliuer him his collar, and ſo he ſhall haue the full poſſeſſion of his habit. As for his ſtall, it is not giuen according vnto the calling and countenance of the receiuer, but as the place is that happeneth to be void, ſo that each one called vnto this knighthod (the ſouereigne, and emperours, and kings, and princes alwaies excepted) ſhall haue the ſame ſeat, which became void by the death of his predeceſſor, howſoeuer it fall out: whereby a knight onlie oftentimes doth ſit before a duke, without anie murmuring or grudging at his rome, except it pleaſe the ſouereigne, once in his life onelie to make a generall alteration of thoſe ſeats, and to ſet each one according to his degree.

Mantell.

Stall.

Now as touching the apparell of theſe knights, it remaineth ſuch as king Edward, the firſt deuiſer of this order left it, that is to ſaie, euerie yeare one of the colours, that is to ſay, ſcarlet, ſanguine in grain, blue and white. In like ſort the kings grace hath at his pleaſure the content of cloth for his gowne and whood, lined with white ſatine or damaſke, and multitude of garters with letters of gold.

The prince hath fiue yardes of cloth for his gowne and whood, and garters with letters of gold at his pleaſure, beſide fiue timber of the fineſt mineuer.

A timber conteineth fortie ſkins, pelts, or felles.

A duke hath fiue yardes of woollen cloth, fiue timber of mineuer, 120 garters with title of gold.

A marques hath fiue yards of woollen cloth, fiue timber of mineuer, 110 garters of ſilke.

An earle fiue yardes of woollen cloth, fiue timber of mineuer, and 100 garters of ſilke.

A viſcount fiue yardes of woollen cloth, fiue timber

ber of mineuer,90 garters of ſilke.

A baron fiue yardes of woollen cloth, thꝛee timber of mineuer greſſe,80 garters of ſilke.

A banneret fiue yards of woollen cloth, thꝛée timber of mineuer,70 garters of ſilke.

A knight fiue yards of woollen cloth, thꝛée timber of mineuer,60 garters of ſilke.

The biſhop of Wincheſter chapleine of the garter, hath eight and twentie timber of mineuer pure, ninetéene timber greſſe, thꝛée timber and a halfe of the beſt, and foure & twentie yards of woollen cloth.

The chancellor of the oꝛder fiue yards of woollen cloth, thꝛée timber of mineuer pure.

The regiſter of the oꝛder fiue yardes of woollen cloth, thꝛee timber of mineuer pure. And this oꝛder to be holden generallie among the knights of this companie, which are ſix and twentie in number, and whoſe patrone in time of ſuperſtition was ſuppoſed to be S. Geoꝛge, of whome they were alſo called S. Geoꝛges knights as I haue heard repoꝛted. Would to God they might be called knights of honoꝛ, oꝛ by ſome other name, foꝛ the title of ſaint Geoꝛge argueth a woꝛong patrone.

Inſtallation. Furthermoꝛe at his inſtallation he is ſolemnelie ſwoꝛne, the maner whereof I haue thought good alſo to anner, in this maner. You being choſen to be one of the honoꝛable companie of the oꝛder of the Garter, ſhall pꝛomiſe and ſweare vpon the holie euangelies by you bodilie touched, to be faithfull and true to the kings maieſtie, and to obſerue and kéepe all the points of the ſtatutes of the ſaid oꝛder, and euerie article in them conteined, the ſame being agréeable and not repugnant to the kings highneſſe other godlie pꝛocédings, ſo far as to you belongeth & apperteineth, as God you helpe, &c. And thus much haue I thought good to note touching the pꝛemiſſes.

Eſtatutes. As touching the eſtatutes belonging to this oꝛder they are manie, and therefoꝛe not to be touched here. Howbeit if anie doubt doo ariſe aboue the interpꝛetation of them, the king who is the perpetuall ſouereigne of that oꝛder hath to determine and reſolue the ſame. Neither are anie choſen thereunto vnder the degrée of a knight, and that is not a gentelman of bloud and of ſound eſtimation.

Gentleman of bloud. And foꝛ the better vnderſtanding what is meant by a gentleman of bloud, he is defined to deſcend of thꝛée deſcents of nobleneſſe, that is to ſaie, of name and of armes both by father and mother.

Degrées of repꝛoch. There are alſo foure degrées of repꝛoch, which may inhibit from the entrance into this oꝛder: of which the firſt is hereſie lawfullie pꝛoued, the ſecond high treaſon, the third is flight from the battell, the fourth riot and pꝛodigall exceſſe of expenſes, whereby he is not likelie to hold out, and mainteine the poꝛt of knight of this oꝛder, accoꝛding to the dignitie thereof.

Apparell. Moꝛeouer touching the wearing of their aforeſaid apparell, it is their cuſtome to weare the ſame, when they enter into the chappell of S. Geoꝛge oꝛ be in the chapter houſe of their oꝛder, oꝛ finallie doo go about anie thing apperteining to that companie. In like ſoꝛt they weare alſo their mantels vpon the euen of S. Geoꝛge, and go with the ſoucreigne, oꝛ his deputie in the ſame in maner of pꝛoceſſion from the kings great chamber vnto the chappell, oꝛ vnto the college, and likewiſe backe againe vnto the aforeſaid place, not putting it from them, vntill ſupper be ended, and the auoid doone. The nert daie they reſoꝛt vnto the chappell alſo in the like oꝛder, & from thence vnto diner, wearing afterward their ſaid apparell vnto euening pꝛaier, and likewiſe all the ſupper time, vntill the auoid be finiſhed. In the ſolemnitie likewiſe of theſe feaſts, the thirtéene chanons there, and ſix and twentie poꝛe knights haue mantels of the oꝛder, whereof thoſe foꝛ the chanons are of Purpre with a roundell of the armes of S. Geoꝛge, the other of red, with a ſcutcheon onelie of the ſaid armes.

Sicke oꝛ abſent. If anie knight of this oꝛder be abſent from this ſolemnitie vpon the euen and daie of S. Geoꝛge, and be inforced not to be pꝛeſent either thꝛough bodilie ſickneſſe, oꝛ his abſence out of the land: he doth in the church, chapell, oꝛ chamber where he is remaining, pꝛouide an honoꝛable ſtall foꝛ the kings maieſtie in the right hand of the place with a cloth of eſtat, and cuſhions, and ſcutchion of the garter, and therein the armes of the oꝛder. Alſo his owne ſtall of which ſide ſoeuer it be diſtant from the kings oꝛ the emperours in his owne place, appointed ſo nigh as he can, after the maner and ſituation of his ſtall at Windſoꝛe, there to remaine, the firſt euening pꝛaier on the euen of S. Geoꝛge, oꝛ thꝛée of the clocke, and likewiſe the nert daie during the time of the diuine ſeruice, vntill the moꝛning pꝛaier, and the reſt of the ſeruice be ended: and to weare in the meane time his mantell onelie, with the Geoꝛge and the lace, without either whood, collar oꝛ ſurcete. Oꝛ if he be ſo ſicke that he doo kéepe his bed, he doth vſe to haue that habit laid vpon him during the times of diuine ſeruice afoꝛeſaid.

Offering. At the ſeruice time alſo vpon the moꝛrow after S. Geoꝛge, two of the chiefe knights (ſauing the deputie of the ſouereigne if he himſelfe be abſent) ſhall offer the kings banner of armes, then other two the ſwoꝛd with the hilts foꝛwards, which being doone the firſt two ſhall returne againe, and offer the helme and creſt, hauing at each time two heralds of armes going befoꝛe, accoꝛding to the ſtatutes. The loꝛd deputie oꝛ lieutenant vnto the kings grace, foꝛ the time being, alone and aſſiſted with one of the chiefe loꝛds, doth deliuer at his offering a péece of gold, and hauing all the king of armes and heralds going befoꝛe him, he ſo pꝛocédeth to the offering. When he hath thus offered foꝛ the pꝛince, he returneth with like ſolemnitie vnto his ſtall, and nert of all goeth againe with one herald to offer foꝛ himſelfe, whoſe oblation being made, euerie knight accoꝛding to their ſtals, with an herald befoꝛe him pꝛocédeth to the offering.

Buriall. What ſolemnitie is vſed at the buriall of anie knight of the Garter, it is but in vaine to declare: wherefoꝛe I will ſhew generallie what is doone at the diſgrading of one of theſe knights, if thꝛough anie grieuous offenſe he be ſeparated from this companie. Whereas otherwiſe the ſigne of the oꝛder is neuer taken from him vntill death doo end & finiſh vp his daies. Therfoꝛe when anie ſuch thing is doone, pꝛomulgation is made therof after this maner inſuing.

Diſgrading. Be it knowne vnto all men that N. N. knight of the moſt noble oꝛder of the Garter, is found giltie of the abhominable and deteſtable crime of high treaſon, foꝛ he hath moſt traitoꝛouſlie conſpired againſt our moſt high and mightie pꝛince ſouereigne of the ſaid oꝛder, contrarie to all right, his dutie, and the faithfull oth, which he hath ſwoꝛne and taken. Foꝛ which cauſes therefoꝛe he hath deſerued to be depoſed from this noble oꝛder, and fellowſhip of the Garter. Foꝛ it may not be ſuffered that ſuch a traitoꝛ and diſloiall member remaine among the faithfull knights of renowmed ſtomach & bountifull pꝛowes, oꝛ that his armes ſhould be mingled with thoſe of noble chiualrie. Therefoꝛe our moſt excellent pꝛince and ſupꝛeme of this moſt honoꝛable oꝛder, by the aduiſe and counſell of his collegues, willeth and commandeth that his armes which he befoꝛe time hath deſerued ſhall be from henceforth be taken awaie and thꝛowne downe: and he himſelfe cleane cut off from the ſocietie of this renowmed oꝛder, and neuer from this daie reputed anie moꝛe foꝛ a member of the ſame, that all other by his example may hereafter beware how they commit the like treſpaſſe, oꝛ fall in-

to ſuch notorious infamie and rebuke. This notice being giuen, there reſorteth vnto the partie to be diſgraded certeine officers with diuerſe of his late fellowes appointed, which take from him his George, and other inueſtiture, after a ſolemne maner.

And hitherto of this moſt honorable order, hoping that no man will be offended with me, in vttering thus much. For ſith the noble order of the Toiſon Dor or golden fléece, with the ceremonies apperteining vnto the creation and inueſtiture of the ſir and thirtie knights thereof: and likewiſe that of ſaint Michaell and his one and thirtie knights, are diſcourſed vpon at large by the hiſtoriographers of their owne countries, without reprehenſion or checke, eſpecialite by *Vincentius Lupan. lib. 1. de Mag. Franc. cap. de equitibus ordinis*, where he calleth them Cheualliers ſans reproche, and thereto addeth that their chaine is commonlie of two hundred crownes at the leaſt, and honour thereof ſo great, that it is not lawfull for them to ſell, giue, or laie the ſame to morgage (would to God they might once breake their name, Sans reproche, but their generall deling in our time with all men, will not ſuffer ſome of the beſt of their owne countries to haue that opinion of them) I truſt I haue not giuen anie cauſe of diſpleaſure, briefelie to ſet forth thoſe things that apperteine vnto our renowmed order of the Garter, in whoſe compaſſe is written commonlie, *Honi ſoit qui maly penſe, which is ſo much to ſaie, as, Euill come to him that euill thinketh: a verie ſharpe imprecation, and yet ſuch as is not contrarie to the word, which promiſeth like meaſure to the meter, as he doth mete to others.

*Some think that this was the anſwer of the quéene, when the king aſked what men would thinke of hir, in loſing the garter after ſuch a maner.

There is yet an other order of knights in England called knights Bannerets, who are made in the field with the ceremonie of cutting awaie the point of his penant of armes, and making it as it were a banner, ſo that being before but a bacheler knight, he is now of an higher degrée, and allowed to diſplaie his armes in a banner as barrons do. Howbeit theſe knights are neuer made but in the warres, the kings ſtandard being vnfolded.

Bannerets.

Eſquire (which we call commonlie ſquire) is a French word, and ſo much in Latine as *Scutiger vel armiger*, and ſuch are all thoſe which beare armes, or armoires, teſtimonies of their race from whence they be deſcended. They were at the firſt coſterels or bearers of the armes of barons, or knights, & thereby being inſtructed in martiall knowledge, had that name for a dignitie giuen to diſtinguiſh them from common ſouldiers called *Gregarij milites* when they were togither in the field.

Eſquire.

Gentlemen be thoſe whome their race and bloud, or at the leaſt their vertues do make noble and knowne. The Latines call them *Nobiles & generoſos*, as the French do Nobles or Gentlehommes. The etymologie of the name expoundeth the efficacie of the word: for as *Gens* in Latine betokeneth the race and ſurname: ſo the Romans had Cornelios, Sergios, Appios, Curios, Papyrios, Scipiones, Fabios, Æmilios, Iulios, Brutos, &c: of which, who were Agnati, and therefore kept the name, were alſo called Gentiles, gentlemen of that or that houſe and race.

Gentlemen.

Moreouer as the king doth dubbe knights, and createth the barons and higher degrées, ſo gentlemen whoſe anceſtors are not knowen to come in with William duke of Normandie (for of the Saxon races yet remaining we now make none accompt, much leſſe of the Britiſh iſſue) do take their beginning in England, after this maner in our times. Who ſoeuer ſtudieth the lawes of the realme, who ſo abideth in the vniuerſitie giuing his mind to his booke, or profeſſeth phyſicke and the liberall ſciences, or beſide his ſeruice in the roome of a capteine in the warres, or good counſell giuen at home, whereby his common-wealth is benefited, can liue without manuell labour, and thereto is able and will beare the port, charge, and countenance of a gentleman, he ſhall for monie haue a cote and armes beſtowed vpon him by heralds (who in the charter of the ſame do of cuſtome pretend antiquitie and ſeruice, and manie gaie things) and therevnto being made ſo good cheape be called maſter, which is the title that men giue to eſquiers and gentlemen, and reputed for a gentleman euer after. Which is ſo much the leſſe to be diſalowed of, for that the prince doth loſe nothing by it, the gentleman being ſo much ſubiect to tares and publike paiments as is the yeoman or huſbandman, which he likewiſe doth beare the gladlier for the ſauing of his reputation. Being called alſo to the warres (for with the gouernment of the common-wealth he medleth litle) what ſoeuer it coſt him, he will both arraie & arme himſelfe accordinglie, and ſhew the more manly courage, and all the tokens of the perſon which he repreſenteth. No man hath hurt by it but himſelfe, who peraduenture will go in wider buſkens than his legs will beare, or as our prouerbe ſaith, now and then beare a bigger ſaile than his boat is able to ſuſteine.

Lawiers ſtudents in vniuerſities. Phyſicians. Capteins.

Certes the making of new gentlemen bred great ſtrife ſometimes amongſt the Romans, I meane when thoſe which were *Noui homines*, were more allowed of for their vertues newlie ſéene and ſhewed, than the old ſmell of ancient race, latelie defaced by the cowardiſe & euill life of their nephues & defendants could make the other to be. But as enuie hath no affinitie with iuſtice and equitie, ſo it forceth not what language the malicious do giue out, againſt ſuch as are exalted for their wiſdomes. This neuertheleſſe is generallie to be reprehended in all eſtates of gentilitie, and which in ſhort time will turne to the great ruine of our countrie, and that is the vſuall ſending of noblemens & meane gentlemens ſonnes into Italie, from whence they bring home nothing but mére atheiſme, infidelitie, vicious converſation, & ambitious and proud behauiour, wherby it commeth to paſſe that they returne far worſſe men than they went out. A gentleman at this preſent is newlie come out of Italie, who went thither an earneſt proteſtant, but comming home he could ſaie after this maner: Faith & truth is to be kept, where no loſſe or hinderance of a further purpoſe is ſuſteined by holding of the ſame; and forgiueneſſe onelie to be ſhewed when full reuenge is made. Another no leſſe forward than he, at his returne from thence could ad thus much; He is a fole that maketh accompt of any religion, but more fole that will loſe anie part of his wealth, or will come in trouble for conſtant leaning to anie: but if he yéeld to loſe his life for his poſſeſſion, he is ſtark mad, and worthie to be taken for moſt fole of all the reſt. This gaie bottie gate theſe gentlemen by going into Italie, and hereby a man may ſée what fruit is afterward to be looked for where ſuch bloſſoms do appéere. I care not (ſaith a third) what you talke to me of God, ſo as I may haue the prince & the lawes of the realme on my ſide. Such men as this lack, are eaſilie knowen; for they haue learned in Italie, to go vp and downe alſo in England, with pages at their héeles finelie apparelled, whoſe face and countenance ſhall be ſuch as ſheweth the maſter not to be blind in his choiſe. But leaſt I ſhould offend too much, I paſſe ouer to ſaie anie more of theſe Italionates and their demeanor, which alas is too open and manifeſt to the world, and yet not called into queſtion.

Citizens and burgeſſes haue next place to gentlemen, who be thoſe that are free within the cities, and are of ſome likelie ſubſtance to beare office in the ſame. But theſe citizens or burgeſſes are to ſerue

Citizens and burgeſſes.

the

the commonwealth in their cities and boroughs, or in corporat townes where they dwell. And in the common assemblie of the realme wherein our lawes are made, for in the counties they beare but little swaie (which assemblie is called the high court of parlement) the ancient cities appoint foure, and the boroughs two burgesses to haue voices in it, and giue their consent or dissent vnto such things as passe or staie there in the name of the citie or borow, for which they are appointed.

Merchants. In this place also are our merchants to be installed, as amongst the citizens (although they often change estate with gentlemen, as gentlemen doo with them, by a mutuall conuersion of the one into the other) whose number is so increased in these our dates, that their onelie maintenance is the cause of the exceeding prices of forreine wares, which otherwise when euerie nation was permitted to bring in hir owne commodities, were farre better cheape and more plentifullie to be had. Of the want of our commodities here at home, by their great transportation of them into other countries, I speake not, sith the matter will easilie bewraie it selfe. Certes among the Lacedemonians it was found out, that great numbers of merchants were nothing to the furtherance of the state of the commonwealth: wherefore it is to be wished that the huge heape of them were somewhat restreined, as also of our lawiers, so should the rest liue more easilie vpon their owne, and few honest chapmen be brought to decaie, by breaking of the bankerupt. I doo not denie but that the nauie of the land is in part mainteined by their traffike, and so are the high prices of wares kept vp now they haue gotten the onelie sale of things, vpon pretense of better furtherance of the common-wealth into their owne hands: whereas in times past when the strange bottoms were suffered to come in, we had sugar for foure pence the pound, that now at the writing of this treatise is well worth halfe a crowne, raisons or corints for a penie that now are holden at six pence, and sometime at eight pence and ten pence the pound: nutmegs at two pence halfe penie the ounce: ginger at a penie an ounce, prunes at halfe penie farding: great raisons three pound for a penie, cinamon at foure pence the ounce, cloues at two pence, and pepper at twelue, and sixteene pence the pound. Whereby we may see the sequele of things not alwaies but verie seldome to be such as is pretended in the beginning. The wares that they carrie out of the realme, are for the most part brode clothes and carsies of all colours, likewise cottons, freses, rugs, tin, woll, our best beere, bales, bustian, mockadoes tufted and plaine, rash, lead, fells, &c: which being shipped at sundrie ports of our coasts, are borne from thence into all quarters of the world, and there either exchanged for other wares or readie monie: to the great gaine and commoditie of our merchants. And whereas in times past their cheefe trade was into Spaine, Portingall, France, Flanders, Danske, Norwaie, Scotland, and Iseland onelie: now in these daies, as men not contented with these iournies, they haue sought out the east and west Indies, and made now and then suspicious voiages not onelie vnto the Canaries, and new Spaine, but likewise into Cathaia, Moscouia, Tartaria, and the regions thereabout, from whence (as they saie) they bring home great commodities. But alas I see not by all their trauell that the prices of things are anie whit abated. Certes this enormitie (for so I doo accompt of it) was sufficientlie prouided for, An. 9 Edward 3. by a noble statute made in that behalfe, but vpon what occasion the generall execution thereof is staied or not called on, in good soth I cannot tell. This onelie I know, that euerie function and seuerall vocation striueth with other, which of them should haue all the water of commoditie run into hir owne cesterne.

Yeomen. Yeomen are those, which by our law are called *Legales homines*, free men borne English, and may dispend of their owne free land in yearelie reuenue, to the summe of fortie shillings sterling, or six pounds as monie goeth in our times. Some are of the opinion by Cap. 2. Rich. 2. an. 10. that they are the same which the French men call varlets, but as that phrase is vsed in my time it is farre vnlikelie to be so. The truth is that the word is deriued from the Saxon terme Zeoman or Geoman, which signifieth (as I haue read) a settled or staid man, such I meane as being maried and of some yeares, betaketh himselfe to staie in the place of his abode for the better maintenance of himselfe and his familie, whereof the single sort haue no regard, but are likelie to be still fleeting now hither now thither, which argueth want of stabilitie in determination and resolution of iudgement, for the execution of things of anie importance. This sort of people haue a certeine preheminence, and more estimation than labourers & the common sort of artificers, & these commonlie liue wealthilie, keepe good houses, and trauell to get riches. They are also for the most part farmers to gentlemen (in old time called *Pagani, & opponuntur militibus*, and therfore Persius calleth himselfe *Semipaganus*) or at the least wise artificers, & with grasing, frequenting of markets, and keeping of seruants (not idle seruants as the gentlemen doo, but such as get both their owne and part of their maisters liuing) do come to great welth, in so much that manie of them are able and doo buie the lands of vnthriftie gentlemen, and often setting their sonnes to the schooles, to the vniuersities, and to the Ins of the court; or otherwise leauing them sufficient lands whereupon they may liue without labour, doo make them by those meanes to become gentlemen: these were they that in times past made all France afraid. And albeit they be not called maister as gentlemen are, or sir as to knights appertaineth, but onelie John and Thomas, &c: yet haue they beene found to haue done verie good seruice: and the kings of England in foughten battels, were wont to remaine among them (who were their footmen) as the French kings did amongst their horsemen: the prince thereby shewing where his cheefe strength did consist.

Englishmen on foot and Frenchmen on horsebacke best.

The fourth and last sort of people in England are daie labourers, poore husbandmen, and some retailers (which haue no free land) copie holders, and all artificers, as tailers, shomakers, carpenters, brickmakers, masons, &c. As for slaues and bondmen we haue none, naie such is the priuilege of our countrie by the especiall grace of God, and bountie of our princes, that if anie come hither from other realms, so soone as they set foot on land they become so free of condition as their maisters, whereby all note of seruile bondage is vtterlie removed from them, wherein we resemble (not the Germans who had slaues also, though such as in respect of the slaues of other countries might well be reputed free, but) the old Indians and the Taprobanes, who supposed it a great iniurie to nature to make or suffer them to be bond, whome she in hir wonted course doth product and bring forth free. This fourth and last sort of people therefore haue neither voice nor authoritie in the common wealth, but are to be ruled, and not to rule other: yet they are not altogither neglected, for in cities and corporat townes, for default of yeomen they are faine to make vp their inquests of such maner of people. And in villages they are commonlie made churchwardens, sidemen, aleconners, now and then constables, and manie times inioie the name

Capite censi or Proletarij.

No slaues nor bondmen in England.

of ſo thriftie gueſts. Thus by the meanes of theſe men the gentlemen of the countrie are informed of euerie thing ſtirring in the ſame, and of euerie matter occurrent in their abſence. Theſe men are profitable to their maſters, for if their conſcience be well ſeaſoned they are ſeruiceable to their maſters. To their friends, for their welcome: for by their ſeruices from ſundrie parts they are entertained into hoſpitable houſes of gentlemen that ſtrangers brought into the countrie by their meanes ſometimes, and they themſelues ſtraight to recompenſe by their owne prodigalitie and errors, as alſo their bearing out whatſoeuer they doo, to their maſters diſcredits, doo ſeeme in high meaſure to maintaine their credits, doo ſeeme in high meaſure to maintaine their credits, and keep it ſtraight vpon their backs. The moſt of them alſo coueting to beare an high ſaile do conſume the reſidue of their ſubſtance, ſpring gentlemen and noble men marie come to their landes, the caſe is ſo much apparant, as neuer the gaſt natures of the parties are not onelie vnable, but alſo their landlordes and tenantes vnwilling that ſo it ſhould be, and conſequentlie that ſo all yet not in many yeares they ſhall be able to recouer themſelues. It were verie good therefore that the ſuperfluous heapes of them were in part diminiſhed. And the rather ſeeing it is ſeene to haue come, yea and ſtill to encrooch their numbers, ſo that their maſters be not of ſufficient charge, and the common wealth of manie the more, for rather diminiſhed ſuch ſtore of them as we doo haue in England, in hope of which maintenance manie giue themſelues to idleneſſe, that otherwiſe would be brought to labour, and liue in ſome like ſobrietie. Of their wiues and children I will not ſpeake anie thing at all more than of their ſeruants, ſaue it is found that ſome of them doo make the beſt a cheefe piller of their building, conſuming not onelie the goods but alſo the health & welfare of manie honeſt gentlemen, citizens, wealthie yeomen, &c: by ſuch vnthriftie dealings. But how farre haue I wandred in this point, or how farre may I ſaile in ſuch a large ſea: I will therefore now ſtaie to ſpeake anie more of theſe kind of men. In returning therefore to my matter thus furthermore among other things I haue to ſaie of our huſbandmen and artificers, that they were neuer ſo excellent in their trades as at this preſent. But as the workemanſhip of the later ſort was neuer more fine and curious to the eie, ſo was it neuer leſſe ſtrong and ſubſtantiall for continuance and benefit of the buiers. Neither is there anie thing that hurteth the common ſort of our artificers more than haſt, and a barbarous or ſlauiſh deſire to turne the penie, and by ridding their worke to make ſpeedie vtterance of their wares: which inforceth them to bungle vp and diſpatch manie things they care not how ſo they be out of their hands, whereby the buier is often ſore defrauded, and findeth to his coſt, that haſt maketh waſt, according to the prouerbe.

Ob how manie trades and handicrafts are now in England, whereof the common wealth hath no need: how manie needfull commodities haue we which are perfected with great coſt, &c: and yet may with farre more eaſe and leſſe coſt be prouided from other countries if we could vſe the meanes. I will not ſpeake of iron, glaſſe, and ſuch like, which ſtoile much wood, and yet are brought from other countries better cheape than we can make them here at home, I could exemplifie alſo in manie other. But to leaue theſe things and proceed with our purpoſe, and herein the occaſion ſerueth generallie by waie of concluſion to ſpeake of the common-wealth of England, I find that it is gouerned and maintained by three ſorts of perſons.

1 The prince, monarch, and head gouernour, which is called the king, or if the crowne fall to the woman the queene: in whoſe name and by whoſe authoritie all things are adminiſtred.

2 The gentlemen, which be diuided into three ſorts, as the baronie or eſtate of lords, knights, barons and all aboue that degree are alſo ſtyled that be no lords, as knights, eſquires, & ſimple gentlemen, as I haue noted alreadie. Out of theſe alſo are the great counſellors and high officers choſen, of whom ſufficient is ſpoken in Britaine, as touching the ſame: in Calis, and the caſtellans ſate at Bombelaes are not preſidents both gouernors in Wiſnes, and the other the north parts of this iſland, which latter both continue countables and iudges there vnder the king. But forſomuch as I haue touched their conſtitutions elſewhere, it ſhall be inough to haue remembred them in this place.

3 The third and laſt ſort is named the yeomanrie, of whom ſome ſtoode vpon their legs, the labourers and artificers, I haue ſaid ſomewhat more. Whereas I ſaid that they be not called maſters nor gentlemen, but goodmen, as goodman Smith, goodman Cart, goodman Carter, goodman Baker, goodman Cooke from time in matters of law ſuits are the like are called thus, Giles Fetherſtone yeoman, Edward Shoomaker yeoman, Iames Cooke yeoman, Henrie Barber yeoman, &c: by which addition they are diſtinct from the better and common ſort. Some called thus *[illegible]* of them alſo you may read more in the booke of common wealth which Sir Thomas Smith ſometime penned of this land.

Of gentlemen alſo ſome are by the prince choſen, and called to great offices in the common wealth, of which ſaid offices manie concerne the whole realme; ſome be more priuat and peculiar to the kings houſe. And they haue their places and degrees, preſcribed by an act of parlement made Anno 31 Henr. octau. after this maner inſuing.

Theſe foure the lord Chancellor, the lord Treaſurer, who is *[illegible]* the lord preſident of the councell, and the lord priuie ſeale, being perſons of the degree of a baron or aboue, are in the ſame act appointed to ſit in the parlement and in all aſſemblies of councell aboue all dukes, not being of the blood royall, Vicealles the kings brother, vncle, or nephue.

And theſe ſir, the lord great Chamberleine of England: the lord high Conſtable of England: the lord Marſhall of England: the lord Admirall of England: the lord great maſter or Steward of the kings houſe: and the lord Chamberleine: by that act are to be placed in all aſſemblies of councell, after the lord priuie ſeale, according to their degrees and eſtats: ſo that if he be a baron, then he is to ſit aboue all barons: or an earle, aboue all earles.

And ſo likewiſe the kings ſecretarie, being a baron of the parlement, hath place aboue all barons, and if he be a man of higher degree, he ſhall ſit and be placed according thereunto.

The rehearſall of the temporall nobilitie of England, according to the antiquitie of their creations, or firſt calling to their degrees, as they are vſed found at this preſent.

The Marquiſe of Wincheſter.	Noblemen of England.
The earle of Arundell.	Earles.
The earle of Oxford.	
The earle of Northumberland.	
The earle of Shrewſburie.	
The earle of Kent.	
The earle of Derbie.	
The earle of Worceſter.	

The

The earle of Rutland.
The earle of Cumberland.
The earle of Suſſex.
The earle of Huntingdon.
The earle of Bath.
The earle of Warwike.
The earle of Southampton.
The earle of Bedford.
The earle of Penbrooke.
The earle of Hertford.
The earle of Leiceſter.
The earle of Eſſex.
The earle of Lincolne.

Viſconts. The viſcont Montague.
The viſcont Bindon.

Barons. The lord of Abergeuennie.
The lord Awdeleie.
The lord Zouch.
The lord Barkeleie.
The lord Morleie.
The lord Dacres of the ſouth.
The lord Cobham.
The lord Stafford.
The lord Greie of Wilton.
The lord Scrope.
The lord Dudleie.
The lord Latimer.
The lord Stourton.
The lord Lumleie.
The lord Mountioie.
The lord Ogle.
The lord Darcie of the north.
The lord Mountegle.
The lord Sands.
The lord Vaulx.
The lord Windſore.
The lord Wentworth.
The lord Borough.
The lord Mordaunt.
The lord Cromwell.
The lord Euers.
The lord Wharton.
The lord Rich.
The lord Willowbie.
The lord Sheffeld.
The lord Paget.
The lord Darcie of Chicheſter.
The lord Howard of Effingham.
The lord North.
The lord Chaundos.
The lord of Hunſdon.
The lord ſaint John of Bletſo.
The lord of Buckhirſt.
The lord Delaware.
The lord Burghleie.
The lord Compton.
The lord Cheineie.
The lord Norreis.

Biſhops in their anciencie, as they *ſat in parlement, in the fift of the* Queenes maieſties reigne that now is.

Cleargie. The archbiſhop of Canturburie.
The archbiſhop of Yorke.
London.
Durham.
Wincheſter.

The reſt had their places in ſenioritie of conſecration.

Chicheſter. Landaffe. Hereford. Elie. Worceſter. Bangor. Lincolne. Saliſburie. S. Dauids. Rocheſter.

Bath and Welles. Couentrie and Lichfield. Exceſter. Norwich. Peterborough. Carleill. Cheſter. S. Aſaph. Gloceſter.

And this for their placing in the parlement houſe. Howbeit, when the archbiſhop of Canturburie ſiteth in his prouinciall aſſemblie, he hath on his right hand the archbiſhop of Yorke, and next vnto him the biſhop of Wincheſter, on the left hand the biſhop of London: but if it fall out that the archbiſhop of Canturburie be not there by the vacation of his ſee, then the archbiſhop of Yorke is to take his place, who admitteth the biſhop of London to his right hand, and the prelat of Wincheſter to his left, the reſt ſitting alwaies as afore, that is to ſaie, as they are elders by conſecration, which I thought good alſo to note out of an ancient preſident.

Of the food and diet of *the Engliſh.*

Chap. 6.

THe ſituation of our region, lieng neere vnto the north, doth cauſe the heate of our ſtomaches to be of ſomewhat greater force: therefore our bodies do craue a little more ample nouriſhment, than the inhabitants of the hotter regions are accuſtomed withall, whoſe digeſtiue force is not altogither ſo vehement, bicauſe their internall heat is not ſo ſtrong as ours, which is kept in by the coldneſſe of the aire, that from time to time (ſpecially in winter) doth environ our bodies.

It is no maruell therefore that our tables are oftentimes more plentifullie garniſhed than thoſe of other nations, and this trade hath continued with vs euen ſince the verie beginning. For before the Romans found out and knew the waie vnto our countrie, our predeceſſors fed largelie vpon fleſh and milke, whereof there was great aboundance in this Ile, bicauſe they applied their cheefe ſtudies vnto paſturage and feeding. After this maner alſo did our Welſh Britons order themſelues in their diet ſo long as they liued of themſelues, but after they became to be vnited and made equall with the Engliſh they framed their appetites to liue after our maner, ſo that at this daie there is verie little difference betweene vs in our diets.

In Scotland likewiſe they haue giuen themſelues (of late yeares to ſpeake of) vnto verie ample and large diet, wherein as for ſome reſpect nature doth make them equall with vs: ſo otherwiſe they far exceed vs in ouer much and diſtemperate gormandize, and ſo ingroſſe their bodies that diuerſe of them do oft become vnapt to anie other purpoſe than to ſpend their times in large tabling and bellie cheere. Againſt this pampering of their carcaſſes doth Hector Boetius in his deſcription of the countrie verie ſharpelie inueigh in the firſt chapter of that treatiſe. Henrie Wardlaw alſo biſhop of S. Andrewes, noting their vehement alteration from competent frugalitie into exceſſiue gluttonie, to be brought out of England with James the firſt (who had beene long time priſoner there vnder the fourth & fift Henries,

and

and at his returne caried diuerse English gentlemen into his countrie with him, whome he verie honorablie preferred there) doth vehementlie exclame against the same in open parlement holden at Perth 1433, before the three estats, and so bringeth his purpose to passe in the end by force of his learned persuasions, that a law was presentlie made there for the restreint of superfluous diet, amongest other things baked meats (dishes neuer before this mans daies seene in Scotland) were generallie so prouided for by vertue of this act, that it was not lawfull for anie to eat of the same vnder the degrée of a gentleman, and those onelie but on high and festiuall daies, but alas it was soone forgotten.

In old time these north Britons did giue themselues vniuersalitie to great abstinence, and in time of warres their souldiers would often feed but once or twise at the most in two or three daies (especiallie if they held themselues in secret, or could haue no issue out of their bogges and marises, through the presence of the enimie) and in this distresse they vsed to eat a certeine kind of confection, whereof so much as a beane would qualifie their hunger aboue common expectation. In woods moreouer they liued with hearbes and rotes, or if these shifts serued not thorough want of such prouision at hand, then vsed they to crepe into the water or fatd mirish plots vp vnto the chins, and there remaine a long time, onelie to qualifie the heats of their stomachs by violence, which otherwise would haue wrought and beene readie to oppresse them for hunger and want of sustinance. In those daies likewise it was taken for a great offense ouer all, to eat either goose, hare, or henne, bicause of a certeine superstitious opinion which they had conceiued of those three creatures, howbeit after that the Romans (I saie) had once found an entrance into this Iland, it was not long yer open shipwracke was made of this religious obseruation, so that in processe of time, so well the north and south Britons as the Romens, gaue ouer to make such difference in meats, as they had done before.

From thencefoorth also vnto our daies, and euen in this season wherein we liue, there is no restreint of anie meat, either for religions sake or publike order in England, but it is lawfull for euerie man to feed vpon what soeuer he is able to purchase, except it be vpon those daies whereon eating of flesh is especiallie forbidden by the lawes of the realme, which order is taken onelie to the end our numbers of cattell may be the better increased, & that aboundance of fish which the sea yeeldeth, more generallie receiued. Beside this there is great consideration had in making of this law for the preseruation of the navie, and maintenance of conuenient numbers of sea faring men, both which would otherwise greatlie decaie, if some meanes were not found whereby they might be increased. But how soeuer this case standeth, white meats, milke, butter & cheese, which were neuer so deere as in my time, and wont to be accounted of as one of the chiefe staies throughout the Iland, are now reputed as food appertinent onelie to the inferiour sort, whilest such as are more wealthie, do feed vpon the flesh of all kinds of cattell accustomed to be eaten, all sorts of fish taken vpon our coasts and in our fresh riuers, and such diuersitie of wild and tame foules as are either bred in our Iland or brought ouer vnto vs from other countries of the maine.

In number of dishes and change of meat, the nobilitie of England (whose cookes are for the most part musicall headed Frenchmen and strangers) do most exceed, sith there is no daie in maner that passeth ouer their heads, wherein they haue not onelie beefe, mutton, veale, lambe, kid, porke, conie, capon, pig, or so manie of these as the season yeeldeth: but also some portion of the red or fallow deere, beside great varietie of fish and wild foule, and thereto sundrie other delicates wherein the sweet hand of the seafaring Portingale is not wanting: so that for a man to dine with one of them, and to tast of euerie dish that standeth before him (which few vse to do, but each one feedeth vpon that meat him best liketh for the time, the beginning of euerie dish notwithstanding being reserued vnto the greatest personage that sitteth at the table, to whome it is drawen vp still by the waiters as order requireth, and from whome it descendeth againe euen to the lower end, whereby each one may tast thereof) is rather to yeeld vnto a conspiracie with a great deale of meat for the speedie suppression of naturall health, then the vse of a necessarie meane to satisfie himselfe with a competent repast, to sustteine his bodie withall. But as this large feeding is not seene in their gests, no more is it in their owne persons, for sith they haue dailie much resort vnto their tables (and manie times vnlooked for) and thereto reteine great numbers of seruants, it is verie requisit & expedient for them to be somewhat plentifull in this behalfe.

The chiefe part likewise of their dailie prouision is brought in before them (commonlie in siluer vessell if they be of the degrée of barons, bishops and vpwards) and placed on their tables, whereof when they haue taken what it pleaseth them, the rest is reserued, and afterward sent downe to their seruing men and waiters, who feed thereon in like sort with conuenient moderation, their reuersion also being bestowed vpon the poore, which lie readie at their gates in great numbers to receiue the same. This is spoken of the principall tables whereat the nobleman, his ladie and guests are accustomed to sit, beside which they haue a certeine ordinarie allowance dailie appointed for their hals, where the chiefe officers and household seruants (for all are not permitted by custome to wait vpon their maister) and with them such infertour guests do feed as are not of calling to associat the noble man himselfe (so that besides those afore mentioned, which are called to the principall table, there are commonlie fortie or three score persons fed in those hals, to the great reliefe of such poore suitors and strangers also as oft be partakers thereof and otherwise like to dine hardlie. As for drinke it is vsuallie filled in pots, gobblets, jugs, bols of siluer in noble mens houses, also in fine Venice glasses of all formes, and for want of these elsewhere in pots of earth of sundrie colours and moulds whereof manie are garnished with siluer) or at the least wise in pewter, all which notwithstanding are seldome set on the table, but each one as necessitie vrgeth, calleth for a cup of such drinke as him listeth to haue: so that when he hath tasted of it he deliuered the cup againe to some one of the standers by, who making it cleane by pouring out the drinke that remaineth, restoreth it to the cupbord from whence he fetched the same. By this deuise (a thing brought vp at the first by Mnesteus of Athens, in conseruation of the honour of Orestes, who had not yet made expiation for the death of his adulterous parents Egistus and Clitemnestra) much idle tipling is furthermore cut off, for if the full pots should continuallie stand at the elbow or neere the trencher, diuerse would alwaies be dealing with them, whereas now they drinke seldome and onelie when necessitie vrgeth, and so auoid the note of great drinking, or often troubling of the seruitours with filling of their bols. Neuertheless in the noble mens hals, this order is not vsed, neither in anie mans house commonlie vnder the degrée of a knight or esquire of great

great reuenues. It is a woꝛld to ſée in theſe our dales, wherin gold and ſiluer moſt aboundeth, how that our gentilitie as lothing thoſe mettals (bicauſe of the plentie) do now generallie chooſe rather the Venice glaſſes both foꝛ our wine and béere, than anie of thoſe mettals oꝛ ſtone wherein beforе time we haue béene accuſtomed to dꝛinke, but ſuch is the nature of man generallie that it moſt coueteth things difficult to be atteined; & ſuch is the eſtimation of this ſtuffe, that manie become rich onelie with their new trade vnto Murana (a towne néere to Venice ſituat on the Adꝛiatike ſea) from whence the verie beſt are dailie to be had, and ſuch as foꝛ beautie do well néere match the chꝛiſtall oꝛ the ancient Murrhina vaſa, whereof now no man hath knowledge. And as this is ſéene in the gentilitie, ſo in the wealthie communaltie the like deſire of glaſſe is not neglected, whereby the gaine gotten by their purchaſe is yet much moꝛe increaſed to the benefit of the merchant. The poꝛeſt alſo will haue glaſſe if they may, but ſith the Venecian is ſomewhat too déere foꝛ them, they content themſelues with ſuch as are made at home of ferne and burned ſtone, but in fine all go one waie, that is, to hards at the laſt, ſo that our great expenſes in glaſſes (beſide that they bꝛéed much ſtriſe toward ſuch as haue the charge of them) are woꝛſt of all beſtowed in mine opinion, bicauſe their péeces do turne vnto no pꝛofit. If the philoſophers ſtone were once found, and one part hereof mixed with foꝛtie of molten glaſſe, it would induce ſuch a mettallicall toughneſſe thereunto, that a fall ſhould nothing hurt it in ſuch maner, yet it might peraduenture bunch oꝛ batter it, neuertheleſſe that inconuenience were quickelie to be reꝛeſſed by the hammer. But whither am I ſlipped?

Ro. Bacon.

The gentlemen and merchants kéepe much about one rate, and each of them contenteth himſelfe with foure, fiue, oꝛ ſix diſhes, when they haue but ſmall reſoꝛt, oꝛ peraduenture with one, oꝛ two, oꝛ thꝛée at the moſt, when they haue no ſtrangers to accompanie them at their tables. And yet their ſeruants haue their oꝛdinarie diet aſſigned, beſide ſuch as is left at their maſters boꝛdes, & not appointed to be bꝛought thither the ſecond time, which neuertheleſſe is often ſéene generallie in veniſon, lambe, oꝛ ſome eſpeciall diſh, whereon the merchant man himſelfe liketh to féed when it is cold, oꝛ peraduenture foꝛ ſundꝛie cauſes incident to the féeder is better ſo, than if it were warme oꝛ hot. To be ſhoꝛt, at ſuch time as the merchants do make their oꝛdinarie oꝛ voluntarie feaſts, it is a woꝛld to ſée what great pꝛouiſion is made of all maner of delicat meats, from euerie quarter of the countrie, wherein beſide that they are often comparable herein to the nobilitie of the land, they will ſeldome regard anie thing that the butcher vſuallie killeth, but reiect the ſame as not woꝛthie to come in place. In ſuch caſes alſo geliffes of all colours mixed with a varietie in the repꝛeſentation of ſundꝛie flowres, herbs, trées, foꝛmes of beaſts, fiſh, foules and fruits, and therevnto marchpaine wꝛought with no ſmall curioſitie, tarts of diuerſe hewes and ſundꝛie denominations, conſernes of old fruits foꝛren and home-bꝛed, ſuckets, codinacs, marmilats, marchpaine, ſugerbꝛead, gingerbꝛead, floꝛentines, wild foule, veniſon of all ſoꝛts, and ſundꝛie outlandiſh confections, altogither ſeaſoned with ſuger (which Plinie calleth *Mel ex arundinibus*, a deuiſe not common noꝛ greatlie vſed in old time at the table, but onelie in medicine, although it grew in Arabia, India & Sicilia) do generallie beare the ſwaie, beſides infinit deuiſes of our owne not poſſible foꝛ me to remember. Of the potato and ſuch venerous roots as are bꝛought out of Spaine, Poꝛtingale, and the Indies to furniſh vp our bankets, I ſpeake not, wherin our Mures of no leſſe foꝛce, and to be had about Cróſbie Rauenſwath, do now begin to haue place.

But among all theſe, the kind of meat which is obteined with moſt difficultie and coſt, is commonlie taken foꝛ the moſt delicat, and thereupon each gueſt will ſoneſt deſire to féed. And as all eſtats do exceéd herin, I meane foꝛ ſtrangeneſſe and number of coſtlie diſhes, ſo theſe foꝛget not to vſe the like exceſſe in wine, in ſomuch as there is no kind to be had (neither anie where moꝛe ſtoꝛe of all ſoꝛts than in England, although we haue none growing with vs but peaꝛelie to the pꝛopoꝛtion of 20000 oꝛ 30000 tun and vpwards, notwithſtanding the dailie reſtreints of the ſame bꝛought ouer vnto vs) wherof at great méetings there is not ſome ſtoꝛe to be had. Neither do I meane this of ſmall wines onlie, as Claret, White, Red, French, &c: which amount to about ſixtie ſix ſoꝛts, accoꝛding to the number of regions from whence they come: but alſo of the thirtie kinds of Italian, Grecian, Spaniſh, Canarian, &c: whereof Veruage, Cate pument, Raſpis, Muſcadell, Romnie, Baſtard Tire, Oſeie, Capꝛike, Clareie & Malmeſeie are not leaſt of all accompted of, bicauſe of their ſtrength and valure. Foꝛ as I haue ſaid in meat, ſo the ſtronger the wine is, the moꝛe it is deſired, by means wherof in old time, the beſt was called Theologicum, bicauſe it was had from the cleargie and religious men, vnto whoſe houſes manie of the laitie would often ſend foꝛ bottels filled with the ſame, being ſure that they would neither dꝛinke noꝛ be ſerued of the woꝛſt, oꝛ ſuch as was anie waies mingled oꝛ bꝛued by the vintener: naie the merchant would haue thought that his ſoule ſhould haue gone ſtreight waie to the diuell, if he ſhould haue ſerued them with other than the beſt. Furthermoꝛe when theſe haue had their courſe which nature yéeldeth, ſundꝛie ſoꝛts of artificiall ſtuffe, as ypocras & woꝛmewood wine muſt in like maner ſucceéd in their turnes, beſide ſtale ale and ſtrong béere, which neuertheleſſe beare the greateſt bꝛunt in dꝛinking, and are of ſo manie ſoꝛts and ages as it pleaſeth the bꝛuer to make them.

Béere.

The béere that is vſed at noble mens tables in their fired and ſtanding houſes, is commonlie of a yeare old, oꝛ peraduenture of two yeares tunning oꝛ moꝛe, but this is not generall. It is alſo bꝛued in March and therefoꝛe called March béere, but foꝛ the houſehold it is vſuallie not vnder a moneths age, each one coueting to haue the ſame ſtale as he may, ſo that it be not ſoꝛe, and his bꝛead new as is poſſible ſo that it be not hot.

Artificer.

The artificer and huſbandman make greateſt accompt of ſuch meat as they may ſoneſt come by, and haue it quickelieſt readie, except it be in London when the companies of euery trade do meet on their quarter daies, at which time they be nothing inferiour to the nobilitie. Their food alſo conſiſteth pꝛincipallie in béefe and ſuch meat as the butcher ſelleth, that is to ſaie, mutton, veale, lambe, poꝛke, &c: whereof he findeth great ſtoꝛe in the markets adioining, beſide ſouſe, bꝛawne, bacon, fruit, pies of fruit, foules of ſundꝛie ſoꝛts, cheeſe, butter, egs, &c: as the other wanteth it not at home, by his owne pꝛouiſion, which is at the beſt hand, and commonlie leaſt charge. In feaſting alſo this latter ſoꝛt, I meane the huſbandmen do exceéd after their maner: eſpeciallie at bꝛidales, purifications of women, and ſuch od méetings, where it is incredible to tell what meat is conſumed & ſpent, each one bꝛinging ſuch a diſh, oꝛ ſo manie with him as his wife & he do conſult vpon, but alwaies with this conſideration, that the léeſer fréend ſhall haue the better pꝛouiſion. This alſo is commonlie ſéene at theſe bankets, that the good man of the houſe is not charged with any thing ſauing bꝛead, dꝛink, ſauce, houſe-

tome

rome and fire. But the artificers in cities and good townes do deale far otherwiſe, for albeit that ſome of them do ſuffer their ſawes to go off before their clawes, and diuerſe of them by making good chære do hinder themſelues and other men: yet the wiſer ſort can handle the matter well inough in theſe iunkettings, and therfore their frugalitie deſerueth commendation. To conclude, both the artificer and the husbandman are ſufficientlie liberall, & verie frendlie at their tables, and when they meet, they are so merie without malice, and plaine without inward Italian or French craft and ſubtiltie, that it would do a man good to be in companie among them. Herein onelie are the inferiour ſort somewhat to be blamed, that being thus aſſembled, their talke is now and then ſuch as sauoureth of ſcurrilitie and ribaldrie, a thing naturallie incident to carters and clownes, who thinke themſelues not to be merie & welcome, if their foliſh veines in this behalfe be neuer ſo little reſtreined. This is moreouer to be added in theſe meetings, that if they happen to ſtumble vpon a peece of veniſon, and a cup of wine or verie ſtrong beere or ale (which latter they commonlie prouide againſt their appointed daies) they thinke their chære ſo great, and themſelues to haue fared ſo well, as the lord Maior of London, with whome when their bellies be full they will not often ſticke to make compariſon, becauſe that of a ſubiect there is no publike officer of anie citie in Europe, that may compare in port and countenance with him during the time of his office.

I haue dined ſo well as my lord maior.

I might here talke ſomewhat of the great ſilence that is vſed at the tables of the honorable and wiſer ſort, generallie ouer all the realme (albeit that too much deſerueth no cõmendation, for it belongeth to geſts neither to be *muti* nor *loquaces*) likewiſe of the moderate eating and drinking that is dailie ſeene, and finallie of the regard that each one hath to keepe himſelfe from the note of ſurfetting and dronkenneſſe (for which cauſe ſalt meat, except beefe, bacon, and porke are not anie whit eſteemed, and yet theſe three may not be much powdered) but as in rehearſall thereof I ſhould commend the noble man, merchant, and frugall artificer, ſo I could not cleare the meaner ſort of husbandmen, and countrie inhabitants of verie much babbling (except it be here and there ſome od yeoman) with whome he is thought to be the merieſt that talketh of moſt ribaldrie, or the wiſeſt man that ſpeaketh faſteſt among them, & now and then ſurfetting and dronkenneſſe, which they rather fall into for want of heed taking, than wilfullie following or delighting in thoſe errours of ſet mind and purpoſe. It may be that diuers of them liuing at home with hard and pinching diet, ſmall drinke, and ſome of them hauing ſcarſe inough of that, are ſoneſt ouertaken when they come vnto ſuch bankets, howbeit they take it generallie as no ſmall diſgrace if they happen to be cupſhotten, ſo that it is a greeſe vnto them though now ſans remedie ſith the thing is done and paſt. If the frends alſo of the wealthier ſort come to their houſes from farre, they are commonlie ſo welcome till they depart as vpon the firſt daie of their comming, whereas in good townes and cities, as London, &c: men oftentimes complaine of little rome, and in reward of a fat capon or plentie of beefe and mutton, largelie beſtowed vpon them in the countrie, a cup of wine or beere with a napkin to wipe their lips, and an You are hartelie welcome is thought to begreat interteinement, and therefore the old countrie clearkes haue framed this ſaieng in that behalfe, I meane vpon the interteinment of townesmens and Londoners after the daies of their aboad in this maner:

Primus incundus, tollerabilis eſt q, ſecundus,
Tertius eſt vanus, ſed fetet quatriduanus.

Bread.

The bread throughout the land is made of ſuch graine as the ſoile yeeldeth, neuertheleſſe the gentilitie commonlie prouide themſelues ſufficientlie of wheat for their owne tables, whileſt their houſehold and poore neighbours in ſome ſhires are inforced to content themſelues with rie, or barlete, pea and in time of dearth manie with bread made either of beans, peaſon, or otes, or of altogither and ſome acornes among, of which ſcourge the poreſt do ſoneſt taſt, ſith they are leaſt able to prouide themſelues of better. I will not ſaie that this extremitie is oft ſo well to be ſeene in time of plentie as of dearth, but if I ſhould I could eaſilie bring my triall. For albeit that there be much more ground eared now almoſt in euerie place, than hath bene of late yeares, yet ſuch a price of corne continueth in each towne and market without any iuſt cauſe (except it be that landlords doget licences to carie corne out of the land onelie to keepe vp the peeces for their owne priuate gaines and ruine of the common-wealth) that the artificer and poore laboring man, is not able to reach vnto it, but is driuen to content himſelfe with horſecorne, I meane, beanes, peaſon, otes, tares, and lintels: and theerfore it is a true prouerbe, and neuer ſo well verified as now, that hunger ſetteth his firſt foot into the horſe manger. If the world laſt a while after this rate, wheate and rie will be no graine for poore men to feed on, and ſome catterpillers there are that can ſate ſo much alreadie.

A famine at hand is firſt ſeene in the horſe manger when the poore do fall to horſecorne.

Of bread made of wheat we haue ſundrie ſorts, dailie brought to the table, whereof the firſt and moſt excellent is the mainchet, which we commonlie call white bread, in Latine *Primarius panis*, whereof Budeus alſo ſpeaketh, in his firſt booke De aſſe, and our good workemen deliuer commonlie ſuch proportion, that of the flower of one buſhell with another they make fortie caſt of manchet, of which euerie lofe weigheth eight ounces into the ouen and ſix ounces out, as I haue bene informed. The ſecond is the cheat or wheaton bread, ſo named becauſe the colour therof reſembleth the graie or yellowiſh wheat, being cleane and well dreſſed, and out of this is the courſeſt of the bran (vſuallie called gurgeons or pollard) taken. The raueled is a kind of cheat bread alſo, but it reteineth more of the groſſe, and leſſe of the pure ſubſtance of the wheat: and this being more ſleightlie wrought vp, is vſed in the halles of the nobilitie, and gentrie onelie, whereas the other either is or ſhould be baked in cities & good townes of an appointed ſize (according to ſuch price as the corne doth beare) and by a ſtatute prouided by king John in that behalfe. The raueled cheat therfore is generallie ſo made that out of one buſhell of meale, after two and twentie pounds of bran be ſifted and taken from it (whereunto they ad the gurgeons that riſe from the manchet) they make thirtie caſt, euerie lofe weighing eightéene ounces into the ouen and ſixteene ounces out: and beſide this they ſo handle the matter that to euerie buſhell of meale they ad onelie two and twentie or three and twentie pound of water, waſhing alſo in ſome houſes there corne before it go to the mill, whereby their manchet bread is more excellent in colour and pleaſing to the eie, than otherwiſe it would be. The next ſort is named browne bread of the colour, of which we haue two ſorts, one baked vp as it cõmeth from the mill, ſo that neither the bran nor the floure are anie whit diminiſhed, this Celſus called *Autopirus panis, lib.* 2. and putteth it in the ſecond place of nouriſhment. The other hath little or no floure left therein at all, howbeit he callech it *Panem Cibarium*, and it is not onlie the worſt and weakeſt of all the other ſorts, but alſo appointed in old time for ſeruants, ſlaues, and the inferiour kind of people to feed vpon.

Primarius panis.

Cheat bread.

Raueled bread.

The ſize of bread is verie ill kept or not at all looked vnto in the countrie townes and markets.

Browne bread.

Panis Cibarius.

vpon. Herevnto likewiſe, becauſe it is drie and brickle in the working (for it will hardlie be made vp handſomelie into loaues) ſome adde a portion of rie meale in our time, whereby the rough drineſſe or drie roughnes therof is ſomwhat qualified, & then it is named miſcelin, that is, bread made of mingled corne, albeit that diuerſe doo ſow or mingle wheat & rie of ſet purpoſe at the mill, or before it come there, and ſell the ſame at the markets vnder the aforeſaid name.

Summer wheat and winter barlie verie rare in England.

In champeigne countries much rie and barleie 10 bread is eaten, but eſpeciallie where wheat is ſcant and geſon. As for the difference that is betweene the ſummer and winter wheat, moſt huſbandmen know it not, ſith they are neither acquainted with ſummer wheat, nor winter barleie: yet here and there I find of both ſorts, ſpeciallie in the north and about Kendall, where they call it March wheat, and alſo of ſummer rie, but in ſo ſmall quantities as that I dare not pronounce them to be greatlie common among vs.

Drinke. Our drinke, whoſe force and continuance is part- 20 lie touched alreadie, is made of barleie, water, and hops, ſodden and mingled togither, by the induſtrie of our bruers, in a certeine exact proportion. But before our barleie doo come vnto their hands, it ſuffereth great alteration, and is converted into malt, the making whereof, I will here ſet downe in ſuch order, as my ſkill therein may extend vnto (for I am ſcarſe a good malſter) chiefelie for that forreine writers haue attempted to deſcribe the ſame, and the making of our beere, wherein they haue ſhot ſo farre 30 wide, as the quantitie of ground was betweene themſelues & their marke. In the meane time beare with me, gentle reader (I beſeech thee) that lead thee from the deſcription of the plentifull diet of our countrie, vnto the fond report of a ſcruile trade, or rather from a table delicatelie furniſhed, into a muſtie malthouſe: but ſuch is now thy hap, wherfore I praie thee be contented.

Malt.

Making of malt. Our malt is made all the yeare long in ſome great townes, but in gentlemens and yeomens 40 houſes, who commonlie make ſufficient for their owne expenſes onelie, the winter halfe is thought moſt meet for that commoditie: howbeit the malt that is made when the willow doth bud, is commonlie worſt of all, neuertheleſſe each one indeuoureth to make it of the beſt barleie, which is ſteeped in a ceſterne, in greater or leſſe quantitie, by the ſpace of three daies and three nights, vntill it be throughlie ſoked. This being doone, the water is drained from it by little and little, till it be quite gone. Afterward 50 they take it out, and laieng it vpon the cleane floore on a round heape, it reſteth ſo vntill it be readie to ſhote at the rot end, which maltſters call Comming. When it beginneth therefore to ſhot in this maner, they ſaie it is come, and then forthwith they ſpread it abroad, firſt thicke, and afterward thinner and thinner vpon the ſaid floore (as it commeth); and there it lieth (with turning euerie daie foure or fiue times) by the ſpace of one and twentie daies at the leaſt, the workeman not ſuffering it in ante wiſe to 60 take anie heat, whereby the bud end ſhould ſpire, that bringeth forth the blade, and by which ouerſight or hurt of the ſtuffe it ſelfe the malt would be ſpoiled, and turne ſmall commoditie to the bruer. When it hath gone or beene turned ſo long vpon the floore, they carie it to a kill couered with haire cloth, where they giue it gentle heats (after they haue ſpread it there verie thin abroad) till it be drie, & in the meane while they turne it often, that it may be vniformelie dried. For the more it be dried (yet muſt it be doone with ſoft fire) the ſweeter and better the malt is, and the longer it will continue, whereas if it be not dried downe (as they call it) but ſlackelie handled, it will breed a kind of worme, called a wiuell, which groweth in the floure of the corne, and in proceſſe of time will ſo eat out it ſelfe, that nothing ſhall remaine of the graine but euen the verie rind or huſke.

The beſt malt is tried by the hardneſſe & colour, for if it looke freſh with a yellow hew, & thereto will write like a peece of chalke, after you haue bitten a kirnell in ſunder in the middeſt, then you may aſſure your ſelfe that it is dried downe. In ſome places it is dried at leiſure with wood alone, or ſtrawe alone, in other with wood and ſtrawe togither, but of all the ſtrawe dried, is the moſt excellent. For the wood dried malt when it is brued, beſide that the drinke is higher of colour, it doth hurt and annoie the head of him that is not vſed thereto, becauſe of the ſmoake. Such alſo as vſe both indifferentlie dooe barke, cleaue, and drie their wood in an ouen, thereby to remoue all moiſture that ſhuld procure the ſame, and this malt is in the ſecond place, & with the ſame likewiſe, that which is made with dried firze, broome, &c: whereas if they alſo be occupied greene, they are in maner ſo preiudiciall to the corne, as is the moiſt wood. And thus much of our malts, in bruing whereof ſome grinde the ſame ſomewhat groſelie, and in ſeething well the liquor that ſhall be put vnto it, they adde to euerie nine quarters of mault one of headcorne, which conſiſteth of ſundrie graine, as wheate, and otes ground. But what haue I to doo with this matter, or rather ſo great a quantitie, wherewith I am not acquainted. Neuertheleſſe, ſith I haue taken occaſion to ſpeake of bruing, I will exemplifie in ſuch a proportion as I am beſt ſkilled in, becauſe it is the vſuall rate for mine owne familie, and once in a moneth practiſed by my wife & hir maid ſeruants, who proceed withall after this maner, as ſhe hath oft informed me.

Bruing of beere. Hauing therefore ground eight buſhels of good malt vpon our querne, where the toll is ſaued, ſhe addeth vnto it halfe a buſhell of wheat meale, and ſo much of otes ſmall ground, and ſo tempereth or mixeth them with the malt, that you cannot eaſilie diſcerne the one from the other, otherwiſe theſe latter would clunter, fall into lumps, and thereby become vnprofitable. The firſt liquor which is full eightie gallons, according to the proportion of our furnace, ſhe maketh boiling hot, and then powreth it ſoftlie into the malt, where it reſteth (but without ſtirring) vntill hir ſecond liquor be almoſt readie to boile. This doone ſhe letteth hir maſh run till the malt be left without liquor, or at the leaſt wiſe the greateſt part of the moiſture, which ſhe perceiueth by the ſtaie and ſoft iſſue thereof, and by this time hir ſecond liquor in the furnace is ready to ſeeth, which is put alſo to the malt as the firſt wort alſo againe into the furnace whereunto ſhe addeth two pounds of the beſt Engliſh hops, and ſo letteth them ſeeth togither by the ſpace of two houres in ſummer, or an houre and an halfe in winter, whereby it getteth an excellent colour, and continuance without impeachment, or anie ſuperfluous tartneſſe. But before ſhe putteth hir Charwort. firſt wort into the furnace, or mingleth it with the hops, ſhe taketh out a veſſell full, of eight or nine gallons, which ſhe ſhutteth vp cloſe, and ſuffereth no aire to come into it till it become yellow, and this ſhe reſerueth by it ſelfe vnto further vſe, as ſhall appeare hereafter, calling it Brackwort or Charwort, and as ſhe ſaith it addeth alſo to the colour of the drinke, whereby it yeeldeth not vnto amber or fine gold in hew vnto the eie. By this time alſo hir ſecond wort is let runne, and the firſt being taken out of the furnace and placed to cole, ſhe returneth the middle wort vnto the furnace, where it is ſtriken ouer, or from whence it is taken againe, when it beginneth to boile and maſhed the ſecond time, whileſt the third liquor is heat (for there are three liquors) and

this

the laſt put into the furnace, then the ſecond is made hot againſt them the laſt ſignes, and for the ſecond to come by the firſt the better to receiue and then laſtlie to agree both a pound and an halfe of rie to hops: peraduenture foure pounds as the laſt caſke by the goodneſſe or badneſſe of the hops, ſhall be found in ſommer time ſower: in winter an houre & an halfe ſor ſtrength is alſo not ſufficient to make ſtrong beere the laſt then long ſtanding. Small beere then ſor ſtrength put ſo to the ſtrength of ſtrong beere, ſor about ye fift part of ſtrength, but half an ounce of anniſe, and halfe a quarterne of an ounce of bayberries ſmelle pounded, and then putting the ſame into ye veſſell both an handfull of the ſeed. The proportion in ſuch ſmall drinke as common hoping requireth, ſtoppe in ſtead of anniſe & bayes adde to much long pepper ginger, but in ye ſommer and my thinke it is not ſo good as the firſt, and herof we make thoſe hoggeſheads of good beere, ſuch I meane as is meet for poore men as I am to liue withall, whoſe ſmall maintenance for what great thing is ſo the pounds a yeare *Complete ſupplement* able to performe may indure no deeper cut, the charges whereof ſet both in this maner. I bake my malt at ten ſhillings, my wood at ſoure ſhillings which I beat, my hops at fiueths pence, the ſpice at two pence, ſeruants wages two ſhillings ſixpence with mault and beefe, and the bearing of my veſſell at fiueths pence, ſo that for my fiueths ſhillings I haue ten ſcore gallons of beere or more, not withſtanding the laſſe in ſeething, which ſome being loth to forgo do not obſerue the name, and therefore ſpeak thereafter in their ſhortneſſe, and boaſtfulneſſe. The continuance of the drinke is alwaie determined after the quantitie of the hops, ſo that being well hoped it laſteth longer. For it feedeth vpon the hop, and ſodeth out ſo long as the force of the ſame continueth, which being extinguiſhed the drinke muſt be ſpent or elſe it ſoureth, and becommeth of no value.

In this trade alſo our brewers obſerue verie diligentlie the nature of the water, which they dailie occupie; and ſolle through which it paſſeth, for all waters are not of like goodneſſe, ſith the fatteſt ſtanding water is alwaies the beſt: for although the waters that run by chalkie or claiie ſoiles be good, and nert vnto the Thames water which is the moſt excellent, yet the water that ſtandeth in either of theſe is the beſt ſor ſo that dwell in the countrie, as whereon the ſunne lieth longeſt, and fatteſt fiſh is bred. But of all other the ſennie and moriſh is the worſt, and the clereſt ſpring water nert vnto it. In this buſines therefore the ſkilfull workeman doth redreſſe the iniquitie of that element, by changing of his proportions, which trouble in ale ſometime our onelie, but now taken with manie ſor old and ſickmens drinke is neuer ſeene nor heard of. Howbeit as the beere well ſodden in the brewing, and ſtale, is cleere and well coloured as muſcadell or malmſeie, or rather yellow as the gold noble as our poet knights call it: ſo our ale which is not at all or verie little ſodden, and without hops, is more thicke, fulſome, and of no ſuch continuance, which are three notable things to be conſidered in that liquor. But what for that? Certes I know ſome aleknights ſo much addicted thereunto, that they will not ceaſſe from morow vntill euen to viſit the ſame, cleanſing houſe after houſe, till they defile themſelues, and either fall quite vnder the bord, or elſe not daring to ſtirre from their ſtooles, ſit ſtill pinking with their narrow eies as halfe ſleeping, till the fume of their aduerſarie be digeſted that he may go to it afreſh. Such ſlights alſo haue the alewiues ſor the vtterance of this drinke, that they will mire it with roſen and ſalt: but if you heat a knife red hot, and quench it in the ale ſo nere the bottome of the pot as you can put it, you ſhall ſee the roſen come forth hanging on the knife. As for the force of ale, it is beſt knowne by the effect, for the more ſtrong the more apteſt the drinke is to make fat, the more be merie, and it doth be cauſe it is a true nutriment not to be caſt away, except the ſame be the better. But to my purpoſe.

In ſome places of England, ſpice is a kinde of ſweete meale of apples, which they call apom or pomage, but that of plums is named prunie, and both are grant and pleaſant in pottes made for the nonce. Cornes ſuch that are here common in Kent, Eſſex, Middleſex, and other ſhires, there ſpeake of them ſo aboundantlie, becauſe they are not there onelie drunke at all meales, but alſo made into the delicate ſorts of tarts, as mortrugion is in Wales, whereof the Welſhmen make no leſſe account and not vnright ſeeing it be well handled, than the Cretenſes do of their Ambroſia or Nectar, which for the pleaſantneſſe thereof, was ſuppoſed to be ſuch as the gods themſelues did delite in. There is a kinde of ſtrong ſweete made alſo in Eſſex, and diuerſe other places, with honiecombs and beaten, which the bees do commonlie leaue vnto vs, pouring ſome pepper and a little ſpice among, call meat, beere good in meane ſommer ſor ſuch as loue to be lookt but not at large, or a little eaſed of the cough, otherwiſe it differeth ſo much ſrō the true methoglin, as chalke from cheeſe. Trulie it is nothing elſe but the waſhing of the combes. Then the honie is wrong out, and one of the beſt things that I know belonging thereto is, that they ſpend but little labour and leſſe coſt in making of the ſame, and therefore no great loſſe if it were nener accompted. Hitherto of the diet of my countrimen, ſomewhat more at large peraduenture than manie men will like of, therefore I thinke good now to finiſh this treatiſon, and ſo will I, when I haue added a few other things incident vnto that which goeth before, whereby the whole proceſſe of the ſame ſhall fullie be deliuered, & my promiſe to my friends in this behalfe performed.

Heretofore there hath beene much more time ſpent in eating and drinking than commonlie is in theſe dates, for whereas of old we had breakefaſts in the forenoone, beuerages, or nuntions after dinner, and there to make ſuppers generallie when it was time to go to reſt a tale brought into England by Gaius Caninius and a cuſtome thereof Athenæus alſo ſpeaketh of, albeit Hippocrates ſpeake but of ſuch as the moſt [illegible]. Now theſe odde paſſes thanked be God are verie well left, and each one in maner except here and there ſome young hungrie ſtomach that cannot faſt till dinner time contenteth himſelfe with dinner & ſupper onelie. The Germans miſliking the gormandiſe of Caninius, ordeined after their arriuall, that no table ſhould be couered aboue once in the date, which Huntingdon imputeth to their auarice: but in the end either wearie of their owne frugalitie, or ſuffering the cockle of old cuſtome to ouergrow the good corne of their new conſtitution, they fell to ſuch liberne, that in often feeding they ſurmounted Caninius ſurnamed the hardie. For whereas he couered his table but three or foure times in the date, theſe ſpred their clothes fiue or ſix times, and in ſuch wiſe as I before rehearſed. They brought in alſo the cuſtome of long and ſtatelie ſitting at meat, whereby their feaſts reſembled thoſe ancient pontificall bankets whereof Macrobius ſpeaketh lib. 3. cap. 13. and Plin. lib. 10. cap. 10. and which for ſumptuouſneſſe of fare, long ſitting and curioſitie ſhewed in the ſame, exceeded all other mens feaſting, which fondneſſe is not yet left with vs, notwithſtanding that it proueth verie beneficiall for the phyſicians, who moſt abound, where moſt exceſſe and miſgouernement of our bodies do appeare, although

Cider.

Perrie.

Methoglin.

Mead.

Left new ſommers meales heretofore.

Caninius glutton but the Romans at the leaſt in coſt bare in that time.

although it be a great expenſe of time, and worthie of reprehenſion. For the nobilitie, gentlemen, and merchantmen, eſpeciallie at great meetings doo ſit commonlie till two or three of the clocke at afternoone, ſo that with manie is an hard matter, to riſe from the table to go to euening praier, and returne from thence to come time inough to ſupper. For my part I am perſuaded that the purpoſe of the Romans at the firſt was to reduce the ancient Romane order or Daniſh cuſtome in feeding once in the daie, and toward the euening, as I haue red and noted. And indeed the Romans had ſuch a cuſtome, and likewiſe the Grecians, as may appeere by the words of Socrates, who ſaid vnto the Atheniens, *Oriente ſole conſilium, occidente conuiuium eſt cogitandum*, although a little ſomething was allowed in the morning to yoong children which we now call a breakefaſt. Plato called the Sicilians monſters, for that they vſed to eat twiſe in the daie. Among the Perſians onelie the king dined when the ſunne was at the higheſt, and ſhadow of the ſtile at the ſhorteſt: the reſt (as it is reported) went alwaies but once to meat when their ſtomachs craued it, as the Canariens and Indians doo in my time (who if appetite ſerue refuſe not to go to meat at anie houre of the night) and likewiſe the ancient Caſpians. Yet Arrianus noteth it as a rare thing li.4.cap.16. that the Tyrhenians had taken vp an ill cuſtome to feed twiſe in a daie. Howbeit at the laſt they fell generallie to allow of ſuppers toward the ſetting of the ſunne in all places, becauſe they would haue their whole familie to go to meat together, and whereunto they would appoint their gueſts to come at a certeine length of the ſhadow, to be perceiued in their dials. And this is more to be noted of antiquitie, that if anie man (as Plutarch ſaith) did feed before that time, he incurred a note of reprehenſion as if he had beene gluttonous and giuen vnto the bellie, 8. Sympoſ.6. Their ſlaues in like ſort were glad, when it grew to the tenth foot, for then were they ſure ſoone after to go to meat. In the ſcripture we read of manie ſuppers & few dinners, onelie for that dining was not greatlie vſed in Chriſts time, but taken as a thing latelie ſprong vp, when pampering of the bellie began to take hold, occaſioned by idlenes and great abundance of riches. It is pretie to note in Iuuenal, how he taunteth Marius for that he gaue himſelfe to drinke before the *ninth houre of the daie: for thinking three houres to be too little for the filling of his bellie, he began commonlie at eight, which was an houre too ſoone. Afterwards when gurmandiſe increaſed yet more amongſt the Romans, and from them was diſperſed vnto all nations vnder their ſubiection, it came to paſſe that ſix houres onlie were appointed to worke and conſult in, and the other ſix of the daie to feed and drinke in, as the verſe ſaith:

Sex horæ tantùm rebus tribuantur agendis,
Viuere poſt illas, littera Zetha monet.

Whereunto Maximus Planudes (except my memorie faile me) addeth this ſcholie after his maner, ſaieng that from morning vnto noone (which is ſix of the clocke after the vnequall accompt) each one doth trauell about his neceſſarie affaires, that being doone, he betaketh himſelfe to the refreſhing of his bodie, which is noted and ſet downe by the Greeke letters of the diall (wherewith the Romane horologies were marked, as ours be with their numerall letters) whereby the time is deſcribed; for thoſe which point 7,8,9 and 10 are written with ξ η θ ι, and being ioined yeeld ξηθι, which in Engliſh ſignifieth ſo much as line, as if they ſhould meane, eat that thou maiſt liue. But how Martial diuided his daie, and with him the whole troope of the learned & wiſer ſort, theſe verſes following doo more euidentlie declare:

Prima ſalutantes, atque altera continet horas,
Exercet raucos tertia cauſidicos.
In quintam varios extendit Roma labores,
Sexta quies laſſis, ſeptima finis erit.
Sufficit in nonam nitidis octaua paleſtris,
Imperat extructos frangere nona thoros.
Hora libellorum decima eſt Euphemeorum,
Temperat Ambroſias cum tua cura dapes.
Et bonus æthereo laxatur Nectare Cæſar,
Ingentique tenet pocula parca manu.
Tunc admitte iocos: groſſi timet ire licenti,
Admatutinum noſtra Thaleia Iouem.

Thus we ſee how the ancient maner of the Gentils was to feed but once in the daie, and that toward night, till gluttonie grew on and altered this good cuſtome. I might here remember alſo their maner in pulling off their ſhoes when they ſat downe to meat, whereof Martial ſaith:

Depoſui ſoleas, affertur protinus ingens
Inter lactucas oxygarumq; liber, &c.

And Tullie alſo remembreth where he ſaith *Seruum à pedibus ad te miſi*, which office grew of the ſaid cuſtome, as *Seruus ad limina* did of keeping the doore, though in moſt houſes both theſe were commonlie one mans office, alſo *Ad pocula* of attending on the cup. But becauſe the good writers of our time haue obſerued theſe phraſes and ſuch like with their cauſes and deſcriptions, in their infinite and ſeuerall treatiſes, I ſhall not need to diſcourſe anie farther vpon them. With vs the nobilitie, gentrie, and ſtudents, doo ordinarilie go to dinner at eleuen before noone, and to ſupper at fiue, or betweene fiue and ſix at afternoone. The merchants dine and ſup ſeldome before twelue at noone, and ſix at night eſpeciallie in London. The huſbandmen dine alſo at high noone as they call it, and ſup at ſeuen or eight: but out of the tearme in our vniuerſities the ſcholers dine at ten. As for the poreſt ſort they generallie dine and ſup when they may, ſo that to talke of their order of repaſt, it were but a needleſſe matter. I might here take occaſion alſo to ſet downe the varietie vſed by antiquitie in their beginnings of their diets, wherin almoſt euerie nation had a ſeuerall faſhion, ſome beginning of cuſtome (as we doo in ſummer time) with ſalets at ſupper, and ſome ending with lettice, ſome making their entrie with egs, and ſhutting vp their tables with mulberies, as we doo with fruit and conceits of all ſorts. Diuerſe (as the old Romans) began with a few crops of rue, as the Venetians did with the fiſh called Gobius, the Belgies with butter (or as we doo yet alſo) with butter and egs vpon fiſh daies. But whereas we commonlie begin with the moſt groſſe food, and end with the moſt delicate, the Scot thinking much to leaue the beſt for his meniall ſeruants maketh his entrance at the beſt, ſo that he is ſure therby to leaue the woorſt. We vſe alſo our wines by degrees, ſo that the hoteſt commeth laſt to the table, but to ſtand vpon ſuch toies would ſpend much time, and turne to ſmall profit, wherfore I will deale with other things more neceſſarie for this turne.

Long liuing reprehended.

Li.4.epig.8.

*That is at three of the clocke at afternoone.

Of their apparell and attire.

Chap.7.

AN Engliſhman, indeuoring ſometime to write of our attire, made ſundrie platformes for his purpoſe, ſuppoſing by ſome of them to find out one ſtedfaſt ground whereon to build the ſumme of his diſcourſe. But in the end (like an orator long without exerciſe) when he ſaw what

a difficult peece of worke he had taken in hand, he gaue ouer his trauell, and onelie drue the picture of a naked man, vnto whome he gaue a paire of sheares in the one hand, and a peece of cloth in the other, to the end he should shape his apparell after such fashion as himselfe liked, sith he could find no kind of garment that could please him anie while togither, and this he called an Englishman. Certes this writer (otherwise being a lewd popish hypocrite and vngratious priest) shewed himselfe herein not to be altogether void of iudgement, sith the phantasticall follie of our nation, euen from the courtier to the carter is such, that no forme of apparell liketh vs longer than the first garment is in the wearing, if it continue so long and be not laid aside, to receiue some other trinket newlie deuised by the fickle headed tailors, who couet to haue seuerall trickes in cutting, thereby to draw fond customers to more expense of monie. For my part I can tell better how to inueigh against this enormitie, than describe anie certeintie of our attire: sithence such is our mutabilitie, that to daie there is none to the Spanish guise, to morrow the French toies are most fine and delectable, yer long no such apparell as that which is after the high Almain fashion, by and by the Turkish maner is generallie best liked of, otherwise the Morisco gowns, the Barbarian sleeues, the mandilion worne to Collie weston ward, and the short French breches make such a comelie vesture, that except it were a dog in a doublet, you shall not see anie so disguised, as are my countrie men of England. And as these fashions are diuerse, so likewise it is a world to see the costlinesse and the curiositie: the excesse and the vantie: the pompe and the brauerie: the change and the varietie: and finallie the fickleneſse and the follie that is in all degrees: in somuch that nothing is more constant in England than inconstancie of attire. Oh how much cost is bestowed now adaies vpon our bodies and how little vpon our soules! how manie sutes of apparell hath the one and how little furniture hath the other? how long time is asked in decking vp of the first, and how little space left wherin to feed the later? how curious, how nice also are a number of men and women, and how hardlie can the tailor please them in making it fit for their bodies? how manie times must it be sent backe againe to him that made it? what chafing, what fretting, what reprochfull language doth the poore workeman beare awaie? and manie times when he doth nothing to it at all, yet when it is brought home againe it is verie fit and handsome; then must we put it on, then must the long seames of our hose be set by a plumb-line, then we puffe, then we blow, and finallie sweat till we drop, that our clothes may stand well vpon vs. I will saie nothing of our heads, which sometimes are polled, sometimes curled, or suffered to grow at length like womans lockes, manie times cut off aboue or vnder the eares round as by a woodden dish. Neither will I meddle with our varietie of beards, of which some are shauen from the chin like those of Turks, not a few cut short like to the beard of marques Otto, some made round like a rubbing brush, other with a pique de vant (O fine fashion!) or now and then suffered to grow long, the barbers being growen to be so cunning in this behalfe as the tailors. And therfore if a man haue a leane and streight face, a marquesse Ottons cut will make it broad and large; if it be platter like, a long slender beard will make it seeme the narrower; if he be weasell becked, then much heare left on the cheekes will make the owner loke big like a bowdled hen, and so grim as a goose, if Cornelis of Chelmersford saie true: manie old men do weare no beards at all. Some lustie courtiers also and gentlemen of courage, do weare either rings of gold, stones, or pearle in their eares, whereby they imagine the workmanship of God not to be a little amended. But herein they rather disgrace than adorne their persons, as by their niceneſse in apparell, for which I saie most nations do not vnmustlie deride vs, as also for that we do seeme to imitate all nations round about, vs wherein we be like to the Polypus or Chameleon; and thereunto bestow most cost vpon our arses, & much more than vpon all the rest of our bodies, as women do likewise vpon their heads and shoulders. In women also it is most to be lamented, that they do now farre exceed the lightnesse of our men (who neuertheleſse are transformed from the cap euen to the verie shoo) and such staring attire as in time past was supposed meet for none but light housewiues onelie, is now become an habit for chast and sober matrones. What should I saie of their doublets with pendant codpeeses on the breſt full of iags & cuts, and sleeues of sundrie colours: their galligascons to beare out their bums & make their attire to sit plum round (as they terme it) about them: their fardingals, and diuerslie coloured nether stocks of silke, ierdsete, and such like, whereby their bodies are rather deformed than commended? I haue met with some of these trulles in London so disguised, that it hath passed my skill to discerne whether they were men or women.

Thus it is now come to passe, that women are become men, and men transformed into monsters: and those good gifts which almightie God hath giuen vnto vs to releeue our necessities withall (as a nation turning altogither the grace of God into wantonneſse, for

Luxuriant animi rebus plerunque secundis)

not otherwise bestowed than in all excesse, as if we wist not otherwise how to consume and waſt them. I praie God that in this behalfe our sinne be not like vnto that of Sodoma and Gomorha, whose errors were pride, excesse of diet, and abuse of Gods benefits aboundantlie bestowed vpon them, beside want of charitie toward the poore, and certeine other points which the prophet shutteth vp in silence. Certes the common-wealth cannot be said to florish where these abuses reigne, but is rather oppressed by vnreasonable exactions made vpon rich farmers, and of poore tenants, wherewith to mainteine the same. Neither was it euer merier with England, than when an Englishman was knowne abroad by his owne cloth, and contented himselfe at home with his fine carsie hosen, and a meane flop: his coat, gowne, and cloake of browne blue or puke, with some prettie furniture of veluet or furre, and a doublet of sad tawnie, or blacke veluet, or other comelie silke, without such cuts and gawrish colours as are worne in these daies, and neuer brought in but by the consent of the French, who thinke themselues the gaiest men, when they haue most diuersities of iagges and change of colours about them. Certes of all estates our merchants do least alter their attire, and therefore are most to be commended: for albeit that which they weare be verie fine and costlie, yet in forme and colour it representeth a great peece of the ancient grauitie apperteining to citizens and burgesses, albeit the yonger sort of their wiues both in attire and costlie housekeeping can not tell when and how to make an end, as being women in deed in whome all kind of curiositie is to be found and seene, and in farre greater measure than in women of higher calling. I might here name a sort of hewes deuised for the nonce, wherewith to please phantasticall heads, as gooseturd greene, pease porrige tawnie, popingaie blue, lustie gallant, the diuell in the head (I should saie the hedge) and such like: but I passe them ouer thinking

Much cost vpon the bodie, and little vpon the soule

Beards.

Excesse in women.

Ezechiel.

Attire of merchants.

thinking it ſufficient to haue ſaid thus much of apparell generallie, when nothing can particularlie be ſpoken of anie conſtancie thereof.

Of the high court of parlement, and *authoritie of the ſame.*

Chap. 8.

IN ſpeaking of parlement lawe, I haue in the chapiter precedent ſaid ſomewhat of this high and moſt honorable court. Wherefore it ſhall not need to remember ought here that is there touched: I will onelie ſpeake of other things therefore concerning the eſtate of aſſemblie, whereby the magnificence thereof ſhall be in ſome part better knowne vnto ſuch as ſhall come after vs. This houſe hath the moſt high and abſolute power of the realme, for thereby kings and mightie princes haue from time to time béene depoſed from their thrones, lawes either enacted or abrogated, offendors of all ſorts puniſhed, and corrupted religion either diſannulled or reformed, which commonlie is diuided into two houſes or parts, the higher or vpper houſe conſiſting of the nobilitie, including all euen vnto the baron and biſhop: the lower called the nether houſe of knights, ſquires, gentlemen, and burgeſſes of the commons, with whome alſo the inferior members of the cleargie are ioined, albeit they ſit in diuerſe places, and theſe haue to deale onelie in matters of religion, till it come that they ioine with the reſt in confirmation of all ſuch acts as are to paſſe in the ſame. For without the conſent of the three eſtates, that is, of the nobilitie, cleargie, and laietie, ſildome anie thing is ſaid to be concluded vpon, and brought vnto the prince for his conſent and allowance. To be ſhort, whatſoeuer the people of Rome did in their *Centuriatis* or *Tribunitijs comitijs*, the ſame is and may be done by authoritie of our parlement houſe, which is the head and bodie of all the realme, and the place wherein euerie particular perſon is intended to be preſent, if not by himſelfe, yet by his aduocate or atturneie. For this cauſe alſo any thing ther enacted is not to be miſliked, but obeied of all men without contradiction or grudge. By the ſpace of fortie dais, before this aſſemblie be begun, the prince ſendeth his writs vnto all his nobilitie particularlie, ſummoning them to appeare at the ſaid court. The like he doth to the ſhiriffe of euerie countie; with commandement to chooſe two knights within each of their counties, to giue their aduiſe in the name of the ſhire, likewiſe to euerie citie and towne, that they may chooſe their burgeſſes, which commonlie are men beſt ſkilled in the ſtate of their citie or towne, either for the declaration of ſuch benefits as they want, or to ſhew which waie to reforme ſuch enormities as thorough the practiſes of ill members are practiſed and crept in among them: the firſt being choſen by the gentlemen of the ſhire, the other by the citizens and burgeſſes of euerie citie and towne, whereby that court is furniſhed. The firſt daie of the parlement being come, the lords of the vpper houſe, as well eccleſiaſticall as temporall, do attend vpon the prince, who rideth thither in perſon, as it were to open the dore of their authoritie; and being come into the place, after praiers made, and cauſes ſhewed, wherefore ſome not preſent are inforced to be abſent, each man taketh his place according to his degrée. The houſe it ſelfe is curiouſlie furniſhed with tapiſſerie, and the king being ſet in his throne, the ſpirituall lords take vp the ſide of the houſe which is on the right hand of the prince, and the temporall lords the left, I meane, ſo well dukes and earles, as viſcounts and barons, as I before remembred. In the middeſt and a preſtie diſtance from the prince, lie certeins ſackes ſtuffed with woll or haire, whereon the iudges of the realme, the maſter of the rols, and ſecretaries of eſtate do ſit. Howbeit theſe iudges haue no voice in the houſe, but onelie ſhew what their opinion is of ſuch & ſuch matters as come in queſtion among the lords, if they be commanded ſo to do: as the ſecretaries are to anſwer ſuch letters or things paſſed in the councell, whereof they haue the cuſtodie & knowledge. Finallie, the conſent of this houſe is giuen by each man ſeuerallie, firſt for himſelfe being preſent, then ſeuerallie for ſo manie as he hath letters & proxies directed vnto him, ſaieng onlie, Content or Not content, without any further debating. Of the number aſſembled in the lower houſe, I haue alreadie made a generall report in the chapter precedent, and their particulars ſhall follow here at hand. Theſe therefore being called ouer by name do chooſe a ſpeaker, who is as it were their mouth, and him they preſent vnto the prince, in whom it is either to refuſe or admit him by the lord chancellor, who in the princes name doth anſwer vnto his oration, made at his firſt entrance & preſentation into the houſe, wherein he declareth the good liking that the king hath conceiued of his choiſe vnto that office & function. Being admitted, he maketh fiue requeſts vnto that honorable aſſemblie, firſt that the houſe may (as in times paſt) inioy hir former liberties and priuileges: ſecondlie, that the congregates may frankelie ſhew their minds vpon ſuch matters as are to come in queſtion: thirdlie, that if anie of the lower houſe do giue anie cauſe of offenſe during the continuance of this aſſemblie, that the ſame may inflict ſuch puniſhment vpon the partie culpable, as to the ſaid aſſemblie ſhall be thought conuenient: fourthlie, if anie doubt ſhould ariſe among them of the lower houſe, that he in their name might haue free acceſſe and recourſe vnto his maieſtie & lords of the higher houſe, to be further inſtructed and reſolued in the ſame: fiftlie and laſt, he craueth pardon for himſelfe, if in his going to and fro betweene the houſes, he forget or miſtake anie thing, requiring that he may returne and be better informed in ſuch things as he did faile in without offenſe: vnto which petitions the lord chancellor doth anſwer as appertaineth, and this is done on the firſt daie, or peraduenture the ſecond, if it could not be conuentientlie performed in the firſt.

Beſide the lord chancellor there is another in the vpper houſe called the clerke of the parlement, whoſe office is to read the billes. For euerie thing that commeth in conſultation in either houſe, is firſt put in writing in paper, which being read, he that liſteth riſeth vp and ſpeaketh either with it or againſt it, and ſo one after another ſo long as they ſhall thinke good; that done they go to another, and ſo to the third, &c: the inſtrument ſtill wholie or in part raced or reformed, as cauſe moueth for the amendment of the ſame if the ſubſtance be reputed neceſſarie. In the vpper houſe the lord chancellor demandeth if they will haue it ingroſſed, that is to ſaie, put in parchment, which done, it is read the third time, & after debating of the matter to and fro if the more part doo conclude withall, vpon the vtterance of theſe words, Are ye contented that it be enacted or no? the clerke writeth vnderneath Soit baille aux commons, and ſo when they ſée time they ſend ſuch billes approued to the commons by ſome of them that ſit on the woll ſackes, who comming into the houſe, & demanding licence to ſpeake, doo vſe this kind of words or the like to the ſpeaker, as ſir Thomas Smith doth deliuer

Places of the peeres.

Of the lower houſe.

Speaker.

Petitions of the ſpeaker.

Clerke of the parlement.

Time of ſummons.

Of the vpper houſe.

and set them downe, whose onelie direction I vse, and almost word for word in this chapter, requiting him with the like borowage as he hath vsed toward me in his discourse of the sundrie degrees of estates in the common-wealth of England, which (as I hope) shall be no discredit to his trauell. Master speaker, my lords of the vpper house haue passed amongst them, and thinke good that there should be enacted by parlement such an act, and such an act reading their titles in such sort as he receiued them, they praie you therefore to consider & shew your aduise vpon them. Which done they go their waie, and the doore being shut after them, the speaker declareth what message was sent vnto them, and if they be then void of consultation vpon anie other bill, he presentlie demandeth what their pleasures are, first of one, then of another, &c: which are solemnelie read, or their contents by scrile shewed and then debated vpon among them.

Of the maner of the vpper house.

The speaker sitteth in a chaire erected somewhat higher than the rest, that he may see and be seene of all men, and before him on a lower seat sitteth his clerke, who readeth such bils as be first propounded in the lower house, or sent downe from the lords: for in that point each house hath equall authoritie to propound what they thinke meet, either for the abrogation of old or making of new lawes. All bils be thrise and on diuerse daies read and disputed vpon before they come to the question, which is, whether they shall be ingrossed or not; and in discourse vpon them, verie good order is vsed in the lower house, wherein he that will speake giueth notice thereof by standing vp bare headed. If manie stand vp at once as now & then it happeneth he speaketh first that was first seene to moue out of his place, and telleth his tale vnto the speaker, without rehersall of his name whose speches he meaneth to confute, so that with a perpetuall oration & not with altercation these discourses are continued. But as the partie confuted may not replie on that date, so one man can not speake twise to one bill in one date though he would change his opinion, but on the next he may speake againe, & yet but once as afore. No bile, seditious, vntoward or biting words are vsed in this assemblie, yet if anie happen to escape and be vttered, the partie is punished according to the censure of the assemblie and custome in that behalfe. In the afternoone they sit not except vpon some vrgent occasion, neither hath the speaker anie voice in that house, wherewith to moue or dissuade the furtherance or stai of anie bill, but his office is vpon the reading thereof briefle to declare the contents. If anie bill passe, which commeth vnto them from the lords, it is thus subscribed, *Les communs ont assentus*: so if the lords agree vpon anie bill sent vnto them from the commons, it is subscribed after this maner, *Les seigneurs ont assentus*. If it be not agreed on after thrise reading, there is conference required and had betweene the vpper and nether houses, by certeine appointed for that purpose vpon the points in question, whereupon if no finall agreement by the more part can be obteined, the bill is dashed and reiected, or as the saieng is cleane cast out of the doores. None of the nether house can giue his voice by proxie but in his owne person, and after the bill twise read, then ingrossed and the third time read againe & discoursed vpon, the speaker asketh if they will go to the question, whereunto if they agree he holdeth vp the bill & saith: So manie as will haue this bill go forward saie Yea: hereupon so manie as allow of the thing crie Yea, the other No, & as the crie is more or lesse on either side, so is the bill to stand or else go forward. If the number of negatiue and affirmatiue voices seeme to be equall, so manie as allow of the bill go downe withall, the rest sit still, and being told by the poll the greater part do carrie away the matter. If something be allowed and in some part reiected, the bill is put to certeine committees to be amended, & then being brought in againe, it is read and passeth or staieth as the voices yeld thereto. This is the order of the passage of our lawes, which are not ratified till both houses haue agreed vnto them, and yet not holden for law till the prince haue giuen his assent. Vpon the last date therefore of the parlement or session, the prince commeth in person againe into the house, in his robes as at the first. Where after thanks giuen to the prince, first in the name of the lords by the lord chancellor, then in the name of the commons by the speaker for his great care of the welfare of his realme, &c: the lord chancellor in the princes name giueth thanks to the lords & commons likewise for their paines, with promise of recompense as opportunitie & occasion shall serue therefore. This done one readeth the title of euerie act passed in that session, and then it is noted vpon them what the prince doth allow of with these words, *Le roy veult*. If the prince like not of them, it is written vpon them *Le roy aduisera*. And so those acts are dashed, as the other from thenceforth are taken and holden for law, and all imprinted except such as concerne some priuat persons, which are onelie exemplified vnder the seale of the parlement, as priuileges to his vse. And this is the somme of the maner after which our parlements in England are holden, without which no forfaiture of life, member or lands of anie Englishman, where no law is ordeined for the same before hand, is available or can take place amongst vs. And so much in maner out of the third chapiter of the second booke of the common-wealth of England written by sir Thomas Smith: vnto which I will annex a table of the counties, cities, boroughs and ports which send knights, burgesses, and barons to the parlement house, and doth insue as followeth.

The names of counties, cities, boroughs, and ports, sending knights, citizens, burgesses, and barons to the parlement of England.

Bedford.

Knights. 2
The borough of Bedford. 2

Buckingham.

Knights. 2
The borough of Buckingham. 2
The borough of Wickombe. 2
The borough of Ailesburie. 2

Berkeshire.

Knights. 2
The borough of New Windsore. 2
The borough of Reading. 2
The borough of Wallingford. 2
The borough of Abington. 2

Cornewall.

Knights. 2
The borough of Launceston alias Newport. 2
The borough of Leskerd. 2
The borough of Lostwithiell. 2
The borough of Dunheuet. 2
The borough of Truro. 2
The borough of Bodmin. 2
The borough of Helston. 2
The borough of Saltash. 2
The borough of Camelford. 2
The borough of Portighsam alias Portlow. 2
The borough of Graunpount.
The borough of Calstow. 2
The borough of Pourie. 2
The borough of Tregonie. 2
The borough of Trebenna alias Bossinnie. 2
The borough of S. Ies. 2

The

The borough of Folwaie. 2
The borough of Germine. 2
The borough of Michell. 2
The borough of saint Maries. 2

Cumberland.

Knights. 2
The citie of Caerleill. 2

Cambridge.

Knights. 2
The borough of Cambridge. 2

Chester.

Knights. 2
The citie of Chester. 2

Darbie.

Knights. 2
The borough of Darbie. 2

Deuon.

Knights. 2
The citie of Excester. 2
The borough of Totnes. 2
The borough of Plimmouth. 2
The borough of Bardneastable. 2
The borough of Plimton. 2
The borough of Tauestocke. 2
The borough of Dartmouth, Clifton, and Yerdines. 2

Dorsetshire.

Knights. 2
The borough of Powle. 2
The borough of Dorchester. 2
The borough of Linne. 2
The borough of Melcombe. 2
The borough of Waiemouth. 2
The borough of Bu[illegible] 2
The borough of Sh[illegible] 2
The borough of W[illegible] 2

Essex.

Knights. 2
The borough of Co[illegible] 2
The borough of Ma[illegible] 2

York[illegible]

Knights. 2
The citie of Yorke[illegible] 2
The borough of Kin[illegible] 2
The borough of Kin[illegible] 2
The borough of Sku[illegible] 2
The borough of Rippon. 2
The borough of Hudon. 2
The borough of Borroughbridge. 2
The borough of Thuske. 2
The borough of Aldeborough. 2
The borough of Beuerleie. 2

Gloucestershire.

Knights. 2
The citie of Gloucester. 2
The borough of Cirencester. 2

Huntingtonshire.

Knights. 2
The borough of Huntingdon. 2

Hertfordshire.

Knights. 2
The borough of saint Albons. 2

Herefordshire.

Knights. 2
The citie of Hereford. 2
The borough of Lempster. 2

Kent.

Knights. 2
The citie of Canturburie. 2
The citie of Rochester. 2
The borough of Maidstone. 2
The borough of Quinborough. 2

Lincolne.

Knights. 2
The citie of Lincolne. 2
The borough of Boltone. 2
The borough of great Grimesbie. 2
The borough of Stamford. 2
The borough of Grantham. 2

Leicestershire.

Knights. 2
The borough of Leicester. 2

Lancastershire.

Knights. 2
The borough of Lancaster. 2
The borough of Preston in Andernes. 2
The borough of Liuerpoole. 2
The borough of Newton. 2
The borough of Wigan. 2
The borough of Clithero. 2

Middlesex.

Knights. 2
The citie of London. 4
The citie of Westminster. 2

Monmouth.

Knights. 2
The borough of Monmouth. 1

Northhampton.

Knights. 2
The citie of Peterborough. 2
The borough of Northhampton. 2
The borough of Barkleie. 2
The borough of Higham Ferres. 1

Notingham.

Knights. 2
The borough of Notingham. 2
The borough of Elkreatford, 2

2
2
2

[illegible]ernemouth, 2
[illegible]. 2
[illegible]Rising. 2
[illegible]erland.

2
[illegible]ckell vpon Tine, 2
[illegible]h. 2
[illegible]e. 2

Knights. 2
The citie of Orford. 2
The borough of Bamburie. 2
The borough of Woodstocke. 2

Rutland.

Knights. 2

Surreie.

Knights. 2
The borough of Southwarke. 2
The borough of Blechingleigh. 2
The borough of Rigate. 2
The borough of Guildford. 2
The borough of Gatton. 2

Stafford.

Knights. 2
The citie of Lichfield. 2
The borough of Stratford. 2
The borough of Newcastell vnder Linne. 2
The borough of Tamworth. 2

Salop.

Knights. 2
The borough of Salop. 2
The borough of Bruges *alias* Bridgenorth. 2
The borough of Ludlow. 2
The borough of Wenlocke. 2

Southhampton.

Knights. 2
The citie of Winton. 2

The borough of Fowaie. 2
The borough of Germine. 2
The borough of Michell. 2
The borough of ſaint Maries. 2

Cumberland.

Knights. 2
The citie of Caerleill. 2

Cambridge.

Knights. 2
The borough of Cambridge. 2

Cheſter.

Knights. 2
The citie of Cheſter. 2

Darbie.

Knights. 2
The borough of Darbie. 2

Deuon.

Knights. 2
The citie of Exceſter. 2
The borough of Totnes. 2
The borough of Plimmouth. 2
The borough of Bardneſtable. 2
The borough of Plimton. 2
The borough of Tauiſtocke. 2
The borough of Dartmouth, Clifton, and Yerdines. 2

Dorſetſhire.

Knights. 2
The borough of Poole. 2
The borough of Dorcheſter. 2
The borough of Linne. 2
The borough of Melcombe. 2
The borough of Watemouth. 2
The borough of Burepoꝛt. 2
The borough of Shafteſburie. 2
The borough of Warham. 2

Eſſex.

Knights. 2
The borough of Colcheſter. 2
The borough of Malden. 2

Yorkeſhire.

Knights. 2
The citie of Yorke. 2
The borough of Kingſton vpon Hull. 2
The borough of Knareſborough. 2
The borough of Skardborough. 2
The borough of Ripon. 2
The borough of Hudon. 2
The borough of Borroughbridge. 2
The borough of Thuſke. 2
The borough of Aldeborough. 2
The borough of Beuerleie. 2

Glocesterſhire.

Knights. 2
The citie of Gloceſter. 2
The borough of Cirenceſter. 2

Huntingtonſhire.

Knights. 2
The borough of Huntingdon. 2

Hertfordſhire.

Knights. 2
The borough of ſaint Albons. 2

Herefordſhire.

Knights. 2
The citie of Hereford. 2
The borough of Lempſter. 2

Kent.

Knights. 2
The citie of Canturburie. 2
The citie of Rocheſter. 2
The borough of Maidſtone. 2
The borough of Quinborough. 2

Lincolne.

Knights. 2
The citie of Lincolne. 2
The borough of Boſtone. 2
The borough of great Grimeſbie. 2
The borough of Stamford. 2
The borough of Grantham. 2

Leiceſterſhire.

Knights. 2
The borough of Leiceſter. 2

Lancaſterſhire.

Knights. 2
The borough of Lancaſter. 2
The borough of Preſton in Andernes. 2
The borough of Liuerpoole. 2
The borough of Newton. 2
The borough of Wigan. 2
The borough of Clithero. 2

Middleſex.

Knights. 2
The citie of London. 4
The citie of Weſtminſter. 2

Monmouth.

Knights. 2
The borough of Monmouth. 1

Northhampton.

Knights. 2
The citie of Peterborough. 2
The borough of Northhampton. 2
The borough of Barkleie. 2
The borough of Higham Ferres. 1

Notingham.

Knights. 2
The borough of Notingham. 2
The borough of Elkreatford. 2

Norffolke.

Knights. 2
The citie of Norwich. 2
The borough of Linne. 2
The borough of great Iernemouth. 2
The borough of Thetford. 2
The borough of caſtell Riſing. 2

Northumberland.

Knights. 2
The borough of New caſtell vpon Tine. 2
The borough of Morpeth. 2
The borough of Barwike. 2

Oxford.

Knights. 2
The citie of Oxford. 2
The borough of Bamburie. 2
The borough of Woodſtocke. 2

Rutland.

Knights. 2

Surreie.

Knights. 2
The borough of Southwarke. 2
The borough of Blechingleigh. 2
The borough of Rigate. 2
The borough of Guildford. 2
The borough of Gatton. 2

Stafford.

Knights. 2
The citie of Lichfield. 2
The borough of Stratford. 2
The borough of New caſtell vnder Linne. 2
The borough of Tamworth. 2

Salop.

Knights. 2
The borough of Salop. 2
The borough of Bruges *alias* Bridgenorth. 2
The borough of Ludlow. 2
The borough of Wenlocke. 2

Southhampton.

Knights. 2
The citie of Winton. 2

The boꝛough of Southhampton. 2
The boꝛough of Poꝛteſmouth. 2
The boꝛough of Peterſield. 2
The boꝛough of Stockebꝛidge. 2
The boꝛough of Chꝛiſt church. 2

Suffolke.

Knights. 2
The boꝛough of Ippeſwich. 2
The boꝛough of Dunwich. 2
The boꝛough of Oꝛtford. 2
The boꝛough of Aldebꝛough. 2
The boꝛough of Sudburie. 2
The boꝛough of Eya. 2

Summerſet.

Knights. 2
The citie of Bꝛiſtow. 2
The citie of Bath. 2
The citie of Welles. 2
The boꝛough of Taunton. 2
The boꝛough of Bꝛidgewater. 2
The boꝛough of Winched. 2

Suſſex.

Knights. 2
The citie of Chicheſter. 2
The boꝛough of Hoꝛſham. 2
The boꝛough of Midhuꝛſt. 2
The boꝛough of Lewes. 2
The boꝛough of Shoꝛham. 2
The boꝛough of Bꝛember. 2
The boꝛough of Stening. 2
The boꝛough of Eaſtgreneſtæd. 2
The boꝛough of Arundell. 2

Weſtmerland.

Knights. 2
The boꝛough of Appulbie. 2

Wilton.

Knights. 2
The citie of New Sarum. 2
The boꝛough of Wilton. 2
The boꝛough of Dounton. 2
The boꝛough of Hindon. 2
The boꝛough of Hetteſburie. 2
The boꝛough of Weſtburie. 2
The boꝛough of Caine. 2
The boꝛough of Deuiſes. 2
The boꝛough of Chipenham. 2
The boꝛough of Malmeſburie. 2
The boꝛough of Cricklade. 2
The boꝛough of Budwin. 2
The boꝛough of Ludgeſale. 2
The boꝛough of Old Sarum. 2
The boꝛough of Wotton Baſſet. 2
The boꝛough of Marleboꝛough. 2

Worceſter.

Knights. 2
The citie of Woꝛceſter. 2
The boꝛough of Withe. 2

Warwike.

Knights. 2
The citie of Couentrie. 2
The boꝛough of Warwike. 2

Barons of the ports.

Haſtings. 2
Winchelſeie. 2
Rie. 2
Rumneie. 2
Hithe. 2
Douer. 2
Sandwich. 2

Mountgomerie.

Knights. 1
The boꝛough of Mountgomerie. 1

Flint.

Knights. 1
The boꝛough of Flint. 1

Denbigh.

Knights. 1
The boꝛough of Denbigh. 1

Merionneth.

Knights. 1
The boꝛough of Hauerfoꝛdweſt. 1

Carneruan.

Knights. 1
The boꝛough of Carneruan. 1

Angleſeie.

Knights. 1
The boꝛough of Beaumares. 1

Carmarden.

Knights. 1
The boꝛough of new Carmarden. 1

Pembroke.

Knights. 1
The boꝛough of Pembꝛoke. 1

Cairdigan.

Knights. 1
The boꝛough of Cairdigan. 1

Brecknoch.

Knights. 1
The boꝛough of Bꝛecknoch. 1

Radnor.

Knights. 1
The boꝛough of Radnoꝛ. 1

Glamorgan.

Knights. 1
The boꝛough of Cardiffe. 1

¶ The ſumme of the foꝛeſaid number of the common houſe *videlicet*, of

Knights. 90.
Citizens. 46.
Burgeſſes. 289.
Barons. 14.
432.

Of the lawes of England ſince hir *firſt inhabitation*.

Chap. 9.

THat Samothes oꝛ Dis gaue the firſt lawes to the Celtes (whoſe kingdome he erected about the fifteenth of Nimbꝛote) the teſtimonie of Beroſus is pꝛoofe ſufficient. Foꝛ he not onelie affirmeth him to publiſh the ſame in the fourth of Ninus, but alſo addeth thereto, how there liued none in his daies of moꝛe excellent wiſdome, noꝛ politike inuention than he, whereof he was named Samothes, as ſome other do affirme. What his lawes were, it is now altogither vnknowne, as moſt things of this age; but that they were altered againe at the comming of Albion, no man can abſolutelie denie, ſith new loꝛds vſe commonlie to giue new lawes, and conqueroꝛs aboliſh ſuch as were in vſe beforе them. Samothes. Albion.

The like alſo may be affirmed of our Bꝛute, notwithſtanding that the certeine knowledge ſo well of the one as of the other is periſhed, and nothing woꝛthie memoꝛie left of all their doings. Some what yet we haue of Mulmutius, who not onelie ſubdued ſuch pꝛinces as reigned in this land, but alſo bꝛought the realme to good oꝛder, that long before had beene toꝛne with ciuill diſcoꝛd. But where his lawes are to be found, and which they be from other mens, no man liuing in theſe daies is able to determine. Bꝛute. Mulmutius.

Certes

Certes, there was neuer prince in Britaine, of whome his ſubiects conceiued better hope in the beginning, than of Bladudus, and yet I read of none that made ſo ridiculous an end: in like ſort there hath not reigned anie monarch in this Ile, whoſe waies were more feared at the firſt, than thoſe of Dunwallon (king Henrie the fift excepted) and yet in the end he proued ſuch a prince, as after his death there was in maner no ſubiect, that did not lament his funerals. And this onelie for his policie in gouernance, ſeuere adminiſtration of iuſtice, and prouident framing of his lawes and conſtitutions, for the gouernment of his ſubiects. His people alſo, coueting to continue his name vnto poſteritie, inſtituled thoſe his ordinances according to their maker, calling them by the name of the lawes of Mulmutius, which indured in execution among the Britons, ſo long as our homelings had the dominion of this Ile. Afterward when the comeling Saxons had once obteined the ſuperioritie of the kingdom, the maieſtie of thoſe lawes fell for a time into ſuch decaie, that although *Non penitùs cecidit, tamen potuit cecidiſſe videri*, as Leland ſaith, and the decrées themſelues had vtterlie periſhed in déed at the verie firſt brunt, had they not bæne preſerued in Wales, where they remained amongſt the relikes of the Britons, & not onlie vntill the comming of the Normans, but euen vntill the time of Edward the firſt, who obteining the ſouereigntie of that portion, indeuoured verie earneſtlie to extinguiſh thoſe of Mulmutius, and to eſtabliſh his owne.

The praiſe of Dunwallon.

But as the Saxons at their firſt arriuall did what they could to aboliſh the Britiſh lawes, ſo in proceſſe of time they yéelded a little to relent, & not ſo much to abhorre and miſlike of the lawes of Mulmutius, as to receiue and imbrace the ſame, eſpeciallie at ſuch time as the ſaid Saxon princes entered into amitie with the Britiſh nobilitie, and after that began to ioine in matrimonie with the Britiſh ladies, as the Britiſh barons did with the Saxon frowes, both by an eſpeciall ſtatute and decrée, wherof in another treatiſe I haue made mention at large. Héerof alſo it came to paſſe in the end, that they were contented to make a choiſe, and inſert no ſmall numbers of them into their owne volumes, as may be gathered by thoſe of Athelbert the great, ſurnamed king of Kent, Inas and Alfred kings of the weſt Saxons, and diuerſe other yet extant to be ſéene. Such alſo was the lateward eſtimation of them, that when anie of the Saxon princes went about to make new ordinances, they cauſed thoſe of Mulmucius (which Gildas ſometime tranſlated into Latine) to be firſt expounded vnto them, and in this peruſall if they found anie there alreadie framed, that might ſerue their turnes, they forthwith reuiued the ſame, and annexed them to their owne.

But in this dealing, the diligence of Alfred is moſt of all to be commended, who not onelie choſe out the beſt, but gathered togither all ſuch whatſoeuer the ſaid Mulmutius had made: and then to the end they ſhould lie no more in corners as forlorne bookes, and vnknowne to the learned of his kingdome, he cauſed them to be turned into the Saxon tong, wherein they continued long after his decreaſe.

As for the Normans, who for a ſeaſon neither regarded the Britiſh, nor cared for the Saxon ſtatutes, they alſo at the firſt vtterlie miſliked of them, till at the laſt, when they had well weied that one kind of regiment is not conuenient for all peoples, and that no ſtranger, being in a forren countrie newlie brought vnder obedience, could make ſuch equall ordinances, as he might thereby gouerne his new common-wealth without ſome care & trouble: they fell in with ſuch a deſire to ſée by what rule the ſtate of the land was gouerned in time of the Saxons, that hauing peruſed the ſame, they not onelie commended their maner of regiment, but alſo admitted a great part of their lawes (now currant vnder the name of S. Edwards lawes, and vſed as principles and grounds) whereby they not onelie qualified the rigor of their owne, and mitigated their almoſt intollerable burden of ſeruitude which they had latelie laid vpon the ſhoulders of the Engliſh, but alſo left vs a great number of the old Mulmutian lawes, whereof the moſt part are in vſe to this daie as I ſaid, albeit that we know not certeinlie how to diſtinguiſh them from others, that are in ſtrength amongſt vs.

After Dunwallon, the next lawgiuer was Martia, whome Leland ſurnameth Proba; and after him John Bale alſo, who in his Centuries doth iuſtlie confeſſe himſelfe to haue bæne holpen by the ſaid Leland, as I my ſelfe do likewiſe for manie things conteined in this treatiſe. Shée was wife vnto Guteline king of the Britons: and being made protectriz of the realme, after hir huſbands deceaſſe in the nonage of hir ſonne, and ſéeing manie things dailie to grow vp among hir people worthie reformation, ſhe deuiſed ſundrie and thoſe verie politike lawes, for the gouernance of hir kingdome, which hir ſubiects when ſhe was dead and gone, did name the Martian ſtatutes. Who turned them into Latine, as yet I do not read, howbeit (as I ſaid before of the lawes of Mulmutius) ſo the ſame Alfred cauſed thoſe of this excellentlie well learned ladie (whome diuerſe commend alſo for hir great knowledge in the Grécke tong) to be turned into his owne language, whereupon it came to paſſe that they were dailie executed among his ſubiects, afterward allowed of (among the reſt) by the Normans, and finallie remaine in vſe in theſe our daies, notwithſtanding that we can not diſſeuer them alſo verie readilie from the other.

Martia.

The ſeuenth alteration of lawes was practiſed by the Saxons, for I ouerpaſſe the vſe of the ciuill ordinances vſed in Rome, finallie brought hither by the Romans, & yet in perfect notice among the Ciuillians of our countrie, though neuer generallie nor fullie receiued by all the ſeuerall regions of this Iland. Certes there are great numbers of theſe later, which yet remaine in ſound knowlege, and are to be read, being comprehended for the moſt part vnder the names of the Martian and the Saxon law. Beſide theſe alſo I read of the Dane law, ſo that the people of middle England were ruled by the firſt, the weſt Saxons by the ſecond; as Eſſex, Norffolke, Suffolke, Cambridgeſhire, and part of Herfordſhire were by the third, of all the reſt the moſt inequall and intollerable. And as in theſe daies what ſoeuer the prince in publike aſſemblie commanded vpon the neceſſitie of his ſubiects, or his owne voluntarie authoritie, was counted for law: ſo none of them had apointed anie certeine place, whereunto his people might repaire at fixed times for iuſtice, but cauſed them to reſort commonlie to their palaces, where in proper perſon they would often determine their cauſes, and ſo make ſhorteſt worke, or elſe commit the ſame to the hearing of other, and ſo diſpatch them awaie. Neither had they any houſe appointed to aſſemble in for the making of their ordinances, as we haue now at Weſtminſter. Wherefore Edmund gaue lawes at London & Lincolne, Ethelred at Yabam, Alfred at Woodſtock and Wannetting, Athelſtane in Exceſter, Grecklade, Feuerſham, & Thunderſleie, Canutus at Wincheſter, &c: other in other places, whereof this may ſuffice.

Martian law. Saxon law. Dane law.

Among other things alſo vſed in the time of the Saxons, it ſhall not be amiſſe to ſet downe the forme of their Ordalian law, which they brought hither with

with them from beyond the seas out of Scithia, and vsed onelie in the triall of guiltie and vnguiltinesse. Certes it conteined not an ordinarie proceeding by daies and termes, as in the ciuill and common law we see practised in these daies; but a short dispatch & triall of the matter by fire or water, whereof at this present I will deliuer the circumstance, as I haue faithfullie translated it out of an ancient volume, and conferred with an imprinted copie, latelie published by M. Lambert, and now extant to be read. Neuertheless, as the Scithians were the first that vsed this practise, so I read that it was taken vp and occupied also in France in processe of time, yea and likewise in Grecia, as G. Pachymerus remembreth in the first booke of his historie (which beginneth with the empire of M. Paleologus) where he noteth his owne sight and view in that behalfe. But what stand I hereupon?

Ordalian law.

Fire.

The Ordalian (saith the aforesaid author) was a certeine maner of purgation vsed two wates, whereof the one was by fire, the other by water. In the execution of that which was done by fire, the partie accused should go a certeine number of pases, with an hot iron in his hand, or else bare foted vpon certeine plough shares red hot, according to the maner. This iron was sometime of one pound weight, and then was it called single Ordalium, sometimes of three, and then named treble Ordalium, and whosoeuer did beare or tread on the same without hurt of his bodie he was adiudged giltlesse, otherwise if his skin were scorched, he was forthwith condemned as guiltie of the trespasse whereof he was accused, according to the proportion and quantitie of the burning.

Water.

There were in like sort two kinds of triall by the water, that is to say, either by hot or cold: and in this triall the partie thought culpable, was either tumbled into some pond or huge vessell of cold water, wherein if he continued for a season, without wrestling or strugling for life, he was forthwith acquited as guiltlesse of the fact wherof he was accused: but if he began to plunge, and labour once for breath immediatlie vpon his falling into that liquor, he was by and by condemned as guiltie of the crime. Or else he did thrust his arme vp to the shoulder into a lead, copper, or caldron of sething water, from whence if he withdrew the same without anie maner of damage, he was discharged of further molestation: otherwise he was taken for a trespasser, and punished accordinglie. The fierie maner of purgation belonged onelie to noble men and women, and such as were free borne: but the husbandmen and villaines were tried by water. Wherof to shew the vnlearned dealing and blind ignorance of those times, it shall not be impertinent to set forth the whole maner, which continued here in England vntill the time of king Iohn, who seeing the manifold subtilties in the same (by sundrie sorcerous and artificiall practises whereby the working of the said elements were restreined) did extinguish it altogither as flat lewdnesse and bouerie. The Rubrike of the treatise entereth thus: Here beginneth the execution of iustice, whereby the giltie or vngiltie are tried by hot iron. Then it followeth: After accusation lawfullie made, and three daies spent in fasting and praier, the priest being clad in all his holie vestures, sauing his vestiment, shall take the iron laid before the altar with a paire of tongs, and singing the hymne of the three children, that is to saie, O all ye workes of God the Lord, and in Latine *Benedicite omnia opera, &c.* he shall carie it solemnelie to the fire (alreadie made for that purpose) and first saie these words ouer the place where the fire is kindled, whereby this purgation shall be made in Latine as insueth: *Benedic Domine Deus locum istum, vt sit nobis in eo sanitas, sanctitas, castitas, virtus, & victoria, & sanctimonia, humilitas, benitas, lenitas, & plenitudo legis, & obedientia Deo patri, & filio, & spiritui sancto. Hac benedictio sit super hunc locum, & super omnes habitantes in eo.* In English: Bless thou O Lord this place, that it may be to vs health, holinesse, chastitie, vertue, and victorie, pureness, humilitie, goodnesse, gentleness, and fulnesse of the law, and obedience to God the father, the sonne, and the holie ghost. This blessing be vpon this place, and all that dwell in it. Then followeth the blessing of the fire.

Domine Deus pater omnipotens, lumen indeficiens, exaudi nos, quia tu es conditor omnium luminum. Benedic Domine hoc lumen, quod ante sanctificatum est, qui illuminasti omnem hominem venientem in hunc mundum (vel mundum) vt ab eo lumine accendamur igne claritatis tuæ. Et sicut igne illuminasti Mosen, ita nunc illumina corda nostra, & sensus nostros, vt ad vitam æternam mereamur peruenire, per Christum, &c. Lord God father almightie, light euerlasting, heare vs, sith thou art the maker of all lights. Bless O Lord this light, that is alreadie sanctified in thy sight, which hast lightned all men that come into the world (or the whole world) to the end that by the same light we may be lightned with the shining of thy brightnesse. As thou diddest lighten Moses, so now illuminate our hearts, and our senses, that we may deserue to come to euerlasting life, through Christ our, &c. This being ended let him say the *Pater noster, &c.*: then these words: *Saluum fac seruum, &c. Mitte ei auxilium Deus, &c. De Sion tuere eum, &c. Dominus vobiscum, &c.* That is, O Lord saue thy seruant, &c. Send him helpe O God from thy holie place, &c. Defend him out of Sion, &c. Lord heare, &c. The Lord be with you, &c.

The praier. *Benedic Domine sancte pater, omnipotens Deus, per inuocationem sanctissimi nominis tui, & per aduentum filij tui, atque per donum spiritus paracleti, ad manifestandum verum iudicium tuum, hoc genus metalli, vt sit sanctificatum, & omni dæmonum falsitate precul remota, veritas veri iudicij tui fidelibus tuis manifesta fiat, per eundem Dominum, &c.* In English: Bless we beseech thee O Lord, holie father, euerlasting God, through the inuocation of thy most holie name, by the comming of thy sonne, and gift of the holie ghost, and to the manifestation of thy true iudgement, this kind of mettall, that being hallowed, and all fraudulent practises of the diuels vtterlie remoued, the manifest truth of thy true iudgement may be reuealed, by the same Lord Iesus, &c.

After this, let the iron be laid into the fire, and sprinkled with holie water, and whilest it heateth, let the priest go to masse, and doo as order requireth: and when he hath receiued the host, he shall call the man that is to be purged (as it is written hereafter) first adiuring him, and then permitting him to communicate according to the maner.

The office of the masse.

Iustus es Domine, &c. O Lord thou art iust, &c.

The Praier.

Absolue quæsumus Domine delicta famuli tui, vt à peccatorum suorum nexibus, quæ pro sua fragilitate contraxit, tua benignitate liberetur, & in hoc iudicio quoad meruit, iustitia tua præueniente, ad veritatis censuram peruenire mereatur, per Christum Dominum, &c. That is: Pardon we beseech thee O Lord, the sinnes of thy seruant, that being deliuered from the burden of his offenses, wherewith he is intangled, he may be cleared by thy benignitie, and in this his triall (so far as he hath deserued, thy mercie preuenting him) he may come to the knowledge of the truth, by Christ our Lord, &c.

The Gospell. Mar. 10.

In illo tempore, cùm egressus esset Iesus in via, procurrens quidam genuflexo ante eum, rogabat eum dicens, Magister bone,

bone, quid faciam vt vitam æternam percipiam? Ieſus autem dixit ei, Quid me dicis bonum? &c. **In thoſe daies when Ieſus went forth toward his iournete, and one méeting him in the waie running, and kneéling vnto him, aſked him ſaieng: Good maſter what ſhall I do that I may poſſeſſe eternall life? Ieſus ſaid vnto him, Whie calleſt thou me good? &c.** Then followeth the ſecret, and ſo forth all of the reſt of the maſſe. But before the partie dooth communicate, the prieſt ſhall vſe theſe words vnto him: *Adiuro te per patrem, & filium, & ſpiritum ſanctum, & per veram chriſtianitatem quam ſuſcepiſti, & per ſanctas relliquias quæ in iſta eccleſia ſunt, & per baptiſmum quo te ſacerdos regenerauit, vt non præſumas vllo modo communicare, neq; accedere ad altare, ſi hoc feciſti aut conſenſiſti, &c.* **I adiure thée by the father, the ſonne, and the holie Ghoſt, by the true chriſtendome which thou haſt receiued, by the holie relikes which are in this church, and by the baptiſme wherewith the prieſt hath regenerated thée, that thou preſume not by any maner of meanes to communicate, nor come about the altar, if thou haſt done or conſented vnto this, whereof thou art accuſed, &c.** Here let the prieſt ſuffer him to communicate, ſaieng; *Corpus hoc, & ſanguis Domini noſtri Ieſu Chriſti, ſit tibi ad probationem hodie.* **This bodie & this bloud of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, be vnto thee a triall this daie.** The praier: *Perceptis Domine Deus noſter ſacris muneribus, ſupplices deprecamur, vt huius participatio ſacramenti à proprijs nos reatibus expediat, & in famulo tuo veritatis ſententiam declaret, &c.* **Hauing receiued O Lord God theſe holie myſteries, we humblie beſéech thée that the participation of this ſacrament may rid vs of our guiltineſſe, and in this thy ſeruant ſet forth the truth.** Then ſhall follow *Kyrie-leſon*, the Letanie, and certeine Pſalmes, and after all them *Oremus*: Let vs praie. *Deus qui per ignem ſigna magna oſtendens, Abraham puerum tuum de incendio Chaldæorum quibuſdam pereuntibus eruiſti, Deus qui rubum arderé ante conſpectum Moſis & minimè comburi permiſiſti, Deus qui de incendio fornacis Chaldaicis pleriſque ſuccenſis, tres pueros tuos illæſos eduxiſti, Deus qui incendio ignis populum Sodomæ inuoluens, Loth famulum tuum cum ſuis ſalute donaſti, Deus qui in aduentu ſancti ſpiritus tui, illuſtratione ignis fideles tuos ab infidelibus decreuiſti: oſtende nobis in hoc prauitatis noſtræ examine virtutem eiuſdem ſpiritus, &c: & per ignis huius feruorem diſcernere infideles, vt à tactu eius cuius inquiſitio agitur, conſcius exhorreſcat, & manus eius comburatur, innocens verò pœnitus illæſus permaneat, &c. Deus cuius noticiam nulla vnquam ſecreta effugiunt, fidei noſtræ tua bonitate reſponde, & præſta vt quiſquis purgandi ſe gratia, hoc ignitum tulerit ferrum, vel abſoluatur vt innocens, vel noxius detegatur, &c.* In Engliſh thus: **O God, which in ſhewing great tokens by fire diddeſt deliuer Abraham thy ſeruant from the burning of the Chaldeis, whileſt other periſhed; O God which ſuffereddſt the buſh to burne in the ſight of Moſes, and yet not to conſume; O God which deliuereddſt the three children from bodilie harme in the fornace of the Chaldeis, whileſt diuerſe were conſumed; O God which by fire didſt wrap the people of Sodome in their deſtruction, and yet ſauedſt Lot and his daughters from perill; O God which by the ſhining of thy brightneſſe at the comming of the holie ghoſt in likeneſſe of fire, diddeſt ſeparate the faithfull from ſuch as beléeued not: ſhew vnto vs in the triall of this our wickedneſſe, the power of the ſame ſpirit, &c: and by the heat of this fire diſcerne the faithfull from the vnfaithfull, that the guiltie whoſe cauſe is now in triall, by touching thereof, may tremble and feare, and his hand be burned, or being innocent, that he may remaine in ſafetie, &c. O God from whom no ſecrets are hidden, let thy goodneſſe anſwer to our faith, and grant that whoſoeuer in this purgation, ſhall touch and beare this iron, may either be tried an innocent, or reuealed as an offendor, &c.** After this the prieſt ſhall ſprinkle the iron with holie water, ſaieng: **The bleſſing of God the father, the ſonne, and the holie ghoſt, be vpon this iron, to the reuelation of the iuſt iudgement of God.** And forthwith let him that is accuſed beare it, by the length of nine foot, and then let his hand be wrapped and ſealed vp for the ſpace of three daies: after this if any corruption or raw fleſh appeare where the iron touched it, let him be condemned as guiltie: if it be whole and ſound, let him giue thanks to God. **And thus much of the firie** Ordalia, **whereunto that of the water hath ſo preciſe relation, that in ſetting forth of the one, I haue alſo deſcribed the other, wherefore it ſhall be but in vaine to deale anie further withall.** Water.

Hitherto alſo (as I thinke) ſufficientlie of ſuch lawes as were in vſe before the conqueſt. Now it reſteth that I ſhould declare the order of thoſe, that haue béene made and receiued ſince the comming of the Normans, referred to the eight alteration or change of our maner of gouernance, and therevnto do produce three ſcore and foure ſeuerall courts. But forasmuch as I am no lawier, and therefore haue but little ſkill to proceed in the ſame accordinglie, it ſhall ſuffice to ſet downe ſome generall diſcourſe of ſuch as are vſed in our daies, and ſo much as I haue gathered by report and common heare-ſaie.

Ciuill law.

We haue therefore in England ſundrie lawes, and firſt of all the ciuill, vſed in the chancerie, admeraltie, and diuerſe other courts, in ſome of which, the ſeuere rigor of iuſtice is often ſo mitigated by conſcience, that diuerſe things are thereby made eaſie and tollerable, which otherwiſe would appeare to be méere iniurie and extremitie.

Canon law.

We haue alſo a great part of the Canon law dailie practiſed among vs, eſpeciallie in caſes of tithes, contracts of matrimonie, and ſuch like, as are vſuallie to be ſéene in the conſiſtories of our biſhops and higher courts of the two archbiſhops, where the exerciſe of the ſame is verie hotlie followed. The third ſort of lawes that we haue are our owne, & thoſe alwaies ſo variable, & ſubiect to alteration and change, that oft in one age, diuerſe iudgements do paſſe vpon one maner of caſe; whereby the ſaieng of the poet,

Tempora mutantur, & nos mutamur in illis,

Lawiers of England not alwaies conſtant in iudgment.

may verie well be applied vnto ſuch, as being vrged with theſe words; In ſuch a yeare of the prince, this opinion was taken for ſound law; do anſwer nothing elſe, but that the iudgement of our lawiers is now altered, ſo that they ſaie farre otherwiſe. The regiment that we haue therefore after our owne ordinances, dependeth vpon three lawes, to wit, Statute law, Common law, Cuſtomaries law, and Preſcription, according to the triple maner of our trials and iudgments, which is by parlement, verdict of twelue men at an aſſiſe, or wager of battell, of which the laſt is little vſed in our daies, as no appeale dooth hold in the firſt and laſt rehearſed. But to returne to my purpoſe.

Parlement law.

The firſt is deliuered vnto vs by parlement, which court, being for the moſt part holden at Weſtminſter néere London, is the higheſt of all other, & conſiſteth of three ſeuerall ſorts of people, that is to ſaie, the nobilitie, cleargie, and commons of this realme. And thereto is not ſummoned, but vpon vrgent occaſion when the prince dooth ſée his time, and that by ſeuerall writs, dated commonlie full ſix wéekes before it begin to be holden. Such lawes as are agreed vpon in the higher houſe by the lords ſpirituall and temporall, and in the lower houſe by the commons and bodie of the realme (whereof the conuocation of the cleargie holden in Powles, or if occaſion ſo require in Weſtminſter church, is a member) there ſpeaking by the mouth of the knights of the ſhire and burgeſſes, remaine in the end to be confirmed by

The cup yet in vſe.

by the prince, who commonlie reſorteth thither of cuſtome, vpon the firſt and laſt daies of this court, there to vnderſtand what is done, and giue his rotall conſent to ſuch ſtatutes as him liketh of. Comming therefore thither into the higher houſe, and hauing taken his throne, the ſpeaker of the parlement (for one is alwaies appointed to go betweene the houſes, as an indifferent mouth for both) readeth openlie the matters there determined by the ſaid three eſtates, and then craueth the princes conſent and finall confirmation to the ſame. The king hauing heard the ſumme and principall points of each eſtatute briefflie recited vnto him, anſwereth in French with great deliberation vnto ſuch as he liketh (Il nous plaiſt) but to the reſt Il ne plaiſt, whereby the latter are made void and fruſtrate. That alſo which his maieſtie liketh of, is hereby authoriſed, confirmed, & euer after holden for law, except it be repealed in anie the like aſſemblie. The number of the commons aſſembled in the lower houſe, beſide the cleargie, conſiſteth of ninetie knights. For each ſhire of England hath two gentlemen or knights of greateſt wiſedome and reputation, choſen out of the bodie of the ſame for that onelie purpoſe, ſauing that for Wales one onlie is ſuppoſed ſufficient in euerie countie, whereby the number afore mentioned is made vp. There are likewiſe fourtie and ſix citizens, 289 burgeſſes, and fourtéene barons, ſo that the whole aſſemblie of the laitie of the lower houſe, conſiſteth of foure hundred thirtie and nine perſons, if the full number be ſupplied. Of the lawes here made likewiſe ſome are penall and reſtraine the common law, and ſome againe are found to inlarge the ſame. The one ſort of theſe alſo are for the moſt part taken ſtrictlie according to the letter, the other more largelie and beneficiallie after their intendment and meaning.

Number of congregates in the parlement.

Common law.

The Common law ſtandeth vpon ſundrie martmes or principles, and yeares or termes, which do conteine ſuch caſes as by great ſtudie and ſolemne argument of the iudges ſound practiſe confirmed by long experience, fetched euen from the courſe of moſt ancient lawes made farre before the conqueſt, and thereto the déepeſt reach and foundations of reaſon, are ruled and adiudged for law. Certes theſe caſes are otherwiſe called pleas or action, whereof there are two ſorts, the one criminall and the other ciuill. The meanes and meſſengers alſo to determine thoſe cauſes are our writs or bréefes, whereof there are ſome originall and ſome iudiciall. The parties plaintiffe & defendant when they appeare proceéd (if the caſe do ſo require) by plaint or declaration, barre or anſwer, replication, reioinder, and ſo by rebut, ſurrebut to iſſue and triall if occaſion ſo fall out, the one ſide affirmatiuelie, the other negatiuelie as common experience teacheth. Our trials and recoueries are either by verdict and demourre, confeſſion or default, wherein if anie negligence or treſpaſſe hath béene committed, either in proceſſe and forme, or in matter and iudgement, the partie grieued may haue a writ of errour to vndo the ſame, but not in the ſame court where the former iudgement was giuen.

Cuſtomarie law.

Cuſtomarie law conſiſteth of certeine laudable cuſtomes vſed in ſome priuat countrie, intended firſt to begin vpon good and reaſonable conſiderations, as gauell kind, which is all the male children equallie to inherit, and continued to this daie in Kent: where it is onelie to my knowledge reteined, and no where elſe in England. It was at the firſt deuiſed by the Romans, as appeareth by Cæſar in his cõmentaries, wherein I find, that to breake and daunt the force of the rebellious Germans, they made a law that all the male children (or females for want of males which holdeth ſtill in England) ſhould haue their fathers inheritance equallie diuided amongſt them. By this meanes alſo it came to paſſe, that whereas before time for the ſpace of fiftie yeares, they had put the Romans to great and manifold troubles, within the ſpace of thirtie yeares after this law made, their power did wax ſo feéble, and ſuch diſcord fell out amongſt themſelues, that they were not able to maintaine warres with the Romans, nor raiſe anie iuſt armie againſt them. For as a riuer runing with one ſtreame is ſwift and more plentifull of water than when it is drained or drawne into manie branches: ſo the lands and goods of the anceſtors being diſperſed amongſt their iſſue males, of one ſtrong there were raiſed ſundrie weake, whereby the originall or generall ſtrength to reſiſt the aduerſarie, became infeébled and brought almoſt to nothing. *Vis vnita* (ſaith the philoſopher) *fortior eſt eadem diſperſa*, and one good purſe is better than manie euill, and when euerie man is benefited alike, each one will ſéeke to maintaine his priuate eſtate, and few take care to prouide for publike welfare.

Burrow kind, is where the yongeſt is preferred before the eldeſt, which is the cuſtome of manie countries of this region; alſo the woman to haue the third of hir husbands poſſeſſions, the husband that marieth an heire to haue ſuch lands as moue by hir during his naturall life, if he ſuruiue hir, and hath a child by hir which hath béene heard crie thorough foure wals, &c: of ſuch like to be learned elſewhere, and ſometimes frequented generallie ouer all.

Preſcription is a certeine cuſtome, which hath continued time out of minde, but it is more particular than cuſtomarie law, as where onelie a pariſh or ſome priuat perſon doth preſcribe to haue common, or a waie in another mans ſoile, or tithes to be paid after this or that maner, I meane otherwiſe than the common courſe and order of the law requireth, whereof let this ſuffice at this time, in ſtéed of a larger diſcourſe of our owne lawes, leaſt I ſhould ſéeme to enter farre into that whereof I haue no ſkill. For what hath the meditation of the law of God to do with anie preciſe knowledge of the law of man, ſith they are ſeuerall trades, and incident to diuerſe perſons?

Preſcription.

There are alſo ſundrie vſuall courts holden once in euerie quarter of the yeare, which we commonlie call termes, of the Latine word *Terminus*, wherein all controuerſies are determined, that happen within the Quéenes dominions. Theſe are commonlie holden at London, except vpon ſome great occaſion they be tranſferred to other places. At what times alſo they are kept both for ſpirituall and temporall dealing, the table inſuing ſhall eaſilie declare. Finallie how well they are followed by ſutors, the great wealth of lawiers without anie trauell of mine can readilie expreſſe. For as after the comming of the Normans the nobilitie had the ſtart, and after them the cleargie: ſo now all the wealth of the land doth flow vnto our common lawiers, of whome ſome one hauing practiſed little aboue thirteene or fourtéene yeares is able to buie a purchaſe of ſo manie 1000 pounds: which argueth that they wax rich apace, and will be richer if their clients become not the more wiſer & warie hereafter. It is not long, ſince a ſergeant at the law (whome I could name) was arreſted vpon an extent, for three or foure hundred pounds, and another ſtanding by did greatlie maruell that he could not ſpare the gaines of one terme for the ſatisfaction of that dutie. The time hath béene that our lawiers did ſit in Powles vpon ſtoles againſt the pillers and walles to get clients, but now ſome of them will not come from their chambers to the Guildhall in London vnder ten pounds or twentie nobles at the leſt. And one being demanded why he made ſo much of his

Termes.

his trauell, anſwered, that it was but follie for him to go ſo farre, when he was aſſured to get more monie by ſitting ſtill at home. A friend of mine alſo had a ſute of late of ſome valure, and to be ſure of counſell at his time, he gaue vnto two lawiers (whoſe names I forbeare to deliuer) twentie ſhillings a peece, telling them of the daie and houre wherein his matter ſhould be called vpon. To be ſhort, they came not vnto the barre at all, whervpon he ſtaied for that daie. On the morrow after he met them againe, increaſed his former gifts by ſo much more, and told them of the time, but they once againe ſerued him as before. In the end he met them both in the verie hall dore, and after ſome timorous reprehenſion, of their vncourteous demeanour toward him, he beſtowed either three angels or foure more vpon each of them, whereupon they promiſed peremptorilie to ſpeake earneſtlie in his cauſe. And yet for all this, one of them hauing not yet ſucked enough, vtterlie deceiued him: the other in deed came in, and wagging a ſcroll which he had in his hand before the iudge, he ſpake not aboue three or foure words, almoſt ſo ſone vttered as a good morrow, and ſo went from the bar, and this was all the poore man gat for his monie, and the care which his counſellours did ſeeme to take of his cauſe, then ſtanding vpon the hazard. But inough of theſe matters, for if I ſhould ſet downe how little law poore men can haue for their ſmall fees in theſe daies, and the great murmurings that are on all ſides vttered againſt their exceſſiue taking of monie (for they can abide no ſmall gaine) I ſhould extend this treatiſe into a farre greater volume than is conuenient for my purpoſe. Wherfore it ſhall ſuffice to haue ſet downe ſo much of their demeanour, and ſo much as is euen enough to cauſe them to looke with ſomewhat more conſcience into their dealings, except they be dull and ſenſeleſſe.

Deceipt.

Manie of our lawiers ſtoope not at ſmall fees.

This furthermore is to be noted, that albeit the princes heretofore reigning in this land haue erected ſundrie courts, eſpeciallie of the chancerie at Yorke and Ludlow, for the eaſe of poore men dwelling in thoſe parts, yet will the pooreſt (of all men commonlie moſt contentious) refuſe to haue his cauſe heard ſo neere home, but indeuoureth rather to his vtter vndoing to trauell vp to London, thinking there ſomeſt to preuaile againſt his aduerſarie, though his caſe be neuer ſo doubtfull. But in this toie our Welſhmen do exceed of all that euer I heard, for you ſhall here and there haue ſome one od poore Dauid of them giuen ſo much to contention and ſtrife, that without all reſpect of charges he will vp to London, though he go bare legged by the waie, and carie his hoſen on his necke (to ſaue their feet from wearing) becauſe he hath no change. When he commeth there alſo, he will make ſuch importunate begging of his countrimen, and hard ſhift otherwiſe, that he will ſometimes carie downe ſix or ſeuen writs with him in his purſſe, wherewith to moleſt his neighbor, though the greateſt quarrell be ſcarſelie worth the fee that he hath paid for anie one of them. But inough of this, leaſt in reuealing the ſuperfluous follie of a few brablers in this behalfe, I bring no good will to my ſelfe amongſt the wiſeſt of that nation. Certes it is a lamentable caſe to ſee furthermore, how a number of poore men are daillie abuſed and vtterlie vndone, by ſundrie varlets that go about the countrie, as promoters or brokers betweene the pettie foggers of the lawe, and the common people, onelie to kindle and eſpie coales of contention, whereby the one ſide may reape commoditie, and the other ſpend and be put to trauell. But of all that euer I knew in Eſſex, Denis and Mainford excelled, till John of Ludlow, aliàs Maſon came in place, vnto whome in compariſon they two were but children:

Poore mẽ contentious.

Promoters ſeeke matters to ſet lawiers on worke withall.

for this laſt in leſſe than three or foure yeares, did bring one man (among manie elſe-where in other places) almoſt to extreame miſerie (if beggerie be the vttermoſt) that before he had the ſhauing of his beard, was valued at two hundred pounds (I ſpeake with the leaſt) and finallie feeling that he had not ſufficient wherwith to ſuſteine himſelfe and his familie, and alſo to ſatiſfie that greedie rauenour, which ſtill called vpon him for new fees, he went to bed, and within foure daies made an end of his wofull life, euen with care and penſiuenеſſe. After his death alſo he ſo handled his ſonne, that there was neuer ſheepe ſhorne in Maie, ſo neere clipped of his fleece preſent, as he was of manie to come: ſo that he was compelled to let awaie his land, becauſe his cattell & ſtocke were conſumed, and he no longer able to occupie the ground. But hereof let this ſuffice, & in ſtead of theſe enormities, a table ſhall follow of the termes conteining their beginnings and endings, as I haue borrowed them from my friend John Stow, whoſe ſtudie is the onelie ſtore houſe of antiquities in my time, and he worthie therefore to be had in reputation and honour.

A man would imagine that the time of the execution of our lawes, being little aboue one quarter, or not fullie a third part of the yeare, and the appointment of the ſame to be holden in one place onelie, to wit, neere London in Weſtminſter, and finallie the great expenſes emploied vpon the ſame, ſhould be no ſmall cauſe of the ſtaie and hinderance of the adminiſtration of iuſtice in this land: but as it falleth out they prooue great occaſions and the ſtaie of much contention. The reaſons of theſe are ſome to be conceiued, for as the broken fleeue doth hold the elbow backe, and paine of trauell cauſe manie to ſit at home in quiet; ſo the ſhortneſſe of time and feare of delaie doth driue thoſe oftentimes to like of peace, who otherwiſe would liue at ſtrife, and quickelie be at ods. Some men deſirous of gaines would haue the termes yet made ſhorter, that more delaie might ingender longer ſute; other would haue the houſes made larger, and more offices erected, wherein to miniſter the lawes. But as the times of the tearmes are rather too ſhort than too long by one returne a peece: ſo if there were ſmaller rooms and fowler waies vnto them, they would inforce manie to make pauſes before they did raſhlie enter into plee. But ſith my purpoſe is not to make an ample diſcourſe of theſe things, it ſhall ſuffice to deliuer the times of the holding of our termes, which inſueth after this manner.

The times of our termes no hinderance to iuſtice.

A perfect rule to know the beginning and ending of euerie terme, with their returnes.

HIlarie terme beginneth the three and twentith daie of Januarie (if it be not ſundaie) otherwiſe the next daie after, and is finiſhed the twelfe of Februarie, it hath foure returnes.

{ Octabis Hilarij. } { Craſtino Purific. }
{ Quind. Hilarij. } { Octabis Purific. }

¶ Eaſter terme beginneth ſeuentéene daies after Eaſter, endeth foure daies after the Aſcenſion daie, and hath fiue returnes.

{ Quind. Paſch. } { Menſe } { Quinque Paſchæ. }
{ Tres Paſchæ. } { Paſchæ. } { Craſt. Aſcention. }

¶ Trinitie terme beginneth the fridaie after Trinitie ſundaie, and endeth the wedneſdaie fortnight after, in which time it hath foure returnes.

{ Craſt. Trinitatis. } { Quind. Trinitatis. }
{ Octabis Trinitatis. } { Tres Trinitatis. }

¶ Michaelmaſſe terme beginneth the ninth of October (if it be not ſundaie) and ending the eight and twentith

twentith of Nouember, it hath eight returnes.

Octabis Michael. Craſt. anima.
Quind. Michael. Craſt. Martini.
Tres Michael. Octa. Martini.
Menſe Michael. Quind. Martini.

Note alſo that the eſcheker, which is *Fiſcus* or *erarium publicum principis*, openeth eight daies before ante terme begin, except Trinitie terme, which openeth but foure daies before.

And thus much for our vſuall termes as they are kept for the adminiſtration of our common lawes, whereunto I thinke good to adde the lawdaies accuſtomablie holden in the arches and audience of Canturburie, with other eccleſiaſticall and ciuill courts thorough the whole yeare, or for ſomuch time as their execution indureth (which in compariſon is ſcarſelie one halfe of the time if it be diligentlie examined) to the end each one at home being called vp to anſwer may trulie know the time of his appearance; being ſorie in the meane ſeaſon, that the vſe of the popiſh calendar is ſo much reteined in the ſame, and not rather the vſuall daies of the moneth placed in their roomes, ſith moſt of them are fixed and palter not their place of ſtanding. Howbeit ſome of our infected lawiers will not let them go awaie ſo eaſilie, pretending facilitie and cuſtome of vſage, but meaning peraduenture inwardlie to keepe a commemoration of thoſe dead men whoſe names are there remembred.

Michaelmas terme.

S.Faith. All Soules. S.Andrew.
S.Edward. S.Martin. Conception
S.Luke. Edmund. of the virgin
Simon & Iu. Katharine. Marie.

¶ It is to be remembred that the firſt daie following eurie of theſe feaſts noted in each terme, the court of the arches is kept in Bow church in the forenoone. And the ſame firſt daie in the afternoone is the admeraltie court for ciuill and ſeafaring cauſes kept in Southwarke, where iuſtice is miniſtred & execution done continuallie according to the ſame.

The ſecond daie following eurie one of the ſaid feaſts, the court of audience of Canturburie is kept in the conſiſtorie in Paules in the forenoone. And the ſelfe daie in the afternoone, in the ſame place is the prerogatiue court of Canturburie holden.

The third day after ante ſuch feaſt in the forenoone, the conſiſtorie court of the biſhop of London is kept in Paules church in the ſaid conſiſtorie, and the ſame third daie in the afternoone is the court of the delegates, and the court of the Quenes highneſſe commiſſioners vpon appeales is likewiſe kept in the ſame place on the fourth daie.

Hilarie terme.

S.Hilarie. S. Scolaſtic. S.Chad.
S.Wolſtan. S.Valentine Perpet. & Fel.
Conuerſion of S.Paule. Aſhwedneſ. S.Gregorie.
S.Blaſe. S.Matthie. Annũciation of our Ladie.

Note that the foure firſt daies of this terme be certeine and vnchanged. The other are altered after the courſe of the yeare, and ſometime kept and ſometime omitted. For if it ſo happen that one of thoſe feaſts fall on wedneſdaie, commonlie called Aſhwedneſdaie after the daie of S. Blaſe (ſo that the ſame lawdaie after Aſhwedneſdaie cannot be kept becauſe the lawdaie of the other feaſt doth light on the ſame) then the ſecond lawdaie after Aſhwedneſdaie ſhall be kept, and the other omitted. And if the lawdaie after Aſhwedneſdaie be the nert daie after the feaſt of S. Blaſe, then ſhall all and euerie court daies be obſerued in order, as they may be kept conuenientlie. And marke that although Aſhwedneſdaie be put the ſeuenth in order, yet it hath no certeine place, but is changed as the courſe of Eaſter cauſeth it.

Eaſter terme.

The fiftenth daie after Eaſter.

S.Alphege. Gordian.
S.Marke. S.Dunſtan.
Inuention of the croſſe. Aſcenſion daie.

¶ In this terme the firſt ſitting is alwaie kept the mondaie being the fiftenth daie after Eaſter, and ſo forth after the feaſts here noted, which nert follow by courſe of the yeare after Eaſter, and the like ſpace being kept betweene other feaſts.

The reſt of the lawdaies are kept to the third of the Aſcenſion, which is the laſt day of this terme. And if it happen that the feaſt of the Aſcenſion of our Lord, do come before ante of the feaſts aforeſaid, then they are omitted for that yeare. And likewiſe if ante of thoſe daies come before the fiftenth of Eaſter, thoſe daies are omitted alſo.

Trinitie terme.

Trinitie ſundaie. S. Butolph. S. Swithune.
Corpus Chriſti. S. Iohn. S. Margaret.
Boniface biſh. S. Paule. S. Anne.
S. Barnabie. Tranſlat. Thomas.

Here note alſo that the lawdaies of this terme are altered by meane of Whitſuntide, and the firſt ſitting is kept alwaies on the firſt lawdaie after the feaſt of the holie Trinitie, and the ſecond ſeſſion is kept the firſt lawdaie after the idolatrous and papiſticall feaſt daie called Corpus Chriſti, except Corpus Chriſti daie fall on ſome day aforenamed: which chanceth ſometime, and then the fitter daie is kept. And after the ſecond ſeſſion account foure daies or thereabout, and then loke which is the nert feaſt day, and the firſt lawdaie after the ſaid feaſt ſhall be the third ſeſſion. The other law daies follow in order, but ſo manie of them are kept, as for the time of the yeare ſhall be thought meet.

It is alſo generallie to be obſerued, that euerie daie is called a lawdaie that is not ſundaie or holie daie: and that if the feaſt daie being knowne of ante court daie in ante terme, the firſt or ſecond daie following be ſundaie, then the court daie is kept the daie after the ſaid holie daie or feaſt.

Of prouiſion made for the poore.

Chap. 10.

There is no common-wealth at this daie in Europe, wherin there is not great ſtore of poore people, and thoſe neceſſarilie to be relieued by the welthier ſort, which otherwiſe would ſtarue and come to vtter confuſion. With vs the poore is commonlie diuided into three ſorts, ſo that ſome are poore by impotencie, as the fatherleſſe child, the aged, blind and lame, and the diſeaſed perſon that is iudged to be incurable: the ſecond are poore by caſualtie, as the wounded ſouldier, the decaied houſholder, and the ſicke perſon viſited with grieuous and painefull diſeaſes: the third conſiſteth of thriftleſſe poore, as the riotour that hath conſumed all, the vagabund that will abide no where, but runneth vp and downe from place to place (as it were ſeeking woorke and finding none) and finallie the roge and ſtrumpet which are not poſſible to be diuided in ſunder, but runne to and fro ouer all the realme, cheefelie keeping the champaine ſoiles in ſummer to auoid the ſcorching heat, and the woodland grounds in winter to eſchew the blaſtering winds.

Three ſorts of poore.

For

For the firſt two ſorts, that is to ſaie, the poore by impotencie, and the poore by caſualtie, which are the true poore in deed, and for whome the word doth bind vs to make ſome dailie prouiſion: there is order taken throughout euerie pariſh in the realme, that weekelie collection ſhall be made for their helpe and ſuſtentation, to the end they ſhould not ſcatter abroad, and by begging here and there annoie both towne and countrie. Authoritie alſo is giuen vnto the iuſtices in euerie countie, and great penalties appointed for ſuch as make default, to ſée that the intent of the ſtatute in this behalfe be truelie executed, according to the purpoſe and meaning of the ſame, ſo that theſe two ſorts are ſufficientlie prouided for: and ſuch as can liue within the limits of their allowance (as each one will do that is godlie and well diſpoſed) may well forbeare to rome and range about. But if they refuſe to be ſupported by this benefit of the law, and will rather indeuour by going to and fro to mainteine their idle trades, then are they adiudged to be parcell of the third ſort, and ſo in ſtéed of courteous refreſhing at home, are often corrected with ſharpe execution, and whip of iuſtice abroad. Manie there are, which notwithſtanding the rigor of the lawes prouided in that behalfe, yéeld rather with this libertie (as they call it) to be dailie vnder the feare and terrour of the whip, than by abiding where they were borne or bred, to be prouided for by the deuotion of the pariſhes. I found not long ſince a note of theſe latter ſort, the effect whereof inſueth. Idle beggers are ſuch either through other mens occaſion, or through their owne default. By other mens occaſion (as one waie for example) when ſome couetous man, ſuch I meane as haue the caſt or right veine, dailie to make beggers inough wherby to peſter the land, eſpieng a further commoditie in their commons, holds, and tenures, doth find ſuch meanes as thereby to wipe manie out of their occupiengs, and turne the ſame vnto his priuate gaines. Herevpon it followeth, that although the wiſe and better minded, do either forſake the realme for altogether, and ſéeke to liue in other countries, as France, Germanie, Barbarie, India, Moſcouia, and verie Calecute, complaining of no rome to be left for them at home, do ſo behaue themſelues that they are worthilie to be accompted among the ſecond ſort: yet the greater part commonlie hauing nothing to ſtaie vpon are wilfull, and therevpon do either proue idle beggers, or elſe continue ſtarke théeues till the gallowes do eat them vp, which is a lamentable caſe. Certes in ſome mans iudgements theſe things are but trifles, and not worthie the regarding. Some alſo do grudge at the great increaſe of people in theſe daies, thinking a neceſſarie breed of cattell farre better than a ſuperfluous augmentation of mankind. But I can liken ſuch men beſt of all vnto the pope and the diuell, who practiſe the hinderance of the furniture of the number of the elect to their vttermoſt, to the end the authoritie of the one vpon earth, the deferring of the locking vp of the other in euerlaſting chaines, and the great gaines of the firſt may continue and indure the longer. But if it ſhould come to paſſe that any forren inuaſion ſhould be made, which the Lord God forbid for his mercies ſake! then ſhould theſe men find that a wall of men is farre better than ſtackes of corne and bags of monie, and complaine of the want when it is too late to ſéeke remedie. The like occaſion cauſed the Romans to deuiſe their law Agraria: but the rich not liking of it, and the couetous vtterlie condemning it as rigorous and vnprofitable, neuer ceaſed to practiſe diſturbance till it was quite aboliſhed. But to proceed with my purpoſe.

Such as are idle beggers through their owne default are of two ſorts, and continue their eſtates either by caſuall or méere voluntarie meanes: thoſe that are ſuch by caſuall means, are in the beginning iuſtlie to be referred either to the firſt or ſecond ſort of poore afore mentioned: but degenerating into the thriftleſſe ſort, they do what they can to continue their miſerie, and with ſuch impediments as they haue to ſtraie and wander about, as creatures abhorring all labour and euerie honeſt exerciſe. Certes I call theſe caſuall meanes, not in reſpect of the originall of their pouertie, but of the continuance of the ſame, from whence they will not be deliuered, ſuch is their owne vngratious lewdneſſe, and froward diſpoſition. The voluntarie meanes proceed from outward cauſes, as by making of corroſiues, and applieng the ſame to the more fleſhie parts of their bodies: and alſo laieng of ratſbane, ſpurge wort, crowfoot, and ſuch like vnto their whole members, thereby to raiſe pitifull and odious ſores, and moue the harts of the goers by ſuch places where they lie, to yerne at their miſerie, and therevpon beſtow large almeſſe vpon them. How artificiallie they beg, what forcible ſpéech, and how they ſelect and chooſe out words of vehemencie, whereby they do in maner conſure or adiure the goer by to pitie their caſes, I paſſe ouer to remember, as iudging the name of God and Chriſt to be more conuerſant in the mouths of none: and yet the preſence of the heuenlie maieſtie further off from no men than from this vngratious companie. Which maketh me to thinke that puniſhment is farre méeter for them than liberalitie or almeſſe, and ſith Chriſt willeth vs chéeflie to haue a regard to himſelfe and his poore members.

A thing often ſeene.

At whoſe hands ſhall the bloud of theſe men be required?

Vnto this neſt is another ſort to be referred, more ſturdie than the reſt, which hauing ſound and perfect lims, do yet notwithſtanding ſometime counterfeit the poſſeſſion of all ſorts of diſeaſes. Diuerſe times in their apparell alſo they will be like ſeruing men or labourers: oftentimes they can plaie the mariners, and ſéeke for ſhips which they neuer loſt. But in fine, they are all théeues and caterpillers in the commonwealth, and by the word of God not permitted to eat, ſith they do but licke the ſweat from the true labourers browes, & bereue the godlie poore of that which is due vnto them, to mainteine their exceſſe, conſuming the charitie of well diſpoſed people beſtowed vpon them, after a moſt wicked & deteſtable maner.

It is not yet full threeſcore yeares ſince this trade began: but how it hath proſpered ſince that time, it is eaſie to iudge, for they are now ſuppoſed of one ſer and another, to amount vnto aboue 10000 perſons; as I haue heard reported. Moreouer, in counterfeiting the Egyptian roges, they haue deuiſed a language among themſelues, which they name Canting, but other pedlers French, a ſpeach compact thirtie yeares ſince of Engliſh, and a great number of od words of their owne deuiſing, without all order or reaſon: and yet ſuch is it as none but themſelues are able to vnderſtand. The firſt deuiſer thereof was hanged by the necke, a iuſt reward no doubt for his deſerts, and a common end to all of that profeſſion. A gentleman alſo of late hath taken great paines to ſearch out the ſecret practiſes of this vngratious rable. And among other things he ſetteth downe and deſcribeth three & twentie ſorts of them, whoſe names it ſhall not be amiſſe to remember, wherby ech one may take occaſion to read and know as alſo by his induſtrie what wicked people they are, and what villanie remaineth in them. Thomas Harman.

The ſeuerall diſorders and degrees amongſt our idle vagabonds.

1 Ruffelers.
2 Vprightmen.
3 Hookers or Anglers.
4 Roges.
5 Wild

5 Wildroges.
6 Priggers or prauſers.
7 Palliards.
8 Fraters.
9 Abrams.
10 Freſhwater mariners, or whiplacks.
11 Dummerers.
12 Drunken tinkers.
13 Swadders or pedlers.
14 Jarkemen or patricoes.

¶ Of women kind.

1 Demanders for glimmar or fire.
2 Bawdie baskets.
3 Mortes.
4 Autem mortes.
5 Walking mortes.
6 Dores.
7 Delles.
8 Kinching mortes.
9 Kinching cowes.

The puniſhment that is ordeined for this kind of people is verie ſharpe, and yet it can not reſtreine them from their gadding: wherefore the end muſt nœds be martiall law, to be exerciſed vpon them, as vpon théeues, robbers, deſpiſers of all lawes, and enimies to the common-wealth & welfare of the land. What notable roberies, pilferies, murders, rapes, and ſtealings of yong children, burning, breaking and diſfiguring their limbs to make them pitifull in the ſight of the people, I nœd not to rehearſe: but for their idle roging about the countrie, the law ordeineth this maner of correction. The roge being apprehended, committed to priſon, and tried in the next aſſiſes (whether they be of gaole deliuerie or ſeſſions of the peace) if he happen to be conuicted for a vagabond either by inqueſt of office, or the teſtimonie of two honeſt and credible witneſſes vpon their oths, he is then immediatlie adiudged to be grœuouſlie whipped and burned through the griſtle of the right eare, with an hot iron of the compaſſe of an inch about, as a manifeſtation of his wicked life, and due puniſhment receiued for the ſame. And this iudgement is to be executed vpon him, except ſome honeſt perſon worth fiue pounds in the quénes books in goods, or twentie ſhillings in lands, or ſome rich houſholder to be allowed by the iuſtices, will be bound in recogniſance to reteine him in his ſeruice for one whole yeare. If he be taken the ſecond time, and proued to haue forſaken his ſaid ſeruice, he ſhall then be whipped againe, bored likewiſe through the other eare and ſet to ſeruice: from whence if he depart before a yeare be expired, and happen afterward to be attached againe, he is condemned to ſuffer paines of death as a fellon (except before excepted) without benefit of clergie or ſanctuarie, as by the ſtatute doth appeare. Among roges and idle perſons finallie, we find to be compriſed all proctors that go vp and downe with counterfeit licences, cooſiners, and ſuch as gad about the countrie, vſing vnlawfull games, practiſers of phyſiognomie and palmeſtrie, tellers of fortunes, fenſers, players, minſtrels, iugglers, pedlers, tinkers, pretenſed ſcholers, ſhipmen, priſoners gathering for fées, and others ſo oft as they be taken without ſufficient licence. From among which companie our beare wards are not excepted, and iuſt cauſe: for I haue read that they haue either voluntarilie, or for want of power to maſter their ſauage beaſts, béene occaſion of the death and deuouration of manie children in ſundrie countries by which they haue paſſed, whoſe parents neuer knew what was become of them. And for that cauſe there is I haue béene manie ſharpe lawes made for bearwards in Germanie, wherof you may read in other. But to our roges. Each one alſo that harboreth or aideth them with meat or monie, is taxed and compelled to fine with the quénes maieſtie for euerie time that he doth ſo ſuccour them, as it ſhall pleaſe the iuſtices of peace to aſſigne, ſo that the taxation exceed not twentie ſhillings, as I haue béene informed. And thus much of the poore, & ſuch prouiſion as is appointed for them within the realme of England.

Of ſundrie kinds of puniſhments *appointed for malefactors.*

Chap. 11.

IN caſes of felonie, manſlaughter, roberie, murther, rape, piracie, & ſuch capitall crimes as are not reputed for treaſon or hurt of the eſtate, our ſentence pronounced vpon the offendor is to hang till he be dead. For of other puniſhments vſed in other countries we haue no knowledge or vſe, and yet ſo few grœuous crimes committed with vs as elſe where in the world. To vſe torment alſo or queſtion by paine and torture in theſe common caſes with vs is greatlie abhorred, ſith we are found alwaie to be ſuch as deſpiſe death, and yet abhorre to be tormented, chooſing rather frankelie to open our minds than to yeld our bodies vnto ſeruile halings and tearings as are vſed in other countries. And this is one cauſe wherefore our condemned perſons do go ſo chéerefullie to their deths, for our nation is free, ſtout, hautie, prodigall of life and bloud, as ſir Thomas Smith ſaith *lib. 2. cap. 25. de republica*, and therefore cannot in anie wiſe digeſt to be vſed as villanes and ſlaues, in ſuffering continuallie beating, ſeruitude, and ſeruile torments. No, our gailers are guiltie of felonie by an old law of the land, if they torment anie priſoner committed to their cuſtodie for the reuealing of his complices.

The greateſt and moſt grœuous puniſhment vſed in England, for ſuch as offend againſt the ſtate, is drawing from the priſon to the place of execution vpon an hardle or ſled, where they are hanged till they be halfe dead, and then taken downe and quartered aliue, after that their members and bowels are cut from their bodies, and throwne into a fire prouided nére hand and within their owne ſight, euen for the ſame purpoſe. Sometimes, if the treſpaſſe be not the more hainous, they are ſuffered to hang till they be quite dead. And when ſoeuer anie of the nobilitie are conuicted of high treaſon by their péeres, that is to ſaie, equals (for an inqueſt of yeomen paſſeth not vpon them, but onelie of the lords of the parlement) this maner of their death is conuerted into the loſſe of their heads onelie, notwithſtanding that the ſentence do run after the former order. In triall of caſes concerning treaſon, fellonie, or anie other grœuous crime not confeſſed, the partie accuſed doth yéeld, if he be a noble man, to be tried by an inqueſt (as I haue ſaid) and his péeres: if a gentleman, by gentlemen: and an inferiour, by God and by the countrie, to wit, the yeomanrie (for combat or battell is not greatlie in vſe) and being condemned of fellonie, manſlaughter, &c: he is eſtſoons hanged by the necke till he be dead, and then cut downe and buried. But if he be conuicted of wilfull murther, done either vpon pretended malice, or in anie notable robberie, he is either hanged aliue in chaines nére the place where the fact was committed (or elſe vpon compaſſion taken firſt ſtrangled with a rope) and ſo continueth till his bones conſume to nothing. We haue vſe neither of the whéele nor of the barre, as in other countries; but when wilfull manſlaughter is perpetrated, beſide hanging, the offendor hath his right hand commonlie ſtriken off before or nére vnto the place where the act was done, after which he is led forth to the place of execution, and there put to death according to the law.

The word fellon is deriued of the Saxon words Fell and One, that is to ſay, an euill and wicked one,

one

a one of vntamable nature, and lewdneſſe not to be ſuffered for feare of euill example and the corruption of others. In like ſort in the word felonie are manie grœuous crimes conteined, as breach of priſon An. 1 of Edward the ſecond. Diſfigurers of the princes liege people An. 5. of Henrie the fourth. Hunting by night with painted faces and viſors An. 1. of Henrie the ſeuenth. Rape or ſtealing of women & maidens An. 3 of Henrie the eight. Conſpiracie againſt the perſon of the prince An. 3. of Henrie the ſeuenth. Imbeſilling of goods committed by the maſter to the ſeruant, aboue the value of fourtie ſhillings An. 17. of Henrie the eight. Carieng of horſſes or mares into Scotland An. 23. of Henrie the eight. Sodomie and buggerie An. 25. of Henrie the eight. Stealing of hawkes egs An. 31. of Henrie the eight. Conturing, ſorcerie, witchcraft, and digging vp of croſſes An. 33. of Hen. 8. Prophecieng vpon armes, cogniſances, names & badges An. 33. of Hen. 8. Caſting of ſlanderous bils An. 37. Hen. 8. Wilfull killing by poiſon An. 1. of Edw. the firſt. Departure of a ſoldier from the field An. 2. of Edward the firſt. Diminution of coine, all offenſes within caſe of præmunire, embeſelling of records, goods taken from dead men by their ſeruants, ſtealing of what soeuer cattell, robbing by the high waie, vpon the ſea, or of dwelling houſes, letting out of ponds, cutting of purſſes, ſtealing of dœre by night, counterfeitors of coine, euidences, charters, and writings, & diuerſe other needleſſe to be remembred. If a woman poiſon hir huſband ſhe is burned aliue, if the ſeruant kill his maſter he is to be executed for petie treaſon, he that poiſoneth a man is to be boiled to death in water or lead, although the partie die not of the practiſe: in caſes of murther all the acceſſaries are to ſuffer paines of death accordinglie. Periurie is puniſhed by the pillorie, burning in the forehead with the letter P, the rewalting of the trées growing vpon the grounds of the offendors and loſſe of all his moueables. Manie treſpaſſes alſo are puniſhed by the cutting of one or both eares from the head of the offendor, as the vtterance of ſeditious words againſt the magiſtrates, fraimakers, petie robbers, &c. Roges are burned through the eares, cariers of chœpe out of the land by the loſſe of their hands, ſuch as kill by poiſon are either boiled or ſkalded to death in lead or ſœthing water. Heretikes are burned quicke, harlots and their mates by carting, ducking, and doing of open penance in ſhéets, in churches and market ſtæds are often put to rebuke. Howbeit as this is counted with ſome either as no puniſhment at all to ſpeake of, or but ſmalie regarded of the offendors, ſo I would wiſh adulterie and fornication to haue ſome ſharper law. For what great ſmart is it to be turned out of an hot ſhéet into a cold, or after a little waſhing in the water to be let loſe againe vnto their former trades? Howbeit the dragging of ſome of them ouer the Thames betwéene Lambeth and Weſtminſter at the taile of a boat, is a puniſhment that moſt terrifieth them which are condemned thereto; but this is inflicted vpon them by none other than the knight marſhall, and that within the compaſſe of his iuriſdiction & limits onelie. Canutus was the firſt that gaue authoritie to the cleargie to puniſh whoredome, who at that time found fault with the former lawes as being to ſeuere in this behalfe. For before the time of the ſaid Canutus, the adulterer forfeited all his goods to the king, and his bodie to be at his pleaſure; and the adultereſſe was to loſe hir eies or noſe, or both, if the caſe were more than common: whereby it appéereth of what eſtimation marriage was amongſt them, ſith the breakers of that holie eſtate were ſo grœuouſlie rewarded. But afterward the cleargie dealt more fauourablie with them, ſhewting rather at the puniſhments of ſuch prieſts and clearkes as were maried, than the reformation of adulterie and fornication, wherein you ſhall find no example that anie ſeueritie was ſhewed, except vpon ſuch laie men as had defiled their nuns. As in theft therfore ſo in adulterie and whoredome I would with the parties treſpaſſant, to be made bond or ſlaues vnto thoſe that receiued the iniurie, to ſell and giue where they liſted, or to be condemned to the galies: for that puniſhment would proue more bitter to them than halfe an houres hanging, or than ſtanding in a ſhéet, though the weather be neuer ſo cold.

Manſlaughter in time paſt was puniſhed by the purſſe, wherin the quantitie or qualitie of the puniſhment was rated after the ſtate and calling of the partie killed: ſo that one was valued ſometime at 1200, another at 600, or 200 ſhillings. And by an eſtatute made vnder Henrie the firſt, a citizen of London at 100, whereof elſe-where I haue ſpoken more at large. Such as kill themſelues are buried in the field with a ſtake driuen through their bodies.

Witches are hanged or ſometimes burned, but théeues are hanged (as I ſaid before) generallie on the gibbet or gallowes, ſauing in Halifax where they are beheaded after a ſtrange maner, and whereof I find this report. There is and hath bœne of ancient time a law or rather a cuſtome at Halifax, that who ſoeuer doth commit anie felonie, and is taken with the ſame, or confeſſe the fact vpon examination: if it be valued by foure conſtables to amount to the ſum of thirtéene pence halfe penie, he is forthwith beheaded vpon one of the next market daies (which fall vſuallie vpon the tueſdaies, thurſdaies, & ſaturdaies) or elſe vpon the ſame daie that he is ſo conuicted, if market be then holden. The engine wherewith the execution is done, is a ſquare blocke of wood of the length of foure fot and an halfe, which doth ride vp and downe in a ſlot, rabet, or regall betwéene two péeces of timber, that are framed and ſet vpright of fiue yardes in height. In the neather end of the ſliding blocke is an ax keied or faſtened with an iron into the wood, which being drawne vp to the top of the frame is there faſtned by a woodden pin (with a notch made into the ſame after the maner of a Samſons poſt) vnto the middeſt of which pin alſo there is a long rope faſtened that commeth downe among the people, ſo that when the offendor hath made his confeſſion, and hath laid his necke ouer the neathermoſt blocke, euerie man there preſent doth either take hold of the rope (or putteth forth his arme ſo neere to the ſame as he can get, in token that he is willing to ſée true iuſtice executed) and pulling out the pin in this maner, the head blocke wherein the ax is faſtened doth fall downe with ſuch a violence, that if the necke of the tranſgreſſor were ſo big as that of a bull, it ſhould be cut in ſunder at a ſtroke, and roll from the bodie by an huge diſtance. If it be ſo that the offendor be apprehended for an ox, oxen, chœpe, kine, horſſe, or anie ſuch cattell: the ſelfe beaſt or other of the ſame kind ſhall haue the end of the rope tied ſomewhere vnto them, ſo that they being driuen do draw out the pin wherby the offendor is executed. Thus much of Halifax law, which I ſet downe onelie to ſhew the cuſtome of that countrie in this behalfe. Halifax law.

Roges and vagabonds are often ſtocked and whipped, ſcolds are ducked vpon cuckingſtoles in the water. Such fellons as ſtand mute and ſpeake not at their arraignement are preſſed to death by huge weights laid vpon a board, that lieth ouer their breſt, and a ſharpe ſtone vnder their backs, and theſe commonlie hold their peace, thereby to ſaue their goods vnto their wiues and children, which if they were condemned ſhould be confiſcated to the prince. Théeues that are ſaued by their bookes and cleargie, for the firſt Mute. Cleargie.

offense, if they haue stollen nothing else but oxen, sheepe, monie, or such like, which be no open robberies, as by the high waie side, or assailing of anie mans house in the night, without putting him in feare of his life, or breaking vp of his wals or doores, are burned in the left hand, vpon the bralne of the thombe with an hot iron, so that if they be apprehended againe, that marke bewraieth them to haue bene arraigned of felonie before, whereby they are sure at that time to haue no mercie. I doo not read that this custome of saning by the booke is vsed anie where else than in England, neither doo I find (after much diligent inquirie) what Saxon prince ordeined that lawe. Howbeit, this I generallie gather thereof, that it was deuised to traine the inhabiters of this land to the loue of learning, which before contemned letters and all good knowledge, as men onelie giuing themselues to husbandrie and the warres, the like whereof I read to haue bene amongst the Gothes and Vandals, who for a time would not suffer euen their princes to be lerned for weakening of their courages, nor anie learned men to remaine in the counsell house, but by open proclamation would command them to auoid, whensoeuer anie thing touching the state of the land was to be consulted vpon. Pirats and robbers by sea are condemned in the court of the admeraltie, and hanged on the shore at lowe water marke, where they are left till three tides haue ouerwashed them. Finallie, such as hauing wals and banks neere vnto the sea, and doo suffer the same to decaie (after conuenient admonition) whereby the water entereth and drowneth vp the countrie, are by a certeine ancient custome apprehended, condemned, and staked in the breach, where they remaine for euer as parcell of the foundation of the new wall that is to be made vpon them, as I haue heard reported.

Pirats.

And thus much in part of the administration of iustice vsed in our countrie, wherein notwithstanding that we doo not often heare of horrible, mercles, and wilfull murthers (such I meane as are not sildome seene in the countries of the maine) yet now and then some manslaughter and bloudie robberies are perpetrated and committed, contrarie to the lawes, which be seuerelie punished, and in such wise as I before reported. Certes there is no greater mischefe doone in England than by robberies, the first by young shifting gentlemen, which oftentimes doo beare more port than they are able to maintaine. Secondlie by seruingmen, whose wages cannot suffice so much as to find them breeches, wherefore they are now and then constreined either to keepe high waies, and breake into the wealthie mens houses with the first sort, or else to walke vp and downe in gentlemens and rich farmers pastures, there to see and view which horsses feed best, whereby they manie times get something, although with hard aduenture it hath beene knowne by their confession at the gallowes, that some one such chapman hath had fortie, fiftie, or sixtie stolne horsses at pasture here and there abroad in the countrie at a time, which they haue sold at faires and markets farre off, they themselues in the meane season being taken about home for honest yeomen, and verie wealthie drouers, till their dealings haue ben bewraied. It is not long since one of this companie was apprehended, who was before time reputed for a verie honest and wealthie townesman, he vttered also more horsses than anie of his trade, because he sold a reasonable pennyworth, and was a faire spoken man. It was his custome likewise to saie, if anie man hucked hard with him about the price of a gelding; So God helpe me gentleman or sir, either he did cost me so much, or else by Jesus I stole him. Which talke was plaine inough, and yet such was his estimation, that each beleeued the first part of his tale, and made no account of the later, which was the truer indeed.

Our third annoiers of the common-wealth are roges, which doo verie great mischefe in all places where they become. For whereas the rich onelie suffer iniurie by the first two, these spare neither rich nor poore: but whether it be great gaine or small, all is fish that commeth to net with them, and yet I saie both they and the rest are trussed vp apace. For there is not one yeare commonlie, wherein three hundred or foure hundred of them are not deuoured and eaten vp by the gallowes in one place and other. It appeareth by Cardane (who writeth it vpon the report of the bishop of Leronia) in the geniture of king Edward the first, how Henrie the eight, executing his lawes verie seuerelie against such idle persons, I meane great theeues, pettie theenes and roges, did hang vp three score and twelue thousand of them in his time. He seemed for a while greatlie to haue terrified the rest: but since his death the number of them is so increased, yea although we haue had no warres, which are a great occasion of their breed (for it is the custome of the more idle sort, hauing once serued or but seene the other side of the sea vnder colour of seruice to shake hand with labour, for euer, thinking it a disgrace for himselfe to returne vnto his former trade) that except some better order be taken, or the lawes alreadie made be better executed, such as dwell in vplandish townes and little villages shall liue but in small safetie and rest. For the better apprehension also of theeues and mankillers, there is an old law in England verie well prouided, whereby it is ordered, that if he that is robbed, or any man complaine and giue warning of slaughter or murther committed, the constable of the village wherevnto he commeth and crieth for succour, is to raise the parish about him, and to search woods, groues, and all suspected houses and places, where the trespasser may be, or is supposed to lurke; and not finding him there, he is to giue warning vnto the next constable, and so one constable after serch made to aduertise another from parish to parish, till they come to the same where the offendor is harbored and found. It is also prouided, that if anie parish in this businesse doo not hir dutie, but suffereth the theefe (for the auoiding of trouble sake) in carrieng him to the gaile, if he should be apprehended, or other letting of their worke, to escape the same parish, is not onlie to make fine to the king, but also the same with the whole hundred wherein it standeth, to repaie the partie robbed his damages, and leaue his estate harmlesse. Certes this is a good law, howbeit I haue knowne by mine owne experience, fellons being taken to haue escaped out of the stocks, being rescued by other for want of watch & gard, that theeues haue bene let passe, because the couetous and greedie parishoners would neither take the paines, nor be at the charge to carrie them to prison, if it were far off, that when hue and crie haue bene made euen to the faces of some constables, they haue said; God reskore your losse, I haue other businesse at this time. And by such meanes the meaning of manie a good law is left vnexecuted, malefactors imboldened, and manie a poore man turned out of that which he hath swet and taken great paines for, toward the maintenance of himselfe and his poore children and familie.

Of

Of the maner of building and *furniture of our houſes.*

Chap. 12.

THe greateſt part of our building in the cities and good townes of England conſiſteth onelie of timber, for as yet few of the houſes of the communaltie (except here & there in the Weſt countrie townes) are made of ſtone, although they may (in my opinion) in diuerſe other places be builded ſo good cheape of the one as of the other. In old time the houſes of the Britons were ſlightlie ſet vp with a few poſts & many radels, with ſtable and all offices vnder one roofe, the like whereof almoſt is to be ſéene in the fennie countries and northerne parts vnto this daie, where for lacke of wood they are inforced to continue this ancient maner of building. It is not in vaine therefore in ſpeaking of building to make a diſtinction betwéene the plaine and wooddie ſoiles: for as in theſe, our houſes are commonlie ſtrong and well timbered, ſo that in manie places, there are not aboue foure, ſix, or nine inches betwéene ſtud and ſtud; ſo in the open and champaine countries they are inforced for want of ſtuffe to vſe no ſtuds at all, but onlie ſtranke poſts, raiſins, beames, prickepoſts, groundſels, ſummers (or dormants) tranſoms, and ſuch principals, with here and there a girding, whervnto they faſten their ſplints or radels, and then caſt it all ouer with thicke claie to keepe out the wind, which otherwiſe would annoie them. Certes this rude kind of building made the Spaniards in quéene Maries daies to wonder, but cheeflie when they ſaw what large diet was vſed in manie of theſe ſo homelie cottages, in ſo much that one of no ſmall reputation amongſt them ſaid after this maner: Theſe Engliſh (quoth he) haue their houſes made of ſticks and durt, but they fare commonlie ſo well as the king. Whereby it appeareth that he liked better of our good fare in ſuch courſe cabins, than of their owne thin diet in their princelike habitations and palaces. In like ſort as euerie countrie houſe is thus apparelled on the out ſide, ſo is it inwardlie diuided into ſundrie romes aboue and beneath; and where plentie of wood is, they couer them with tiles, otherwiſe with ſtraw, ſedge, or réed, except ſome quarrie of ſlate be néere hand, from whence they haue for their monie ſo much as may ſuffice them.

The claie wherewith our houſes are impanelled is either white, red, or blue, and of theſe the firſt doth participat verie much with the nature of our chalke, the ſecond is called lome, but the third ofttimes changeth colour ſo ſoone as it is wrought, notwithſtanding that it looke blue when it is throwne out of the pit. Of chalke alſo we haue our excellent Aſbeſtos or white lime, made in moſt places, wherewith being quenched we ſtrike ouer our claie workes and ſtone walls, in cities, good townes, rich farmers and gentlemens houſes: otherwiſe in ſtéed of chalke (where it wanteth for it is ſo ſcant that in ſome places it is ſold by the pound) they are compelled to burne a certeine kind of red ſtone, as in Wales, and elſe where other ſtones and ſhels of oiſters and like fiſh found vpon the ſea coaſt, which being conuerted into lime doth naturallie (as the other) abhorre and eſchew water whereby it is diſſolued, and neuertheleſſe deſire oile wherewith it is eaſilie mixed, as I haue ſéene by experience. Within their doores alſo ſuch as are of abilitie doo make their floores and parget of fine alabaſter burned, which they call plaſter of Paris, whereof in ſome places we haue great plentie, and that verie profitable againſt the rage of fire.

In plaſtering likewiſe of our faireſt houſes ouer our heads, we vſe to laie firſt a laine or two of white morter tempered with haire vpon laths, which are nailed one by another (or ſometimes vpon rod or wickers more dangerous for fire, and made faſt here and there with ſaplaths for falling downe) and finallie couer all with the aforeſaid plaſter, which beſide the delectable whiteneſſe of the ſtuffe it ſelfe, is laied on ſo euen and ſmoothlie, as nothing in my iudgment can be done with more exactneſſe. The wals of our houſes on the inner ſides in like ſort be either hanged with tapiſſerie, arras worke, or painted cloths, wherein either diuerſe hiſtories, or hearbes, beaſts, knots, and ſuch like are ſtained, or elſe they are ſeeled with oke of our owne, or wainſcot brought hither out of the eaſt countries, whereby the romes are not a little commended, made warme, and much more cloſe than otherwiſe they would be. As for ſtoues we haue not hitherto vſed them greatlie, yet do they now begin to be made in diuerſe houſes of the gentrie and wealthie citizens, who build them not to worke and feed in as in Germanie and elſe where, but now and then to ſweat in, as occaſion and need ſhall require it. This alſo hath béene common in England, contrarie to the cuſtomes of all other nations, and yet to be ſéene (for example in moſt ſtréets of London) that many of our greateſt houſes haue outwardlie béene verie ſimple and plaine to ſight, which inwardlie haue béene able to receiue a duke with his whole traine, and lodge them at their eaſe. Hereby moreouer it is come to paſſe, that the fronts of our ſtréets haue not béene ſo vniforme and orderlie builded as thoſe of forreine cities, where (to ſaie truth) the vtterſide of their manſions and dwellings haue oft more coſt beſtowed vpon them, than all the reſt of the houſe, which are often verie ſimple and vneaſie within, as experience doth confirme. Of old time our countrie houſes in ſtéed of glaſſe did vſe much lattiſe and that made either of wicker or fine rifts of oke in chekerwiſe. I read alſo that ſome of the better ſort, in and before the times of the Saxons (who notwithſtanding vſed ſome glaſſe alſo ſince the time of Benedict Biſcop the monke that brought the feat of glaſſing firſt into this land) did make panels of horne in ſtéed of glaſſe, & fir them in wodden calmes. But as horne in windowes is now quite laid downe in euerie place, ſo our lattiſes are alſo growne into leſſe vſe, bicauſe glaſſe is come to be ſo plentifull, and within a verie little ſo good cheape if not better then the other.

I find obſcure mention of the ſpecular ſtone alſo to haue béene found and applied to this vſe in England, but in ſuch doubtfull ſort as I dare not affirme it for certeine. Neuertheleſſe certeine it is that antiquitie vſed it before glaſſe was knowen, vnder the name of Selenites. And how glaſſe was firſt found I care not greatlie to remember euen at this preſent; although it be directlie beſide my purpoſed matter. In Syria phenices which boordereth vpon Iurie, & néere to the foot of mount Carmell there is a more or marris, wherout riſeth a brooke called ſomtime Belus, and falleth into the ſea néere to Ptolemais. This riuer was fondlie aſcribed vnto Baall, and alſo honored vnder that name by the infidels, long time before there was anie king in Iſraell. It came to paſſe alſo as a certeine merchant ſailed that waie loden with Nitrum, the paſſengers went to land for to repoſe themſelues, and to take in ſome ſtore of freſh water into their veſſell. Being alſo on the ſhore they kindled a fire, and made proviſion for their dinner, but bicauſe they wanted trewets or ſtones whereon

to ſet their kettels on, ran by chance into the ſhip, and brought great peeces of Nitrum with him, which ſerued their turne for that preſent. To be ſhort, the ſaid ſubſtance being hot, and beginning to melt, it mixed by chance with the grauell that laie vnder it; and ſo brought forth that ſhining ſubſtance which now is called glaſſe, and about the time of Semiramis. When the companie ſaw this, they made no ſmall accompt of their ſucceſſe, and forthwith began to practiſe the like in other mixtures, whereby great varietie of the ſaid ſtuffe did alſo inſue. Certes for the time this hiſtorie may well be true: for I read of glaſſe in Iob, but for the reſt I refer me to the common opinion conceiued by writers. Now to turne againe to our windowes. Heretofore alſo the houſes of our princes and noble men were often glaſed with Berill (an example whereof is yet to be ſéene in Sudeie caſtell) and in diuerſe other places with fine chriſtall, but this eſpeciallie in the time of the Romans, whereof alſo ſome fragments haue béene taken vp in old ruines. But now theſe are not in vſe, ſo that onelie the cleareſt glaſſe is moſt eſtéemed: for we haue diuerſe ſorts, ſome brought out of Burgundie, ſome out of Normandie, much out of Flanders, beſide that which is made in England, which would be ſo good as the beſt, if we were diligent and carefull to beſtow more coſt vpon it, and yet as it is, each one that may, will haue it for his building. Moreouer the manſion houſes of our countrie townes and villages (which in champaine ground ſtand altogither by ſtréets, ⁊ ioining one to an other, but in woodland ſoiles diſperſed here and there, each one vpon the ſeuerall grounds of their owners) are builded in ſuch ſort generallie, as that they haue neither datrie, ſtable, nor brewhouſe annexed vnto them vnder the ſame roofe (as in manie places beyond the ſea ⁊ ſome of the north parts of our countrie) but all ſeparate from the firſt, and one of them from an other. And yet for all this, they are not ſo farre diſtant in ſunder, but that the goodman lieng in his bed may lightlie heare what is done in each of them with eaſe, and call quicklie vnto his meinie if anie danger ſhould attach him.

The ancient manours and houſes of our gentlemen are yet and for the moſt part of ſtrong timber, in framing whereof our carpenters haue béene and are worthilie preferred before thoſe of like ſcience among all other nations. Howbeit ſuch as be latelie builded, are cõmonlie either of bricke or hard ſtone, or both; their rooms large and comelie, and houſes of office further diſtant from their lodgings. Thoſe of the nobilitie are likewiſe wrought with bricke and hard ſtone, as prouiſion may beſt be made: but ſo magnificent and ſtatelie, as the baſeſt houſe of a baron doth often match in our daies with ſome honours of princes in old time. So that if euer curious building did flouriſh in England, it is in theſe our yeares, wherin our workemen excell, and are in maner comparable in ſkill with old Vitruuius, Leo Baptiſta, and Serlo. Neuertheleſſe, their eſtimation more than their gréedie and ſeruile couetouſneſſe, ioined with a lingering humour cauſeth them often to be reiected, ⁊ ſtrangers preferred to greater bargaines, who are more reaſonable in their takings, and leſſe waſters of time by a great deale than our owne.

The furniture of our houſes alſo exceedeth, and is growne in maner euen to paſſing delicacie: and herein I doo not ſpeake of the nobilitie and gentrie onelie, but likewiſe of the loweſt ſort in moſt places of our ſouth countrie, that haue anie thing at all to take to. Certes in noble mens houſes it is not rare to ſée abundance of Arras, rich hangings of tapiſtrie, ſiluer veſſell, and ſo much other plate, as may furniſh ſundrie cupboords, to the ſumme oftentimes of a thouſand or two thouſand pounds at the leaſt: whereby the value of this and the reſt of their ſtuffe doth grow to be almoſt ineſtimable. Likewiſe in the houſes of knights, gentlemen, merchantmen, and ſome other wealthie citizens, it is not geſon to behold generallie their great prouiſion of tapiſtrie, Turkie worke, pewter, braſſe, fine linen, and thereto coſtlie cupboords of plate, worth fiue or ſix hundred or a thouſand pounds, to be deemed by eſtimation. But as herein all theſe ſorts doo far exceed their elders and predeceſſors, and in neatneſſe and curioſitie, the merchant all other; ſo in time paſt, the coſtlie furniture ſtaied there, whereas now it is deſcended yet lower, euen vnto the inferiour artificers and manie farmers, who by vertue of their old and not of their new leaſes haue for the moſt part learned alſo to garniſh their cupboords with plate, their ioined beds with tapiſtrie and ſilke hangings, and their tables with carpets ⁊ fine naperie, whereby the wealth of our countrie (God be praiſed therefore, and giue vs grace to imploie it well) doth infinitelie appeare. Neither doo I ſpeake this in reproch of anie man, God is my iudge, but to ſhew that I do reioiſe rather, to ſée how God hath bleſſed vs with his good gifts; and whileſt I behold how that in a time wherein all things are growen to moſt exceſſiue prices, ⁊ what commoditie ſo euer is to be had, is daille plucked from the communaltie by ſuch as looke into euerie trade, we doo yet find the means to obtein ⁊ atchiue ſuch furniture as heretofore hath béene vnpoſſible. There are old men yet dwelling in the village where I remaine, which haue noted three things to be maruellouſlie altred in England within their ſound remembrance; ⁊ other three things to too much increaſed. One is, the multitude of chimnies latelie erected, whereas in their yoong daies there were not aboue two or three, if ſo manie in moſt vplandiſh townes of the realme (the religious houſes, ⁊ manour places of their lords alwaies excepted, and peraduenture ſome great perſonages) but ech one made his fire againſt a reredoſſe in the hall, where he dined and dreſſed his meat.

Three things greatlie amended in England.

Chimnies.

The ſecond is the great (although not generall) amendment of lodging, for (ſaid they) our fathers (yea and we our ſelues alſo) haue lien full oft vpon ſtraw pallets, on rough mats couered onelie with a ſhéet vnder couerlets made of dagſwain or hopharlots (I vſe their owne termes) and a good round log vnder their heads in ſtéed of a bolſter or pillow. If it were ſo that our fathers or the good man of the houſe, had within ſeuen yeares after his marriage purchaſed a matteres or flockebed, and thereto a ſacke of chaffe to reſt his head vpon, he thought himſelfe to be as well lodged as the lord of the towne, that peraduenture laie ſeldome in a bed of downe or whole fethers; ſo well were they contented, and with ſuch baſe kind of furniture: which alſo is not verie much amended as yet in ſome parts of Bedfordſhire, and elſewhere further off from our ſoutherne parts. Pillowes (ſaid they) were thought méet onelie for women in childbed. As for ſeruants, if they had anie ſhéet aboue them it was well, for ſeldome had they anie vnder their bodies, to kéepe them from the pricking ſtraws that ran off through the canuas of the pallet, and raſed their hardened hides.

Hard lodging

The third thing they tell of, is the exchange of veſſell, as of træne platters into pewter, and wodden ſpoones into ſiluer or tin. For ſo common were all ſorts of træne ſtuffe in old time, that a man ſhould hardlie find foure péeces of pewter (of which one was peraduenture a ſalt) in a good farmers houſe, and yet for all this frugalitie (if it may ſo be iuſtlie called) they were ſcarſe able to liue and paie their rents at their daies without ſelling of a cow, or an horſſe, or more, although they paid but foure pounds at the vtter-

Furniture of houſehold.

This was in the time of generall idleneſſe.

moſt

By the pre

moſt by the yeare. Such alſo was their pouertie, that if ſome one od farmer or huſbandman had bæne at the alehouſe, a thing greatlie vſed in thoſe daies, amongſt ſix or ſeuen of his neighbours, and there in a brauerie to ſhew what ſtore he had, did caſt downe his purſſe, and therein a noble or ſix ſhillings in ſiluer vnto them (for few ſuch men then cared for gold bicauſe it was not ſo readie paiment, and they were oft inforced to giue a penie for the exchange of an angell) it was verie likelie that all the reſt could not laie downe ſo much againſt it: whereas in my time, although peraduenture foure pounds of old rent be improued to fortie, fiftie, or an hundred pounds, yet will the farmer as another palme or date træ thinke his gaines verie ſmall toward the end of his terme, if he haue not ſix or ſeuen yeares rent lieng by him, therewith to purchaſe a new leaſe, beſide a faire garniſh of pewter on his cupbord, with ſo much more in od veſſell going about the houſe, three or foure featherbeds, ſo manie couerlids and carpets of tapiſtrie, a ſiluer ſalt, a bowle for wine (if not an whole neaſt) and a dozzen of ſpoones to furniſh vp the ſute. This alſo he taketh to be his owne cléere, for what ſtocke of monie ſoeuer he gathereth & laieth vp in all his yeares, it is often ſeene, that the landlord will take ſuch order with him for the ſame, when he renueth his leaſe, which is commonlie eight or ſix yeares before the old be expired (ſith it is now growen almoſt to a cuſtome, that if he come not to his lord ſo long before, another ſhall ſtep in for a reuerſion, and ſo defeat him out right) that it ſhall neuer trouble him more than the haire of his beard, when the barber hath waſhed and ſhauen it from his chin. And as they commend theſe, ſo (beſide the decaie of houſekéeping whereby the poore haue bæne relieued) they ſpeake alſo of three things that are growen to be verie grieuous vnto them, to wit, the inhanſing of rents, latelie mentioned; the dailie oppreſſion of copiholders, whoſe lords ſéeke to bring their poore tenants almoſt into plaine ſeruitude and miſerie, dailie deuiſing new meanes, and ſéeking vp all the old how to cut them ſhorter and ſhorter, doubling, trebling, and now & then ſeuen times increaſing their fines, driuing them alſo for euerie trifle to loſe and forfeit their tenures (by whome the greateſt part of the realme doth ſtand and is mainteined) to the end they may fléece them yet more, which is a lamentable hering. The third thing they talke of is vſurie, a trade brought in by the Iewes, now perfectlie practiſed almoſt by euerie chriſtian, and ſo commonlie that he is accompted but for a fole that doth lend his monie for nothing. In time paſt it was *Sors pro ſorte*, that is, the principall onelie for the principall; but now beſide that which is aboue the principall properlie called *Vſura*, we chalenge *Fœnus*, that is commoditie of ſoile, & fruits of the earth, if not the ground it ſelfe. In time paſt alſo one of the hundred was much, from thence it roſe vnto two, called in Latine *Vſura, Ex ſextante*; three, to wit *Ex quadrante*; then to foure, to wit *Ex triente*; then to fiue, which is *Ex quincunce*; then to ſix, called *Ex ſemiſſe*, &c: as the accompt of the *Aſſis* ariſeth, and comming at the laſt vnto *Vſura ex aſſe*, it amounteth to twelue in the hundred, and therefore the Latines call it *Centeſima*, for that in the hundred moneth it doubleth the principall; but more of this elſewhere. See Cicero againſt Verres, Demoſthenes againſt Aphobus, and Athenæus *lib.* 13. *in fine*: and when thou haſt read them well, helpe I praie thée in lawfull maner to hang vp ſuch as take *Centũ pro cento*, for they are no better worthie as I doo iudge in conſcience. Forget not alſo ſuch landlords as vſe to value their leaſes at a ſecret eſtimation giuen of the wealth and credit of the taker, whereby they ſéeme (as it were) to eat them by and deale with bordmen, ſo that if the leaſſée be thought to be worth an hundred pounds, he ſhall paie no leſſe for his new terme, or elſe another to enter with hard and doubtfull couenants. I am ſorie to report it, much more gréeued to vnderſtand of the practiſe; but moſt ſorowfull of all to vnderſtand that men of great port and countenance are ſo farre from ſuffering their farmers to haue anie gaine at all, that they themſelues become graſiers, butchers, tanners, ſhéepmaſters, woodmen, and *denique quid non*, thereby to inrich themſelues, and bring all the wealth of the countrie into their owne hands, leauing the communaltie weake, or as an idoll with broken or féeble armes, which may in a time of peace haue a plauſible ſhew, but when neceſſitie ſhall inforce, haue an heauie and bitter ſequele.

By the yeare.

Of cities and townes in *England*.

Cap. 13.

Six and twentie cities in England.

AS in old time we read that there were eight and twentie flamines and archflamines in the ſouth part of this Ile, and ſo manie great cities vnder their iuriſdiction: ſo in theſe our daies there is but one or two fewer, and each of them alſo vnder the eccleſiaſticall regiment of ſome one biſhop or archbiſhop, who in ſpirituall caſes haue the charge and ouerſight of the ſame. So manie cities therefore are there in England and Wales, as there be biſhoprikes & archbiſhoprikes. For notwithſtanding that Lichfield and Couentrie, and Bath and Welles, do ſéeme to extend the aforeſaid number vnto nine and twentie: yet neither of theſe couples are to be accounted, but as one entier citie and ſée of the biſhop, ſith one biſhoprike can haue relation but vnto one ſée, and the ſaid ſée be ſituate but in one place, after which the biſhop doth take his name. It appeareth by our old and ancient hiſtories, that the cities of this ſoutherlie portion haue bæne of excéeding greatneſſe and beautie, whereof ſome were builded in the time of the Samothean, and of which not a few in theſe our times are quite decaied, and the places where they ſtood worne out of all remembrance. Such alſo for the moſt part as yet remaine are maruellouſlie altered, inſomuch that whereas at the firſt they were large and ample, now are they come either vnto a verie few houſes, or appeare not to be much greater in compariſon than poore & ſimple villages. Antoninus the moſt diligent writer of the thorough fares of Britaine, noteth among other theſe ancient townes following, as Sitomagus, which he placeth in the waie from Norwich, as Leland ſuppoſeth (wherin they went by Colcheſter) to London, Nouiomagus that lieth betwéene Carleill and Canturburie, within ten miles eaſt of London, and likewiſe Neomagus and Niomagus which take their names of their firſt founder Magus, the ſonne of Samothes, & ſecond king of the Celtes that reigned in this Iland; and not *A profunditate*, onelie, as Bodinus affirmeth out of Plinie, as if all the townes that ended in Magus ſhould ſtand in holes and low grounds: which is to be diſproued in diuerſe cities in the maine, as alſo here with vs. Of theſe moreouer ſir Thomas Eliot ſuppoſeth Neomagus to haue ſtood ſomewhere about Cheſter; & George Lillie in his booke of the names of ancient places, iudgeth Niomagus to be the verie ſame that we doo now call Buckingham, and lieth farre from the ſhore. And as theſe and ſundrie other now periſhed tooke their denomination of this prince, ſo there

Sitomagus.
Nouiomagus.
Neomagus
Niomagus.

are

Salisburie of Sarron.

are diuerse causes, which moue me to coniecture, that Salisburie doth rather take the first name of Sarron the sonne of the said Magus, than of Cæsar, Caradoc or Seuerus (as some of our writers do imagine) or else at the least wise of Salisburge of the maine, from whence some Sarons came to inhabit in this land. And for this later not vnlikelie, sith before the comming of the Sarons, the king of the Suessionenses had a great part of this Iland in subiection, as Cæsar saith; and in another place that such of Belgie as stale ouer hither from the maine, builded and called diuerse cities after the names of the same from whence they came, I meane such as stood vpon the coast, as he himselfe doth witnesse.

Sarrentium. Sarrons burg.

But sith coniectures are no verities, and mine opinion is but one mans iudgement, I will not stand now vpon the proofe of this matter, least I should seeme to take great paines in adding new coniectures vnto old, in such wise to deteine the heads of my readers about these trifles, that otherwise peraduenture would be farre better occupied in matters of more importance. To proceed therefore. As soone after the first inhabitation of this Iland, our cities began no doubt to be builded and increased, so they ceased not to multiplie from time to time, till the land was throughlie furnished with hir conuenient numbers, whereof some at this present with their ancient names, do still remaine in knowledge, though diuerse be doubted of, and manie more perished by continuance of time, and violence of the enimie. I doubt not also but the least of these were comparable to the greatest of those which stand in our time, for sith that in those daies the most part of the Iland was reserued vnto pasture, the townes and villages either were not at all (but all sorts of people dwelled in the cities indifferentlie, an image of which estate may yet be seene in Spaine) or at the least wise stood not so thicke, as they did afterward in the time of the Romans, but chéefelie after the comming of the Sarons, and after them the Normans, when euerie lord builded a church neare vnto his owne mansion house, and thereto imparted the greatest portion of his lands vnto sundrie tenants, to hold the same of him by copie of court roll, which rolles were then kept in some especiall place indifferentlie appointed by them and their lord, so that the one could haue no resort vnto them without the other, by which means the number of townes and villages was not a little increased. If anie man be desirous to know the names of those ancient cities, that stood in the time of the Romans, he shall haue them here at hand, in such wise as I haue gathered them out of our writers, obseruing euen their manner of writing of them so neare as to me is possible, without alteration of anie corruption crept vp into the same.

Greater cities in times past when husbandmen also were citizens.

The cause of the increase of villages.

1. London otherwise called
- Trenouanton.
- Cair Lud.
- Londinum or Longidinium.
- Augusta of the legion Augusta that soiourned there, when the Romans ruled here.

2 Yorke otherwise called
- Cairbranke.
- Vrouicum or Yurewijc.
- Eorwijc or Eoforwijc.
- Yeworwijc.
- Eboracum.
- Victoria of the legion victrix that laie there sometime.

Leouitius placeth yorke in Scotland de eclipsibus.

A legion contained sixtie centuries, thirtie manipuli, three cohortes.

3 Canturburie
- Duroruerno *alias* Duraruenno.
- Dorobernia.
- Cantwarbirie.

4 Colchester
- Cair Colon.
- Cair Colden.
- Cair Colkin of Coilus.
- Cair Colun, of the riuer that runneth thereby.
- Colonia, of the colonie planted there by the Romans. Plin. lib. 2. ca. 75.
- Colonceſter. Tacitus.
- Camulodunum. Ptolome.

5 Lincolne
- Cair Lud Coit, of the woods that stood about it.
- Cair Loichoit, by corruption.
- Lindum.
- Lindocollinum.

6 Warwijc had sometime 9 parish churches.
- Cair Guttelin.
- Cair Line or Cair Leon.
- Cair Gwair.
- Cair Vmber.
- Cair Gwaerton.

7 Chester vpon Vske was a famous vniuersitie in the time of Arthur.
- Cair legion.
- Carlheon.
- Cairlium.
- Legeceſter.
- Ciuitas legionum.

8 Carleill
- Cair Lueill.
- Cair Leill.
- Lugibalia.
- Cair Doill.

9 S. Albanes
- Cair Maricipit.
- Cair Municip.
- Verolamium.
- Verlamceſter.
- Cair Wattelin, of the street wheron it stood.

10 Winchester.
- Cair Gwent.
- Cair Gwin.
- Cair Wine.
- Venta Simenorum.

11 Ciscester.
- Cair Churne.
- Cair Kyrne.
- Cair Kery.
- Cair Cery.
- Cirneceſter.
- Churneceſter.

12 Silcester.
- Cair Segent.
- Seleceſter.

Cair Segent stood vpon the Thames, not farre from Reding.

13 Bath.
- Cair Badon.
- Thermæ.
- Aquæ solis.

14 Shaftesbyry
- Cair Paladour.
- Septonia.

15 Worcester.
- Wigornia.
- Cair Gworangon.
- Brangonia.
- Cair Frangon.
- Woorkeceſter.

16 Chichester.
- Cair Key or Kair Kis.
- Cair Chic.

17 Bristow
- Cair Oder nant Badon.
- Oder.
- Cair Bren.
- Venta Belgarum.
- Brightstow.

18 Rocheſter.

18 Rochest. Durobreuis, corruptlie Durobrouis. Roſceſter. Dubobrus. Roffa. Durobrius.

19 Portchester. Cair Peris. Cair Poreis.

20 Cairmarden. Cair Maridunum. Cair Merdine. Maridunum. Cair Marlin. Cair Fridhin.

21 Glocester. Cair Clowy. Cair Glow. Claudioceſtria.

22 Leircester. Cair Beir. Cair Leir. Cair Lirion. Wirall, teſte. Matth. Weſt, 895.

23 Cambridge. Grantabric. Cair Graunt.

24 Cair Vrnach, peraduenture Burgh caſtell.
25 Cair Cucurat.
26 Cair Draiton, now a ſlender village.
27 Cair Celennon.
28 Cair Megwaid.

As for Cair Dorme (another whereof I read likewiſe) it ſtood ſomewhere vpon the Nene in Huntingdon ſhire, but now vnknowne, ſith it was twiſe raced to the ground, firſt by the Saxons, then by the Danes, ſo that the ruines thereof are in theſe daies not extant to be ſéene. And in like ſort I am ignorant where moſt of them ſtood, that are noted with the ſtar. I find in like ſort mention of a noble citie called Alchuid ouer and beſide theſe afore mentioned, ſometime builded by Ebracus of Britaine, as the fame goeth, and finallie deſtroied by the Danes, about the yeare of Grace 870. It ſtood vpon the banks of the riuer Cluda, to wit, betwéene it and the blanke on the north, and the Lound lake on the weſt, and was ſometime march betwéene the Britons and the Picts, and likewiſe the Picts and the Scots; neuertheleſſe, the caſtell (as I heare) doth yet remaine, and hath béene ſince well repaired by the Scots, and called Dombrittain or Dunbritton, ſo that it is not an hard matter by theſe few words to find where Alcluid ſtood. I could here, if leiſure ſerued, and haſt of the printer not require diſpatch, deliuer the ancient names of ſundrie other townes, of which Stafford in time paſt was called Stadford, and therfore (as I geſſe) builded or the name altered by the Saxons, Kinebanton now Kimbalton. But if anie man be deſirous to ſée more of them, let him reſort to Houeden in the life of Henrie the ſecond, and there he ſhall be further ſatiſfied of his deſire in this behalfe.

when Alband was martyred Aſclepiodotus was legat in Britaine.

It ſhould ſéeme when theſe ancient cities flouriſhed, that the ſame towne, which we now call ſaint Albons, did moſt of all excell: but chéefelie in the Romans time, and was not onelie nothing inferior to London it ſelfe, but rather preferred before it, becauſe it was newer, and made a Municipium of the Romans, whereas the other was old and ruinous, and inhabited onelie by the Britons, as the moſt part of the Iland was alſo in thoſe daies. Good notice hereof alſo is to be taken by Matthew Paris, and others before him, out of whoſe writings I haue thought good to note a few things, whereby the maieſtie of this ancient citie may appeare vnto poſteritie, and the former eſtate of Verlamceſter not lie altogither (as it hath done hitherto) raked vp in forgetfulnes, through the negligence of ſuch as might haue deſerued better of their ſucceſſours, by leauing the deſcription thereof in a booke by it ſelfe, ſith manie particulars thereof were written to their hands, that now are loſt and periſhed. Tacitus in the fourteenth booke of his hiſtorie maketh mention of it, ſhewing that in the rebellion of the Britons, the Romans there were miſerablie diſtreſſed, *Eadem clades* (ſaith he) *municipio Verolamio fuit*. And hereupon Nennius in his catalog of cities calleth it Cair municip, as I before haue noted. Ptolome ſpeaking of it, doth place it among the Catyeuchlanes, but Antoninus maketh it one and twentie Italian miles from London, placing Sullomaca nine mile from thence, whereby it is euident, that Sullomaca ſtood néere to Barnet, if it were not the verie ſame. Of the old compaſſe of the walles of Verolamium there is now ſmall knowledge to be had by the ruines, but of the beautie of the citie it ſelfe you ſhall partlie vnderſtand by that which followeth at hand, after I haue told you for your better intelligence what *Municipium Romanorum* is: for there is great difference betwéene that and *Colonia Romanorum*, ſith *Colonia aliò traducitur a ciuitate Roma*, but *Municipes aliundè in ciuitatem veniunt, ſuiſq; iuribus & legibus viuunt*: moreouer their ſoile is not changed into the nature of the Romane, but they liue in the ſtedfaſt frendſhip and protection of the Romans, as did ſomtime the Ceretes who were the firſt people which euer obteined that priuilege. The Britiſh Verolamians therefore, hauing for their noble ſeruice in the warres deſerued great commendations at the hands of the Romans, they gaue vnto them the whole frédome of Romans, whereby they were made *Municipes*, and became more frée in truth than their *Colonies* could be. To conclude therefore, *Municipium* is a citie inſtanchiſed and indued with Romane priuileges, without anie alteration of hir former inhabitants or priuileges; whereas a *Colonie* is a companie ſent from Rome into anie other region or prouince, to poſſeſſe either a citie newlie builded, or to repleniſh the ſame from whence hir former citizens haue béene expelled and driuen out. Now to proceed.

Sullomaca and Barnet all one, or not far in ſunder.

In the time of king Edgar it fell out, that one Eldred was abbat there; who being deſirous to inlarge that houſe, it came into his mind to ſearch about in the ruines of Verolamium (which now was ouerthrowne by the furie of the Saxons & Danes) to ſée if he might there come by anie curious peéces of worke, wherewith to garniſh his building taken in hand. To be ſhort, he had no ſoner begun to dig among the rubbiſh, but he found an exceéding number of pillers, peéces of antike worke, threſholds, dore frames, and ſundrie other peéces of fine maſonrie for windowes and ſuch like, verie conuenient for his purpoſe. Of theſe alſo ſome were of porphyrite ſtone, ſome of diuerſe kinds of marble, touch, and alabaſter, beſide manie curious deuiſes of hard mettall, in finding whereof he thought himſelfe an happie man, and his ſucceſſe to be greatlie guided by S. Albane. Beſides theſe alſo he found ſundrie pillers of braſſe, and ſockets of latton, alabaſter and touch, all which he laid aſide by great heaps, determining in the end (I ſaie) to laie the foundation of a new abbaie, but God ſo preuented his determination, that death tooke him awaie, before his building was begun. After him ſucceéded one Eadmerus, who followed the doings of Eldred to the vttermoſt: and therefore not onlie peruſed what he had left with great diligence, but alſo cauſed his pioners to ſearch

yet

ret further, within the old walles of Verolamium, where they not onelie found infinite other peeces of excellent workemanship, but came at the last to certeine vaults vnder the ground, in which stood diuers idols, and not a few altars, verie superstitiouslie and religiouslie adorned, as the pagans left them belike in time of necessitie. These images were of sundrie mettels, and some of pure gold, their altars likewise were richlie couered, all which ornaments Comerus tooke awaie, and not onelie conuerted them to other vse in his building, but also destroied an innumerable sort of other idols, whose estimation consisted in their formes, and substances could do no seruice. He tooke vp also sundrie curious pots, iugs, and cruses of stone and wood most artificiallie wrought and carued, and that in such quantitie, besides infinite store of fine houshold stuffe, as if the whole furniture of the citie had beene brought thither of purpose to be hidden in those vaults. In proceeding further, he tooke vp diuerse pots of gold, siluer, brasse, glasse and earth, whereof some were filled with the ashes and bones of the gentils, the mouths being turned downewards: the like of which, but of finer earth, were found in great numbers also of late in a well at little Wallingham in Norffolke, of six or eight gallons a peece, about the yeare 1578, and also in the time of Henrie the eight) and not a few with the coines of the old Britons and Romane emperours. All which vessels the said abbat brake into peeces, and melting the mettall, he reserued it in like sort for the garnishing of his church.

He found likewise in a stone wall two old bookes, whereof one conteined the rites of the gentils, about the sacrifices of their gods, the other (as they now saie) the martyrdome of saint Albane, both of them written in old British letters, which either bicause no man then liuing could read them, or for that they were not worth the keeping, were both consumed to ashes, sauing that a few notes were first taken out of this later, concerning the death of their Albane. Thus much haue I thought good to note of the former beautie of Verolamium, whereof infinite other tokens haue beene found since that time, and diuerse within the memorie of man, of passing workemanship, the like whereof hath no where else beene seene in anie ruines within the compasse of this Ile, either for cost or quantitie of stuffe.

This seemeth like a lie.

Furthermore, whereas manie are not afraid to saie that the Thames came sometimes by this citie, indeed it is nothing so; but that the Uerlume (afterward called Uere and the Wure, did and doth so still (whatsoeuer Gildas talketh hereof, whose bookes may be corrupted in that behalfe) there is yet euident proofe to be confirmed by experience. For albeit that the riuer be now growne to be verie small by reason of the ground about it, which is higher than it was in old time; yet it keepeth in maner the old course, and runneth betweene the old citie that was, and the new towne that is standing on Holmehirst crag, as I beheld of late. Those places also which now are meadow beneath the abbaie, were sometimes a great lake, mere, or poole, through which the said riuer ran, and (as I read) with a verie swift and violent course, whereas at this present it is verie slow, and of no such deapth as of ancient times it hath beene. But heare what mine author saith further of the same. As those aforesaid workemen digged in these ruines, they happened oftentimes vpon Lempet shels, peeces of rustie anchors, and keeles of great vessels, whereupon some by and by gathered that either the Thames or some arme of the sea did beat vpon that towne, not vnderstanding that these things might aswell happen in great lakes and meres, whereof there was one adioining to the north side of the citie, which laie (as some men think) vnwalled, but that also is false. For being there vpon occasion this summer passed, I saw some remnant of the old wals standing in that place, which appeared to haue beene verie substantiallie builded; the ruines likewise of a greater part of them are to be seene running along by the old chappell hard by in maner of a banke. Whereby it is euident that the new towne standeth cleane without the limits of the old, and that the bridge whereof the historie of S. Albane speaketh, was at the nether end of Halliwell street or there about, for so the view of the place doth inforce me to coniecture. This mere which the Latine copie of the description of Britaine, written of late by Humfrey Lhoid our countrie man calleth corruptlie *Stagnum exanimum* for *Stagnum maximum*, at the first belonged to the king, and thereby Offa in his time did reape no small commoditie. It continued also vntill the time of Alfrye the seuenth abbat of that house, who bought it outright of the king then liuing, and by excessiue charges drained it so narrowlie, that within a while he left it drie sauing that he reserued a chanell for the riuer to haue his vsuall course, which he held vp with high bankes, bicause there was alwaies contention betweene the monks and the kings seruants, which fished on that water vnto the kings behoofe.

In these daies therefore remaineth no maner mention of this poole, but onelie in one street, which yet is called Fishpoole street, whereof this may suffice for the resolution of such men, as seeke rather to yeeld to an inconuenience, than that their Gildas should seeme to mistake this riuer.

Hauing thus digressed to giue some remembrance of the old estate of Verolamium, it is now time to returne againe vnto my former purpose. Certes I would gladlie set downe with the names and number of the cities, all the townes and villages in England and Wales, with their true longitudes and latitudes, but as yet I cannot come by them in such order as I would: howbeit the tale of our cities is some found by the bishoprikes, sith euerie see hath such prerogatiue giuen vnto it, as to beare the name of a citie, & to vse *regalia* within hir owne limits. Which priuilege also is granted to sundrie ancient townes in England, especiallie northward, where more plentie of them is to be found by a great deale than in the south. The names therefore of our cities are these:

London.	Worcester.	Chester.
Yorke.	Gloucester.	Chichester.
Canturburie.	Hereford.	Oxford.
Winchester.	Salisburie.	Peterborow.
Cairleill.	Excester.	Landaffe.
Durham.	Bath.	S. Dauids.
Elie.	Lichfield.	Bangor.
Norwich.	Bristow.	S. Asaph.
Lincolne.	Rochester.	

Whose particular plots and models with their descriptions shall insue, if it may be brought to passe, that the cutters can make dispatch of them before this chronologie be published. Of townes and villages likewise thus much will I saie, that there were greater store in old time (I meane within three or foure hundred yeare passed) than at this present. And this I note out of diuerse records, charters, and donations (made in times past vnto sundrie religious houses, as Glastenburie, Abbandon, Ramsie, Elie, and such like) and whereof in these daies I find not so much as the ruines. Leland in sundrie places complaineth likewise of the decaie of parishes in great cities and townes, missing in some six, or eight, or twelue churches and more, of all which he giueth particular notice. For albeit that the Saxons builded manie townes and villages, and the Normans well more

more at their firſt comming, yet ſince the firſt two hundred yeares after the latter conqueſt, they haue gone ſo faſt againe to decaie, that the ancient number of them is verie much abated. Ranulph the monke of Cheſter telleth of generall ſurueie made in the fourth, ſixtenth, & ninetenth of the reigne of William Conqueror, ſurnamed the Baſtard, wherein it was found, that (notwithſtanding the Danes had ouerthrowne a great manie) there were to the number of 52000 townes, 45002 pariſh churches, and 75000 knights fées, whereof the cleargie held 28015. He addeth moreouer that there were diuerſe other builded ſince that time, within the ſpace of an hundred yeares after the comming of the Baſtard, as it were in lieu or recompenſe of thoſe that William Rufus pulled downe for the erection of his new forreſt. For by an old booke which I haue, and ſometime written as it ſéemeth by an vnderſhiriffe of Nottingham, I find, euen in the time of Edw. 4. 45120 pariſh churches, and but 60216 knights fées, whereof the cleargie held as before 28015, or at the leaſt 28000: for ſo ſmall is the difference which he doth ſéeme to vſe. Howbeit if the aſſertions of ſuch as write in our time concerning this matter, either are or ought to be of anie credit in this behalfe, you ſhall not find aboue 17000 townes and villages, and 9210 in the whole, which is little more than a fourth part of the aforeſaid number, if it be throughlie ſcanned.

Certes this miſfortune hath not onelie happened vnto our Ile & nation, but vnto moſt of the famous countries of the world heretofore, and all by the grédie deſire of ſuch as would liue alone and onelie to themſelues. And hereof we may take example in Candie of old time called Creta, which (as Homer writeth) was called Hetacompolis, becauſe it conteined an hundred cities, but now it is ſo vnfurniſhed that it may hardlie be called Tripolis. Diodorus Siculus ſaith, that Aegypt had once 18000 cities, which ſo decaied in proceſſe of time, that when Ptolomeus Lagus reigned, there were not aboue 3000: but in our daies both in all Aſia & Aegypt this leſſer number ſhall not verie readilie be found. In time paſt in Lincolne (as the fame goeth) there haue béene two and fiftie pariſh churches, and good record appeareth for eight and thirtie: but now if there be foure and twentie it is all. This inconuenience hath growen altogither to the church by appropriations made vnto monaſteries and religious houſes, a terrible canker and enimie to religion.

But to leaue this lamentable diſcourſe of ſo notable and grécuous an inconuenience, growing (as I ſaid) by incroching and ioining of houſe to houſe, and laieng land to land, whereby the inhabitants of manie places of our countrie are deuoured and eaten vp, and their houſes either altogither pulled downe or ſuffered to decaie by litle and litle, although ſometime a poore man peraduenture doth dwell in one of them, who not being able to repare it, ſuffereth it to fall downe, & thereto thinketh himſelfe verie friendlie dealt withall, if he may haue an acre of ground aſſigned vnto him whereon to kéepe a cow, or wherein to ſet cabbages, radiſhes, parſneps, carrets, melons, pompons, or ſuch like ſtuffe, by which he and his poore houſehold liueth as by their principall food, ſith they can do no better. And as for wheaten bread, they eat it when they can reach vnto the price of it, contenting themſelues in the meane time with bread made of otes or barleie: a poore eſtate God wot! Howbeit what care our great incrochers? But in diuers places where rich men dwelled ſometime in good tenements, there be now no houſes at all, but hoppards, and ſheads for poles, or peraduenture gardens, as we may ſée in caſtell Hedingham, and diuerſe other places. But to proceed.

It is ſo, that our ſoile being diuided into champaine ground and woodland, the houſes of the firſt lie vniformelie builded in euerie towne togither with ſtréets and lanes, whereas in the woodland countries (except here and there in great market townes) they ſtand ſcattered abroad, each one dwelling in the midſt of his owne occupieng. And as in manie and moſt great market townes, there are commonlie thrée hundred or foure hundred families or manſions, & two thouſand communicants, or peraduenture more: ſo in the other, whether they be woodland or champains, we find not often aboue fortie, fiftie, or threé ſcore houſeholds, and two or threé hundred communicants, whereof the greateſt part neuertheleſſe are verie poore folkes, oftentimes without all maner of occupieng, ſith the ground of the pariſh is gotten vp into a few mens hands, yea ſometimes into the tenure of one, two or threé, whereby the reſt are compelled either to be hired ſeruants vnto the other, or elſe to beg their bread in miſerie from doore to doore.

There are ſome (ſaith Leland) which are not ſo ſauourable when they haue gotten ſuch lands, as to let the houſes remaine vpon them to the vſe of the poore; but they will compound with the lord of the ſoile to pull them downe for altogither, laieng that if they did let them ſtand, they ſhould but toll beggers to the towne, therby to ſurcharge the reſt of the pariſh, & laie more burden vpon them. But alas theſe pitifull men ſée not that they themſelues hereby do laie the greateſt log vpon their neighbors necks. For ſith the prince doth commonlie loſe nothing of his duties accuſtomable to be paid, the reſt of the pariſhioners that remaine muſt anſwer and beare them out: for they plead more charge other waies, laieng; I am charged alreadie with a light horſſe, I am to anſwer in this ſort and after that maner. And it is not yet altogither out of knowledge, that where the king had ſeuen pounds thirteene ſhillings at a taſke gathered of fiftie wealthie houſeholders of a pariſh in England: now a gentleman hauing threé parts of the towne in his owne hands, foure houſholds do beare all the aforeſaid paiment, or elſe Leland is deceiued in his Commentaries lib. 13. latelie come to my hands, which thing he eſpeciallie noted in his trauell ouer this Ile. A common plague & enormitie, both in the hart of the land and likewiſe vpon the coaſts. Certes a great number complaine of the increaſe of pouertie, laieng the cauſe vpon God, as though he were in fault for ſending ſuch increaſe of people, or want of wars that ſhould conſume them, affirming that the land was neuer ſo full, &c: but few men do ſée the verie root from whence it doth proceed. Yet the Romans found it out, when they flouriſhed, and therefore preſcribed limits to euerie mans tenure and occupieng. Homer commendeth Achilles for ouerthrowing of fiue and twentie cities: but in mine opinion Ganges is much better preferred by Suidas for building of threé ſcore in Inde, where he did plant himſelfe. I could (if néed required) ſet downe in this place the number of religious houſes and monaſteries, with the names of their founders that haue béene in this Iland: but ſith it is a thing of ſmall importance, I paſſe it ouer as impertinent to my purpoſe. Yet herein I will commend ſundrie of the monaſticall votaries, eſpeciallie monkes, for that they were authors of manie goodlie borowes and endwares, nére vnto their dwellings, although otherwiſe they pretended to be men ſeparated from the world. But alas their couetous minds one waie in inlarging their reuenues, and carnall intent another, appéered herin too too much. For being bold from time to time to viſit their tenants, they wrought off great

great wickednesse, and made those endwares little better than brodelhouses, especiallie where nunries were farre off, or else no safe accesse vnto them. But what doo I spend my time in the rehearsall of these filthinesses? Would to God the memorie of them might perish with the malefactors! My purpose was also at the end of this chapter to haue set downe a table of the parish churches and market townes thorough out all England and Wales: but sith I can not performe the same as I would, I am forced to giue ouer my purpose: yet by these few that insue you shall easilie see what order I would haue vsed according to the shires, if I might haue brought it to passe.

Shires.	*Market townes.*	*Parishes.*
Middlesex.	3	73
London within the walles, and without.		120
Surrie.	6	140
Sussex.	18	312
Kent.	17	398
Cambridge.	4	163
Bedford.	9	13
Huntingdon.	5	78
Rutland.	2	47
Barkeshire.	11	150
Northhampton.	10	326
Buckingham.	11	196
Oxford.	10	216
Southhampton.	18	248
Dorset.	19	279
Norffolke.	26	625
Suffolke.	25	575
Essex.	18	415

Of castels and holds.

Chap. 14.

IT hath béene of long time a question in controuersie, and not yet determined, whether holds and castels néere cities or anie where in the hart of common-wealths, are more profitable or hurtfull for the benefit of the countrie? Nevertheles it séemeth by our owne experience that we here in England suppose them altogither vnnécessarie. This also is apparant by the testimonie of sundrie writers, that they haue béene the ruine of manie a noble citie. Of old Salisburie I speake not, of Anwarpe I saie nothing more than of sundrie other, whereof some also in my time neuer cease to incroch vpon the liberties of the cities adioining, thereby to hinder them what and wherin they may. For my part I neuer read of anie castell that did good vnto the citie abutting theron, but onelie the capitoll of Rome: and yet but once good vnto the same, in respect of the nine times whereby it brought it into danger of vtter ruine and confusion. Aristotle vtterlie denieth that anie castle at all can be profitable to a common wealth well gouerned. Timotheus of Corinthum affirmeth, that a castle in a common wealth is but a bréeder of tyrants. Pyrhus king of Epire being receiued also on a time into Athens, among other courtesies shewed vnto him, they led him also into their castell of Pallas, who at his departure gaue them great thanks for the frendlie intertainment; but with this item, that they should let so few kings come into the same as they might, least (saith he) they teach you to repent too late of your great gentlenesse. Caietanus in his common-wealth hath finallie no liking of them, as appéereth in his eight booke of that most excellent treatise. But what haue I to deale whether they be profitable or not, sith my purpose is rather to shew what plentie we haue of them, which I will performe so far as shall be nédfull.

There haue béene in times past great store of castels & places of defense within the realme of England, of which some were builded by the Britons, manie by the Romans, Saxons, and Danes, but most of all by the barons of the realme, in & about the time of king Stephan, who licenced each of them to build so manie as them liked vpon their owne demeasnes, hoping thereby that they would haue imploied their vse to his aduantage and commoditie. But finallie when he saw that they were rather fortified against himselfe in the end, than vsed in his defense, he repented all too late of his inconsiderate dealing, sith now there was no remedie but by force for to subdue them. After his decease king Henrie the second came no sooner to the crowne, but he called to mind the inconuenience which his predecessour had suffered, and he himselfe might in time sustaine by those fortifications. Therefore one of the first things he did was an attempt to race and deface the most part of these holds. Certes he thought it better to hazard the méeting of the enimie now and then in the plaine field, than to liue in perpetuall feare of those houses, and the rebellion of his lords vpon euerie light occasion conceiued, who then were full so strong as he, if not more strong; and that made them the readier to withstand and gainesaie manie of those procédings, which he and his successours from time to time intended. Herevpon therefore he caused more than eleuen hundred of their said castels to be raced and ouerthrowne, whereby the power of his nobilitie was not a little restreined. Since that time also, not a few of those which remained, haue decaied, partlie by the commandement of Henrie the third, and partlie of themselues, or by conuersion of them into the dwelling houses of noble men, their martiall fronts being remoued: so that at this present, there are verie few or no castels at all maintained within England, sauing onelie vpon the coasts and marches of the countrie for the better kéeping backe of the forren enimie, when soeuer he shall attempt to enter and annoie vs.

The most prouident prince that euer reigned in this land, for the fortification thereof against all outward enimies, was the late prince of famous memorie king Henrie the eight, who beside that he repared most of such as were alreadie standing, builded sundrie out of the ground. For hauing shaken off the more than seruile yoke of popish tyrannie, and espieng that the emperour was offended for his diuorce from quéene Catharine his aunt, and thereto vnderstanding that the French king had coupled the Dolphin his sonne with the popes néece, and maried his daughter to the king of Scots (whereby he had cause more iustlie to suspect than safelie to trust anie one of them all as Lambert saith) he determined to stand vpon his owne defense, and therefore with no small spéed, and like charge, he builded sundrie blockehouses, castels, and platformes vpon diuerse frontiers of his realme, but chieflie the east and southeast parts of England, whereby (no doubt) he did verie much qualifie the conceiued grudges of his aduersaries, and vtterlie put off their hastie purpose of inuasion. But would to God he had cast his eare toward Harwich, and the coasts of Norffolke and Suffolke, where nothing as yet is done albeit there be none so fit and likelie places for the enimie to enter vpon, as in those parts, where, at a full sea they may touch vpon the shore and come to land without resistance. And thus much briefle for my purpose at this present. For I néed not to make anie long discourse of castels,

ſtels, ſith it is not the nature of a good Engliſhman to regard to be caged vp as in a coope, and hedged in with ſtone wals, but rather to meet with his enimie in the plaine field at handſtrokes, where he may trauaile his ground, chooſe his plot, and vſe the benefit of ſunne ſhine, wind and weather, to his beſt aduantage & commoditie. Iſocrates alſo ſaith that towres, walles, bulworkes, ſoldiers, and plentie of armour, are not the beſt keepers of kingdomes; but friends, loue of ſubiects, & obedience vnto martiall diſcipline, which they want that ſhew themſelues either cruell or couetous toward their people. As for thoſe tales that go of Beſton caſtell, how it ſhall haue all England on a daie, and likewiſe the brag of a rebellious baron in old time named Hugh Bigot, that ſaid in contempt of king Henrie the third, and about the fiftith yeare of his reigne:

The beſt keepers of kingdomes.

If I were in my caſtell of Bungeie,
Vpon the water of Waueneie,
I wold not ſet a button by the king of Cockneie,

I repute them but as toies, the firſt meere vaine, the ſecond fondlie vttered if anie ſuch thing were ſaid, as manie other words are and haue beene ſpoken of like holds (as Wallingford, &c:) but now growen out of memorie, and with ſmall loſſe not heard of among the common ſort. Certes the caſtell of Bungeie was ouerthrowen by the aforeſaid prince, the ſame yeare that he ouerthrew the walles and caſtell of Leiceſter, alſo the caſtels of Treſke and Maleſar, apperteining to Roger Mowbraie, and that of Fremlingham belonging likewiſe to Hugh Bigot, wherof in the chronologie following you may read at large. I might here in like ſort take occaſion to ſpeake of ſundrie ſtrong places where camps of men haue lien, and of which we haue great plentie here in England in the plaine fields: but I paſſe ouer to talke of any ſuch needleſſe diſcourſes. This neuertheleſſe concerning two of them is not to be omitted, to wit, that the one neere vnto Cambridge now Gogmagogs hill, was called Windleburie before time, as I read of late in an old pamphlet. And to ſaie the truth I haue often heard them named Winterburie hilles, which difference may eaſilie grow by corruption of the former word: the place likewiſe is verie large and ſtrong. The ſecond is to be ſeene in the edge of Shropſhire about two miles from Coline, betweene two riuers, the Clun or Colunus, and the Tewie otherwiſe named Themis, wherevnto there is no acceſſe but at one place. The Welſhmen call it Cair Caradoc, and they are of the opinion, that Caractatus king of the Sillures was ouercome there by Oſtorius, at ſuch time as he fled to Cartimanda queene of the Brigants for ſuccour, who betraied him to the Romans, as you may ſee in Tacitus.

The wandles in time paſt were called windles.

Of palaces belonging to *the prince.*

Chap. 15.

IT lieth not in me to ſet down exactlie the number & names of the palaces belonging to the prince, nor to make anie deſcription of hir graces court, ſith my calling is and hath beene ſuch, as that I haue ſcarſelie preſumed to peepe in at hir gates, much leſſe then haue I aduentured to ſearch out and know the eſtate of thoſe houſes, and what magnificent behauiour is to be ſeene within them. Yet thus much will I ſaie generallie of all the houſes and honours perteining to hir maieſtie, that they are builded either of ſquare ſtone or bricke, or elſe of both. And thervnto although their capacitie and hugeneſſe be not ſo monſtrous, as the like of diuerſe forren princes are to be ſeene in the maine, and new found nations of the world: yet are they ſo curious, neat, and commodious as any of them, both for conueiance of offices and lodgings, and excellencie of ſituation, which is not the leaſt thing to be conſidered of in building. Thoſe that were builded before the time of king Henrie the eight, reteine to theſe daies the ſhew and image of the ancient kind of workemanſhip vſed in this land: but ſuch as he erected after his owne deuiſe (for he was nothing inferiour in this trade to Adrian the emperour and Iuſtinian the lawgiuer) doo repreſent another maner of paterne, which as they are ſuppoſed to excell all the reſt that he found ſtanding in this realme, ſo they are and ſhall be a perpetuall preſident vnto thoſe that doo come after, to follow in their works and buildings of importance. Certes maſonrie did neuer better flouriſh in England than in his time. And albeit that in theſe daies there be manie goodlie houſes erected in the ſundrie quarters of this Iland; yet they are rather curious to the eie like paper worke, than ſubſtantiall for continuance: whereas ſuch as he did ſet vp excell in both, and therefore may iuſtlie be preferred farre aboue all the reſt. The names of thoſe which come now to my remembrance, and are as yet reſerued to hir maieſties onelie vſe at pleaſure are theſe: for of ſuch as are giuen awaie I ſpeake not, neither of thoſe that are vtterlie decaied, as Bainards caſtell in London builded in the daies of the Conquerour by a noble man called William Bainard, whoſe wife Inga builded the priorie of litle Donemow in the daies of Henrie the firſt; neither of the tower roiall there alſo, &c: ſith I ſee no cauſe wherefore I ſhould remember them and manie of the like, of whoſe verie ruines I haue no certeine knowledge. Of ſuch I ſaie therfore as I erſt mentioned, we haue firſt of all White hall at the weſt end of London (which is taken for the moſt large & principall of all the reſt) was firſt a lodging of the archbiſhops of Yorke, then pulled downe, begun by cardinall Wolſeie, and finallie inlarged and finiſhed by king Henrie the eight. By eaſt of this ſtandeth Durham place, ſometime belonging to the biſhops of Durham, but conuerted alſo by king Henrie the eight into a palace roiall, & lodging for the prince. Of Summerſet place I ſpeake not, yet if the firſt beginner thereof (I meane the lord Edward, the learned and godlie duke of Summerſet) had liued, I doubt not but it ſhould haue beene well finiſhed and brought to a ſumptuous end: but as vntimelie death tooke him from that houſe & from vs all, ſo it prouued the ſtaie of ſuch proceeding as was intended about it. Wherby it commeth to paſſe that it ſtandeth as he left it. Neither will I remember the Tower of London, which is rather an armorie and houſe of munition, and therevnto a place for the ſafekeeping of offendors, than a palace roiall for a king or queene to ſoiourne in. Yet in times paſt I find that Belline held his aboad there, and therevnto extended the ſite of his palace in ſuch wiſe, that it ſtretched ouer the Broken wharfe, and came further into the citie, in ſo much that it approched neere to Bellines gate, & as it is thought ſome of the ruines of his houſe are yet extant, howbeit patched vp and made warehouſes in that tract of ground in our times. S. James ſometime a nonrie, was builded alſo by the ſame prince. Hir grace hath alſo Oteland, Alhridge, Hatfield, Hauering, Enuéld, Eltham, Langleie, Richmond builded by Henrie the fift, Hampton court (begun ſometime by cardinall Wolſeie, and finiſhed by hir father) and therevnto Woodſtocke, erected by king

White hall.

S. James.
Oteland.
Alhridge.
Hatfield.
Enuéld.
Richmond.
Hampton.
Woodſtocke.

King Hen. 8. not inferior to Adrian and Iuſtinian.

Henrie the first, in which the quéenes maiestie delighteth greatlie to soiourne, notwithstanding that in time past it was the place of a parcell of hir captiuitie, when it pleased God to trie hir by affliction and calamitie.

Windsor. For strength Windlesor or Winsor is supposed to be the chéefe, a castell builded in time past by king Arthur, or before him by Aurelragus, as it is thought, and repared by Edward the third, who erected also a notable college there. After him diuerse of his successours haue bestowed exceeding charges vpon the same, which notwithstanding are farre surmounted by the quéenes maiestie now liuing, who hath appointed huge summes of monie to be employed vpon the ornature and alteration of the mould, according to the forme of building vsed in our daies, which is more for pleasure than for either profit or safegard. Such also hath béene the estimation of this place, that diuerse kings haue not onelie béene interred there, but also made it the chiefe house of assemblie, and creation of the knights of the honorable order of the garter, than the which there is nothing in this land more magnificent and statelie.

Grænewich. Grœnewich was first builded by Humfreie duke of Gloucester, vpon the Thames side foure miles east from London, in the time of Henrie the first, and called Pleasance. Afterwards it was greatlie inlarged by king Edw. 4. garnished by king Hen. 7. and finallie made perfect by king Hen. 8. the onelie Phenix of his time for fine and curious masonrie.

Dartford. Not farre from this is Dartford, and not much distant also from the southside of the said streame, sometime a nonnerie builded by Edward the third, but now a verie commodious palace, whereunto it was

Eltham. also conuerted by K. Henrie the eight. Eltham (as I take it) was builded by king Henrie the third, if not before. There are beside these moreouer diuerse other. But what shall I néed to take vpon me to repeat all, and tell what houses the quœnes maiestie hath? sith all is hirs, and when it pleaseth hir in the summer season to recreat hir selfe abroad, and view the estate of the countrie, and heare the complaints of hir poore commons iniuried by hir vniust officers or their substitutes, euerie noble mans house is hir palace, where shée continueth during pleasure, and till shée returne againe to some of hir owne, in which she remaineth so long as pleaseth hir.

Of the court. The court of England, which necessarilie is holden alwaies where the prince lieth, is in these daies one of the most renowmed and magnificent courts that are to be found in Europe. For whether you regard the rich and infinit furniture of household, order of officers, or the interteinement of such strangers as dailie resort vnto the same, you shall not find manie equall thereunto, much lesse one excelling it in anie maner of wise. I might here (if I would, or had sufficient disposition of matter conceiued of the same) make a large discourse of such honorable ports, of such graue councellors, and noble personages, as giue their dailie attendance vpon the quéenes maiestie there. I could in like sort set forth a singular commendation of the vertuous beautie, or beautifull vertues of such ladies and gentlewomen as wait vpon hir person, betweene whose amiable countenances and costlinesse of attire, there séemeth to be such a dailie conflict and contention, as that it is verie difficult for me to gesse, whether of the twaine shall beare awaie the prehéminence. This further is not to be omitted, to the singular commendation of both sorts and seres of our courtiers here in England, that there are verie few of them, which haue not the vse and skill of sundrie speaches, beside an excellent veine of writing before time not regarded. Would to God the rest of their liues and conuersations were correspondent to these gifts! for as our common courtiers (for the most part) are the best lerned and indued with excellent gifts, so are manie of them the worst men when they come abroad, that anie man shall either heare or read of. Trulie it is a rare thing with vs now, to heare of a courtier which hath but his owne language. And to saie how many gentlewomen and ladies there are, that beside sound knowledge of the Grécke and Latine tongs, are thereto no lesse skilfull in the Spanish, Italian, and French, or in some one of them, it resteth not in me: sith I am persuaded, that as the noble men and gentlemen do surmount in this behalfe, so these come verie little or nothing at all behind them for their parts, which industrie God continue, and accomplish that which otherwise is wanting!

English courtiers the best learned & the worst liuers.

Beside these things I could in like sort set downe the waies and meanes, whereby our ancient ladies of the court do shun and auoid idlenesse, some of them exercising their fingers with the needle, other in cauls worke, diuerse in spinning of silke, some in continuall reading either of the holie scriptures, or histories of our owne or forren nations about vs, and diuerse in writing volumes of their owne, or translating of other mens into our English and Latine tong, whilest the youngest sort in the meane time aplie their lutes, citharnes, prickesong, and all kind of musike, which they vse onelie for recreation sake, when they haue leisure, and are free from attendance vpon the quéenes maiestie, or such as they belong vnto. How manie of the eldest sort also are skilfull in surgerie and distillation of waters, beside sundrie other artificiall practises perteining to the ornature and commendations of their bodies, I might (if I listed to deale further in this behalfe) easilie declare, but I passe ouer such maner of dealing, least I should séeme to glauer, and currie fauour with some of them. Neuertheless this I will generallie saie of them all, that as ech of them are cuning in somthing wherby they kéepe themselues occupied in the court, so there is in maner none of them, but when they be at home, can helpe to supplie the ordinarie want of the kitchen with a number of delicat dishes of their owne deuising, wherein the Portingall is their chéefe counsellor, as some of them are most commonlie with the clearke of the kitchen, who vseth (by a tricke taken vp of late) to giue in a brefe rehearsall of such and so manie dishes as are to come in at euerie course throughout the whole seruice in the dinner or supper while: which bill some do call a memoriall, other a billet, but some a fillet, bicause such are commonlie hanged on the file, and kept by the ladie or gentlewoman vnto some other purpose. But whither am I digressed?

I might finallie describe the large allowances in offices, and yearelie liueries, and thereunto the great plentie of gold and siluer plate, the seuerall peeces whereof are commonlie so great and massie, and the quantitie therof so abundantlie seruing all the household, that (as I suppose) Cyrtras, Cresus, and Crassus had not the like furniture: naie if Midas were now liuing & once againe put to his choise, I thinke he could aske no more, or rather not halfe so much as is there to be seene and vsed. But I passe ouer to make such needlesse discourses, resoluing my selfe, that euen in this also, as in all the rest, the exceeding mercie and louing kindnesse of God doth wonderfullie appeare towards vs, in that he hath so largelie indued vs with these his so ample benefits.

In some great princes courts beyond the seas, & which euen for that cause are likened vnto hell by diuerse learned writers that haue spent a great part of their time in them, as Henricus Cornelius Agrippa, one (for example) who in his epistle *Ad aulicum quendam*

dam, ſaith thus: *An non in inferno es amice, qui es in aula, vbi dæmonum habitatio eſt, qui illic ſuis artibus humanæ licèt effigie regnant, atque vbi ſcelerum ſchola eſt, & animarum iactura ingens, ac quicquid vſpiam eſt perfidiæ ac doli, quicquid crudelitatis & inclemẽtiæ, quicquid effrænatæ ſuperbiæ, & rapacis auariciæ, quicquid obſcenæ libidinis, fædiſſimæ impudicitiæ, quicquid nefandæ impietatis, & morum peſſimorum, totum illic aceruatur cumulatiſſimè, vbi ſtupra, raptus, inceſtus, adulteria, principum & nobilium ludi ſunt, vbi faſtus & tumor, ira, liuor, fædáque cupido cum ſocijs ſuis imperauit, vbi criminum omnium procellæ virtutúmque omniũ inenarrabile naufragium, &c.* In ſuch great princes courts (I ſaie) it is a world to ſée what lewd behauiour is vſed among diuerſe of thoſe that reſort vnto the ſame, and what whoredome, ſwearing, ribaldrie, atheiſme, dicing, carding, carowſing, drunkenneſſe, gluttonie, quareling, and ſuch like inconueniences dø dailie take hold, and ſometimes euen among thoſe, in whoſe eſtates the like behauiour is leaſt conuenient (whereby their talke is verified which ſay that the thing increaſeth and groweth in the courts of princes ſauing vertue, which in ſuch places døth languiſh and dailie vade away) all which enormities are either vtterlie expelled out of the court of England, or elſe ſo qualified by the diligent endeuour of the chiefe officers of hir graces houſehold, that ſeldome are anie of theſe things apparantlie ſéene there, without due reprehenſion, and ſuch ſeuere correction as belongeth to thoſe treſpaſſes. Finallie to auoid idleneſſe, and preuent ſundrie tranſgreſſions, otherwiſe likelie to be committed and dønе, ſuch order is taken, that euerie office hath either a bible, or the bookes of the acts and monuments of the church of England, or both, beſide ſome hiſtories and chronicles lieng therein, for the exerciſe of ſuch as come into the ſame: whereby the ſtranger that entereth into the court of England vpon the ſudden, ſhall rather imagine himſelfe to come into ſome publike ſchoole of the vniuerſities, where manie giue eare to one that readeth, than into a princes palace, if you conferre the ſame with thoſe of other nations. Would to God all honorable perſonages would take example of hir graces godlie dealing in this behalfe, and ſhew their conformitie vnto theſe hir ſo good beginnings! which if they would, then ſhould manie grieuous offenſes (wherewith God is highlie diſpleaſed) be cut off and reſtreined, which now dø reigne excédinglie, in moſt noble and gentlemens houſes, wherof they ſée no paterne within hir graces gates.

Traines of attendants.

I might ſpeake here of the great traines and troupes of ſeruing men alſo, which attend vpon the nobilitie of England in their ſeuerall liueries, and with differences of cogniſances on their ſléeues, whereby it is knowen to whome they apperteine. I could alſo ſet dowme what a goodlie ſight it is to ſée them muſter in the court, which being filled with them døth yéeld the contemplation of a noble varietie vnto the beholder, much like to the ſhew of the pecocks taile in the full beautie, or of ſome medow garniſhed with infinit kinds and diuerſitie of pleaſant floures. But I paſſe ouer the rehearſall hereof to other men, who more delite in vaine amplification than I, and ſéeke to be more curious in theſe points than I profeſſe to be.

The diſcipline of firme peace alſo that is mainteined within a certeine compaſſe of the princes palace, is ſuch, as is nothing inferiour to that we ſée dailie practiſed in the beſt gouerned holds & fortreſſes. And ſuch is the ſeuere puniſhment of thoſe that ſtrike within the limits prohibited, that without all hope of mercie, benefit of clergie, or ſanctuarie, they are ſure to loſe their right hands at a ſtroke, and that in verie ſolemne maner, the forme whereof I will ſet down, and then make an end of this chapter, to deale with other matters.

Striking within the court and palace of the prince.

At ſuch time therefore as the partie tranſgreſſing is conuicted by a ſufficient inqueſt impanelled for the ſame purpoſe, and the time come of the execution of the ſentence, the ſergeant of the kings wood-yard prouideth a ſquare blocke, which he bringeth to ſome appointed place, and therewithall a great bætle, ſtaple, and cords, wherewith to faſten the hand of the offendor vnto the ſaid blocke, vntill the whole circumſtance of his execution be performed. The yeoman of the ſcullarie likewiſe for the time being, dooth prouide a great fire of coales hard by the blocke, wherein the ſearing irons are to be made readie againſt the chiefe ſurgeon to the prince or his deputie ſhall occupie the ſame. Vpon him alſo dooth the ſergeant or chiefe farrour attend with thoſe irons, whoſe office is to deliuer them to the ſaid ſurgeon when he ſhall be redie by ſearing to vſe the ſame. The groome of the ſalarie for the time being or his deputie is furthermore appointed to be readie with vineger and cold water, and not to depart from the place vntill the arme of the offendor be bound vp and fullie dreſſed. And as theſe things are thus prouided, ſo the ſergeant ſurgeon is bound from time to time to be readie to execute his charge, and ſeare the ſtumpe, when the hand is taken from it. The ſergeant of the cellar is at hand alſo with a cup of red wine, and likewiſe the chiefe officer of the pantrie with manchet bread to giue vnto the ſaid partie after the execution dønе, and the ſtumpe ſeared, as the ſergeant of the ewerie is with clothes, wherein to wind and wrap vp the arme, the yeoman of the poultrie with a cocke to laie vnto it, the yeoman of the chandrie with ſeared cloths, and finallie the maiſter cooke or his deputie with a ſharpe dreſſing knife, which he deliuereth at the place of execution to the ſergeant of the larder, who dooth hold it vpright in his hand, vntill the execution be performed by the publike officer appointed therevnto. And this is the maner of puniſhment ordeined for thoſe that ſtrike within the princes palace, or limits of the ſame. Which ſhould firſt haue bæne executed on ſir Edmund Kneuet, in the yeare 1541. But when he had made great ſute to ſaue his right hand for the further ſeruice of the king in his warres, and willinglie yælded to forgo his left, in the end the king pardoned him of both, to no ſmall benefit of the offendor, and publication of the bountifull nature that remained in the prince. The like priuilege almoſt is giuen to churches and churchyards, although in maner of puniſhment great difference dø appære. For he that braulleth or quarelleth in either of them, is by and by ſuſpended *Ab ingreſſu eccleſiæ*, vntill he be abſolued: as he is alſo that ſtriketh with the fiſt, or laieth violent hands vpon anie whome ſo euer. But if he happen to ſmite with ſtaffe, dagger, or anie maner of weapon, & the ſame be ſufficientlie found by the verdict of twelue men at his arrainement, beſide excommunication, he is ſure to loſe one of his eares without all hope of releaſe. But if he be ſuch a one as hath bæne twiſe condemned and executed, whereby he hath now none eares, then is he marked with an hot iron vpon the chéeke, and by the letter F, which is ſeared dæpe into his fleſh, he is from thenceforth noted as a common barratour and fraie maker, and therevnto remaineth excommunicate, till by repentance he deſerue to be abſolued. To ſtrike a clearke alſo (that is to ſaie) a miniſter, is plaine excommunication, and the offendor not to be abſolued but by the prince or his eſpeciall cõmiſſion. Such alſo is the generall eſtate of the excõmunicate in euery reſpect, that he can yéeld no teſtimonie in anie matter ſo long as he ſo ſtandeth. No bargaine or ſale that he maketh is auailеable in law, neither any of his acts whatſoeuer pleadable, wherby he liueth as

an outlawe a man altogither out of the princes protection, although it be not auaull to kill him, nor any man otherwise outlawed, without the danger of felonie.

Of armour and munition.

Chap. 16.

THou hast as how Englande our countrie hath been diuerslie assayed in times past with armes and artillerie, it rests now as we are of our selfe to make rehearsall. Wee that liued both in the late time of queene Marie, and since the expedition of diuers diuers, but also the exploits of certeine Spaniards our great forefathers, do know some aduertisement notice. Whom the first I meet with I know not well what to say. For the reason I haue heard, that when one of the greatest peeres of Spaine should come to be crowned in his royaltie, and on solemnitie taken in an vsuall place, that it should be an easie matter for him to conquer England, because it wanted armour, his maiesty knew not in what sort to take it, as they were priuiledged men. For albeit that for the present time their efficacie was dissembled, and countenance made as though he spake but merilie, yet at the verie entrance of this our gracious queene into the possession of the crowne, they were so sparingly eaten to remembrance, and such preparation sought of all hands for the reuiuall of this inconuenience, that our countrie was sooner furnished with armour and munition, from diuerse parts of the realme (besides great plentie that was forgon here at home) than our enimies could get vnderstanding of such forepassed purpose to be made. By this policie also was the no small hope conceiued by Spaniards vtterlie cut off, who of open friends being now become our secret enimies, and thereto looking a time wherein to atchieue some braue exploit against vs and our countrie, did there vpon change their purposes, whereby England obteined rest, that otherwise might haue béene sure of sharpe and cruell warres. Thus a Spanish woord vttered by one man at one time, ouerthrew on at the least fiue hundred sundrie priuie practises of manie at another. In times past the chiefe force of England consisted in their long bowes. But now we haue in manner generallie giuen ouer that kind of artillerie, and for long bowes in déed do practise to shoot compasse for our pastime: which kind of shooting can neuer péece ante smart stroke, nor beat downe our enimies, as our countrie men were woont to do at euerie time of néed. Certes the Frenchmen and Britons beholding our new archerie in respect of their coslets, will not let in open skirmish, if ante leisure serue, to turne vp their tailes and crie; Shoote English, and all bicause our strong shooting is decaied and lain in bed. But if some of our Englishmen now liued that serued king Edward the third in his warres with France, the breech of such a varlet should haue béene nailed to his bum with one arrow, and an other fethered in his bowels, before he should haue turned about to sée who shot the first. But as our shooting is thus in manner vtterlie decaied among vs one waie, so our countrie men wer skilfull in sundrie other points, as in shooting in small péeces, the caliuer, and handling of the pike, in the seuerall vses whereof they are become verie expert.

Our armour differeth not from that of other nations, and therefore consisteth of mailes, almaine riuets, iacks of maile, iacks quilted and couered ouer with leather, fustian, or canuas, ouer these plates of iron that are sowen in the same, & vnder there is no armour a village that hath not for the vse of euerie tenant furniture. The said armour and munition likewise is kept in one seuerall place of euerie towne, appointed by the consent of the whole parish. Where it is diuerslie vsed to be had an vnder fustian pourpoint warning. Sometime also it is occupied, when it pleaseth the magistrate either to view the able men, & take note of the well vsing of the same, as finallie it is the vse that are trained to exercise each one his seuerall weapon, at the charge of the commoditie of each parish according to his appointment. Certes there is almost no village in poore or England (be it neuer so small) that hath not sufficient furniture or a conuenient to be found there in some plentie, as one archer, one gunner, one pike, or almanes at the least. For there is not so much wanting as their horse harnesses and caps, which are least to be considered of, & one hall conueied in that sort they may easilie assemble, & shall be ouerwithin for the inuasion ensue to find as appertaineth. As for our men for armes, thanked be God, we are not without good store, for by the musters taken 1574 and 1577, our number amounted to 1172674, and yet were they not in mannerwise taken, but that a third part of this fine multitude was left vnbilled and vncalled. What force of munition and armour the princes maiestie hath in her store houses, it hath not in me to vtter accurate, sith I suppose the same to be infinite. And whereas it was commonlie said after the taking of Calis, that England should neuer recouer the force of ordinance there left and lost: that fame is at this time prooued false, sith euen since of the same portions are risen conuaied, that this land was neuer better furnished with these things in anie kings daies that reigned since the conquest.

The names of our greatest ordinance are commonlie these.

Robinet, whose weight is three hundred pounds, and it hath one inch and a quarter within the mouth.

Falconet weigheth fiue hundred pounds, and his vidercelle is two inches within the mouth.

Falcon hath eight hundred pounds, and two inches and a halfe within the mouth.

Minion poiseth eleauen hundred pounds, and hath thrée inches and a quarter within the mouth.

Sacre hath fiftéene hundred pounds, and is three inches and a halfe wide in the mouth.

Demie Culuerin weigheth three thousand pounds, and hath foure inches and a halfe within the mouth.

Culuerin hath foure thousand pounds, and fiue inches and an halfe within the mouth.

Demie Canon six thousand pounds, and six inches and an halfe within the mouth.

Canon seauen thousand pounds, and eight inches within the mouth.

E. Canon eight thousand pounds, and seauen inches within the mouth.

Basiliske 9000 pounds, eight inches, and thrée quarters within the mouth. By which proportions also it is easie to come by the weight of euerie shot, how manie scores it doth flée at point blanke, how much pouder is to be had to the same, & finallie how manie inches in height ech bullet ought to carrie.

The

The names of the greateſt ordinance.		Weight of the ſhot.	Scores of cariage.	Pounds of pouder.	Height of bullet.
Robinet.	hath	1. lb.	0	¼	1
Falconet.		2. lb.	14	2	1 ⅛
Falcon.		2. ½.	16	2½	2 ⅛
Minion.		4. ½.	17	4½	3
Sacre.		5	18	5	3 ¼
Demie Culuerijn.		9	20	9	4
Culuerijn.		18	25	18	5 ¼
Demie canon.		30	38	28	6 ¼
Canon.		60	20	44	7 ¼
E. Canon.		42	20	20	6 ¼
Baſiliske.		60	21	60	8 ¼

I might here take iuſt occaſion to ſpeake of the princes armories. But what ſhall it néed? ſith the whole realme is hir armorie, and therefore hir furniture infinit. The Turke had one gun made by one Orban a Dane, the caſter of his ordinance, which could not be drawen to the ſiege of Conſtantinople, but by ſeauentie yokes of oxen, and two thouſand men; he had two other there alſo whoſe ſhot poiſed aboue two talents in weight, made by the ſame Orban. But to proceed. As for the armories of ſome of the nobilitie (whereof I alſo haue ſéene a part) they are ſo well furniſhed, that within ſome one barons cuſtodie I haue ſéene three ſcore or a hundred coſſets at once, beſide caliuers, handguns, bowes, ſheſſes of arrowes, pikes, bils, polaxes, flaskes, touchboxes, targets, &c: the verie ſight wherof appalled my courage. What would the wearing of ſome of them do then (trow you) if I ſhould be inforced to vſe one of them in the field? But thanked be God, our peaceable daies are ſuch, as no man hath anie great cauſe to occupie them at all, but onelie taketh good leiſure to haue them in a readineſſe, and therefore both high and lowe in England

Cymbala pro galeis proſcutis tympana pulſant.

I would write here alſo of our maner of going to the warres, but what hath the long blacke gowne to do with gliſtering armour? what ſound acquaintance can there be betwixt Mars and the Muſes? or how ſhould a man write anie thing to the purpoſe of that wherewith he is nothing acquainted? This neuertheleſſe will I adde of things at home, that ſeldome ſhall you ſée anie of my countriemen aboue eightéene or twentie yéeres old to go without a dagger at the leaſt at his backe or by his ſide, although they be aged burgeſſes or magiſtrates of anie citie, who in appearance are moſt exempt from brabling and contention. Our nobilitie weare commonlie ſwords or rapiers with their daggers, as doth euerie common ſeruing man alſo that followeth his lord and maſter. Some deſperate cutters we haue in like ſort, which carrie two daggers or two rapiers in a ſheath alwaies about them, wherewith in euerie bronken fraie they are knowen to worke much miſchiefe; their ſwords & daggers alſo are of a great length, and longer than the like vſed in anie other countrie, whereby ech one pretendeth to haue the more aduantage of his enimie. But as manie orders haue béene taken for the intollerable length of theſe weapons; ſo I ſée as yet ſmall redreſſe: but where the cauſe thereof doth reſt, in ſooth for my part I wote not. I might here ſpeake of the exceſſiue ſtaues which diuerſe that trauell by the waie do carrie vpon their ſhoulders, whereof ſome are twelue or thirtéene foote long, beſide the pike of twelue inches: but as they are commonlie ſuſpected of honeſt men to be théeues and robbers, or at the leaſt-wiſe ſcarſe true men which beare them; ſo by reaſon of this and the like ſuſpicious weapons, the honeſt trauceller is now inforced to ride with a caſe of dags at his ſadle bow, or with ſome prettie ſhort snapper, whereby he may deale with them further off in his owne defenſe before he come within the danger of theſe weapons. Finallie, no man trauelleth by the waie without his ſword, or ſome ſuch weapon, with vs; except the miniſter, who cõmonlie weareth none at all, vnleſſe it be a dagger or hanger at his ſide. Seldome alſo are they or anie other waifaring men robbed without the conſent of the chamberleine, tapſter, or oſtler where they batt & lie, who féeling at their alighting whether their capcaſes or budgets be of anie weight or not, by taking them downe from their ſadles, or otherwiſe ſée their ſtore in drawing of their purſes, do by and by giue intimation to ſome one or other attendant dailie in the yard or houſe, or dwelling hard by vpon ſuch matches, whether the preie be worth the following or no. If it be for their turne, then the gentleman peraduenture is aſked which waie he trauelleth, and whether it pleaſe him to haue another gheſt to beare him companie at ſupper, who rideth the ſame waie in the morning that he doth, or not. And thus if he admit him or be glad of his acquaintance, the cheate is halfe wrought. And often it is ſéene that the new gheſt ſhall be robbed with the old, onelie to colour out the matter and kéepe him from ſuſpicion. Sometimes when they knowe which waie the paſſenger trauelleth, they will either go before and lie in wait for him, or elſe come galloping apace after, whereby they will be ſure, if he ride not the ſtronger, to be fingering with his purſe. And theſe are ſome of the policies of ſuch ſhrewes or cloſe boted gentlemen as lie in wait for fat booties by the high waies, and which are moſt commonlie practiſed in the winter ſeaſon about the feaſt of Chriſtmas, when ſeruing men and vnthriftie gentlemen want monie to plaie at the dice and cards, lewdlie ſpending in ſuch wiſe whatſoeuer they haue wickedlie gotten, till ſome of them ſharplie ſet vpon their cheuiſances, be truſſed vp in a Tiburne tippet, which happeneth vnto them commonlie before they come to middle age. Whereby it appéereth that ſome ſort of youth will oft haue his ſwinge, although it be in a halter.

Machiauels opinion.

I might alſo intreat of our old maner of warfare vſed in and before the time of Ceſar, when as the chéefe brunt of our fight was in *Eſſedis* or wagons; but this I alſo paſſe ouer, noting neuertheleſſe out of Propertius, that our ſaid wagons were gorgeous and gaillie painted, which he ſetteth downe in theſe foure verſes inſuing, *Arethuſæ ad Lycotam, lib. 4. eleg. 3.*

Te modò viderunt iteratos Bactra per ortus,
Te modò munito Sericus hoſtis equo,
Hiberníque Getæ, pictóque Britannia curru,
Vſtus & Eoa diſcolor Indus aqua.

Of the nauie of England.

Chap. 17.

THere is nothing that hath brought me into more admiration of the power and force of antiquitie, than their diligence and care had of their nauies: wherein, whether I conſider their ſpéedie building, or great number of ſhips which ſome one kingdome or region poſſeſſed at one inſtant; it giueth me ſtill occaſion, either to ſuſpect the hiſtorie, or to thinke that in our times we come verie farre behind them. For what a thing is it to haue a ſhip growing on the ſtub, and ſailing on the ſea within the ſpace of fiue and fiftie daies? And yet ſuch a nauie was to be ſéene in the firſt warre of Carthage, led thither by Duellius the Romane. In the warres alſo againſt Hieron two hundred and twentie tall ſhips bare leafe & ſaile within fiue and fortie daies. In the ſecond warre of Carthage the nauie that went with Scipio was felled in the wood, and ſéene to ſaile on the ſea fullie furniſhed in ſixe weekes: which vnto them that are ignorant of things doth ſéeme to be falſe and vnpoſſible. In like maner for multitude, we find in Polybius, that at one ſkirmiſh on the ſea the Romans loſt ſeauen hundred veſſels, which bare ech of them fiue rowes of ores on a ſide, and the Carthaginenſes fiue hundred. And albeit the formes and apparell of theſe veſſels were not altogither correſpondent to our ſhips and gallies made in theſe daies: yet the capacitie of moſt of them did not onelie match, but farre exceed them; ſo that if one of their biremes onlie contened ſo much in burden as a ſhip of ours of ſix hundred tun: what ſhall we thinke of thoſe which had ſeauen rowes of ores walking on a ſide? But leaſt I ſhould ſéeme to ſpeake more of theſe forren things than the courſe of the hiſtorie doth permit without licence to digreſſe: giue me leaue (I beſéech thee gentle reader) to wade yet a little further in the report of theſe ancient formes & kinds of veſſels. For albeit that the diſcourſe hereof maketh little to the deſcription of our preſent nauie in England: yet ſhall the report thereof not be vnprofitable and vnpleaſant to ſuch as ſhall reade among the writings of their capacities and moulds. It ſhall not be amiſſe therefore to begin at the nauie of Xerxes, of which ech meane veſſell (as appéereth by Herodot) was able to receiue two hundred and thirtie ſouldiers, and ſome of them three hundred. Theſe were called triremes, and were indéede gallies that had three rowes of ores on euerie ſide; for the word *Navis* is indifferentlie applied ſo well to the gallie as ſhip, as to the conuerſant in hiſtories is eaſie to be found. In old time alſo they had gallies of foure rowes, fiue rowes, ſix, ſeauen, eight, nine, twelue, yea fifteene rowes of ores on a ſide; iudge you then of what quantitie thoſe veſſels were. Plinie lib. 7. noteth one Damaſthenes to be the firſt maker of the gallies with two rowes called biremes: Thucidides referreth the triremes to Ammocles of Corinthum; the quadriremes were deuiſed by Ariſtotle of Carthage; the quinquiremes by Neſichthon of Salamina; the gallie of ſix rowes by Xenagoras of Syracuſa: from this to the tenth Neſigiton brought vp; Alexander the great cauſed one to be made of twelue; Ptolomeus Soter of fifteene; Demetrius the ſonne of Antigonus of thirtie; Ptolom. Philad. of fortie; Ptol. Trypho of fiftie: all which aboue foure were none other (in mine opinion) than vnweldie carts, and more ſeruing for pleaſure and to gaze vpon, than anie vſe in the wars for which they ſhould be deuiſed. But of all other I note one of fortie rowes, which Ptolo. Philopater builded, conteining 200 and eightie cubits in length, and eight and fortie cubits in breadth: it held alſo foure thouſand ores, foure hundred mariners, and three thouſand ſouldiers, ſo that in the ſaid veſſell were ſeauen thouſand and foure hundred perſons: a report incredible, if truth and good teſtimonie did not confirme the ſame. I muſt néeds confeſſe therefore, that the ancient veſſels far exceeded ours for capacitie: neuertheleſſe if you regard the forme, and the aſſurance from perill of the ſea, and therewithall the ſtrength and nimbleneſſe of ſuch as are made in our time, you ſhall eaſilie find that ours are of more value than theirs: for as the greateſt veſſell is not alwaies the ſafeſt, ſo that of moſt huge capacitie is not alwaies the apteſt to ſhift and breake the ſeas: as might be ſéene by the great Henrie, the hugeſt veſſell that euer England framed in our times. Neither were the ſhips of old like vnto ours in mould and maner of building aboue the water (for of low gallies in our ſeas we make ſmall account) nor ſo full of eaſe within, ſith time hath ingendred more ſkill in the wrights, and brought all things to more perfection than they had in the beginning. And now to come vnto our purpoſe at the firſt intended.

The nauie of England may be diuided into three ſortes, of which the one ſerueth for the warres, the other for burden, and the third for fiſhermen, which get their liuing by fiſhing on the ſea. How manie of the firſt order are maintained within the realme, it paſſeth my cunning to expreſſe: yet ſith it may be parted into the nauie roiall and common fléete, I thinke good to ſpeake of thoſe that belong vnto the prince, and ſo much the rather, for that their number is certeine & well knowne to verie manie. Certes there is no prince in Europe that hath a more beautifull or gallant ſort of ſhips than the quéenes maieſtie of England at this preſent, and thoſe generallie are of ſuch exceeding force, that two of them being well appointed and furniſhed as they ought, will not let to encounter with three or foure of thoſe of other countries, and either bowge them or put them to flight, if they may not bring them home.

Neither are the moulds of anie forren barkes ſo conuenientlie made, to breake ſo well one ſea as another lieng vpon the ſhore in anie part of the continent as thoſe of England. And therefore the common report that ſtrangers make of our ſhips amongſt themſelues is dailie confirmed to be true, which is, that for ſtrength, aſſurance, nimbleneſſe and ſwiftneſſe of ſailing, there are no veſſels in the world to be compared with ours. And all theſe are committed to the regiment and ſafe cuſtodie of the admerall, who is ſo called (as ſome imagine) of the Gréeke word Almiras a capiteine on the ſea, for ſo ſaith Zonaras *in Baſilio Macedone & Baſilio Porphyriogenito*, though other fetch it from Admare the Latine words, another ſort from Amyras the Saracen magiſtrate, or from ſome French deriuation: but theſe things are not for this place, and therefore I paſſe them ouer. The quéenes highneſſe hath at this preſent (which is the foure and twentith of hir reigne) alreadie made and furniſhed, to the number of foure or fiue and twentie great ſhips, which lie for the moſt part in Gillingham rode, beſide three gallies, of whoſe particular names and furnitures (ſo far forth as I can come by them) it ſhall not be amiſſe to make report at this time.

The

The names of ſo manie ſhips belonging to hir maieſtie as I could come by at this preſent.

The Bonaduenture.	Foreſight.
Elizabeth Ionas.	Swift ſute.
White Beare.	Aid.
Philip and Marie.	Handmaid.
Triumph.	Dread nought.
Bull.	Swallow.
Tiger.	Genet.
Antlope.	Barke of Bullen.
Hope.	Achates.
Lion.	Falcon.
Victorie.	George.
Marie Roſe.	Reuenge.

It is ſaid, that as kings and princes haue in the yong dates of the world, and long ſince framed themſelues to erect euerie yeare a citie in ſome one place or other of their kingdoms (and no ſmall wonder that Sardanapalus ſhould begin & finiſh two, to wit, Anchialus and Tharſus in one daie) ſo hir grace doth yearelie build one ſhip or other to the better defenſe of hir frontiers from the enimie. But as of this report I haue no aſſured certeintie, ſo it ſhall ſuffice to haue ſaid ſo much of theſe things: yet this I thinke worthie further to be added, that if they ſhould all be driuen to ſeruice at one inſtant) which God forbid) ſhe ſhould haue a power by ſea of about nine or ten thouſand men, which were a notable companie, beſide the ſuplie of other veſſels apperteining to hir ſubiects to furniſh vp hir voiage.

Beſide theſe hir grace hath other in hand alſo, of whom hereafter as their turnes do come about, I will not let to leaue ſome further remembrance. She hath likewiſe three notable gallies: the Spéed well, the Trie right, and the Blacke gallie, with the ſight whereof and reſt of the nauie roiall, it is incredible to ſaie how greatlie hir grace is delighted: and not without great cauſe (I ſaie) ſith by their meanes hir coaſts are kept in quiet, and ſundrie forren enimies put backe, which otherwiſe would inuade vs. The number of thoſe that ſerue for burden with the other, whereof I haue made mention alreadie, and whoſe vſe is dailie ſéene, as occaſion ſerueth, in time of the warres, is to mé vtterlie vnknowne. Yet if the report of one record be anie thing at all to be credited, there are 135 ſhips that exceed 500 tun, topmen vnder 100 and aboue fortie 656: hoies 100: but of hulkes, catches, fiſherboats, and craiers, it lieth not in me to deliuer the iuſt account, ſith they are hardlie to come by. Of theſe alſo there are ſome of the quéenes maieſties ſubiects that haue two or three, ſome foure or fiue, and (as I heard of late) one man whoſe name I ſuppreſſe for modeſties ſake, hath bene knowne not long ſince to haue had fiftéene or ſeuentéene, and emploied them wholie to the waſting in and out of our merchants, whereby he hath reaped no ſmall commoditie and gaine. I might take occaſion to tell of the notable and difficult voiages made into ſtrange countries by Engliſhmen, and of their dailie ſucceſſe there: but as theſe things are nothing incident to my purpoſe, ſo I ſurceaſe to ſpeake of them. Onelie this will I ad, to the end all men ſhall vnderſtand ſomewhat of the great maſſes of treaſure dailie emploied vpon our nauie, how there are few of thoſe ſhips, of the firſt and ſecond ſort, that being apparelled and made readie to ſale, are not worth one thouſand pounds, or three thouſand ducats at the leaſt, if they ſhould preſentlie be ſold. What ſhall we thinke then of the greater, but eſpeciallie of the nauie roiall, of which ſome one veſſell is worth two of the other, as the ſhipwrights haue often told me? It is poſſible that ſome couetous perſon hearing this report, will either not credit it at all, or ſuppoſe monie ſo emploied to be nothing profitable to the quœnes coffers: as a good huſband ſaid once when he hard there ſhould be prouiſion made for armor, wiſhing the quéenes monie to be rather laid out to ſome ſpéedier returne of gaine vnto hir grace, becauſe the realme (ſaith he) is in caſe good enough, and ſo peraduenture he thought. But if as by ſtore of armour for the defenſe of the countrie, he had likewiſe vnderſtanded that the good kéeping of the ſea, is the ſafegard of our land, he would haue altered his cenſure, and ſone giuen ouer his iudgement. For in times paſt, when our nation made ſmall account of nauigation, how ſone did the Romans, then the Saxons, & laſt of all the Danes inuade this Iland? whoſe crueltie in the end inforced our countrimen, as it were euen againſt their wils, to prouide for ſhips from other places, and build at home of their owne, whereby their enimies were oftentimes diſtreſſed. But moſt of all were the Normans therein to be commended. For in a ſhort proceſſe of time after the conqueſt of this Iland, and good conſideration had for the well kéeping of the ſame, they ſuppoſed nothing more commodious for the defenſe of the countrie, than the maintenance of a ſtrong nauie, which they ſpéedilie prouided, maintained, and thereby reaped in the end their wiſhed ſecuritie, wherewith before their times this Iland was neuer acquainted. Before the comming of the Romans, I do not read that we had anie ſhips at all, except a few made of wicker and couered with buffle hides, like vnto the which there are ſome to be ſéene at this preſent in Scotland (as I heare) although there be a little (I wote not well what) difference betwéene them. Of the ſame alſo Solinus ſpeaketh, ſo far as I remember: neuertheleſſe it may be gathered by his words, how the vpper parts of them aboue the water onelie were framed of the ſaid wickers, and that the Britons did vſe to faſt all the whiles they went to the ſea in them: but whether it were done for policie or ſuperſtition, as yet I do not read.

(The Britons faſted all the while they were at the ſea in theſe ſhips.)

In the beginning of the Saxons regiment we had ſome ſhips alſo, but as their number and mould was litle and nothing to the purpoſe, ſo Egbert was the firſt prince that euer throughlie began to know this neceſſitie of a nauie, and vſe the ſeruice thereof in the defenſe of his countrie. After him alſo other princes, as Alfred, Edgar, Ethelred, &c: indeuoured more and more to ſtore themſelues at the full with ſhips of all quantities, but chieflie Edgar, for he prouided a nauie of 1600 *aliàs* 3600 ſaile, which he diuided into foure parts, and ſent them to abide vpon foure ſundrie coaſts of the land to kéepe the ſame from pirats. Next vnto him (and worthie to be remembred) is Ethelred, who made a law, that euerie man holding 310 hidelands, ſhould find a ſhip furniſhed to ſerue him in the warres. Howbeit, and as I ſaid before, when all their nauie was at the greateſt, it was not comparable for force and ſure building, to that which afterward the Normans prouided; neither that of the Normans anie thing like to the ſame that is to be ſéene now in theſe our dates. For the iourneies alſo of our ſhips, you ſhall vnderſtand, that a well builded veſſell will run or ſaile commonlie three hundred leagues or nine hundred miles in a weeke, or peraduenture ſome will go 2200 leagues in ſix weekes and an halfe. And ſuerlie, if their lading be readie againſt they come thither, there be of them that will be here, at the weſt Indies, & home againe in twelue or thirteene weekes from Colcheſter; although the ſaid Indies be eight hundred leagues from the cape or point of Cornewall, as I haue béene informed. This alſo I vnderſtand

by

by report of ſome trauellers, that if anie of our veſſels happen to make a voiage to Hiſpaniola or new Spaine, called in time paſt Quinquezia and Haiti, and lieth betweene the north tropike and the equator, after they haue once touched at the Canaries, (which are eight daies ſailing or two hundred and fiftie leages from S. Lucas de Barameda in Spaine) they will be there in thirtie or fourtie daies, & home againe in Cornewall in other eight weekes, which is a goodlie matter, beſide the ſafetie and quietneſſe in the paſſage. But more of this elſewhere.

Of faires and markets.

Chap. 18.

THere are (as I take it) few great townes in England, that haue not their weekelie markets, one or more granted from the prince, in which all maner of prouiſion for houſhold is to be bought and ſold, for eaſe and benefit of the countrie round about. Wherby as it cõmeth to paſſe that no buier ſhall make anie great iourneie in the puruciance of his neceſſities: ſo no occupier ſhall haue occaſion to trauell far off with his commodities, except it be to ſeeke for the higheſt prices, which commonlie are neere vnto great cities, where round and ſpeedieſt vtterance is alwaies to be had. And as theſe haue beene in times paſt erected for the benefit of the realme, ſo are they in many places too too much abuſed: for the reliefe and eaſe of the buier is not ſo much intended in them, as the benefit of the ſeller. Neither are the magiſtrats for the moſt part (as men loth to diſpleaſe their neighbours for their one yeares dignitie) ſo carefull in their offices, as of right and dutie they ſhould bee. For in moſt of theſe markets neither aſſiſes of bread nor orders for goodneſſe and ſweetneſſe of graine, and other commodities that are brought thither to be ſold, are anie whit looked vnto; but eche one ſuffered to ſell or ſet vp what and how himſelfe liſteth: & this is one euident cauſe of dearth and ſcarſitie in time of great abundance.

I could (if I would) exemplifie in manie, but I will touch no one particularlie, ſith it is rare to ſee in anie countrie towne (as I ſaid) the aſſiſe of bread well kept according to the ſtatute. And yet if anie countrie baker happen to come in among them on the market daie with bread of better quantitie, they find fault by and by with one thing or another in his ſtuffe; whereby the honeſt poore man, whome the law of nations doo commend, for that he indeuoureth to liue by anie lawfull meanes, is driuen awaie, and no more to come there vpon ſome round penaltie, by vertue of their priuileges. Howbeit though they are ſo nice in the proportion of their bread, yet in lieu of the ſame, there is ſuch headie ale & beere in moſt of them, as for the mightineſſe thereof among ſuch as ſeeke it out, is commonlie called huffecap, the mad dog, father whoreſonne, angels food, dragons milke, go by the wall, ſtride wide, and lift leg, &c. And this is more to be noted, that when one of late fell by Gods prouidence into a troubled cõſcience, after he had conſidered well of his reachleſſe life, and dangerous eſtate: another thinking belike to change his colour and not his mind, caried him ſtraightwaie to the ſtrongeſt ale, as to the next phyſician. It is incredible to ſaie how our maltbugs lug at this liquor, euen as pigs ſhould lie in a row, lugging at their dames teats, till they lie ſtill againe, and be not able to wag. Neither did Romulus and Remus ſucke their thee woolfe or ſheepheards wife Lupa, with ſuch eger and ſharpe deuotion, as theſe men hale at huſcap, till they be red as cockes, a little wiſer than their combs. But how am I fallen from the market into the alehouſe? In returning therefore vnto my purpoſe, I find that in corne great abuſe is dailie ſuffered, to the great preiudice of the towne and countrie, eſpeciallie the poore artificer and houſeholder, which tilleth no land, but laboring all the weeke to buie a buſhell or two of graine on the market daie, can there haue none for his monie: becauſe bodgers, loders, and common carriers of corne doo not onlie buie vp all, but giue aboue the price, to be ſerued of great quantities. Shall I go anie further? Well I will ſaie yet a little more, and ſomewhat by mine owne experience.

At Michaelmaſſe time poore men muſt make monie of their graine, that they may paie their rents. So long then as the poore man hath to ſell, rich men will bring out none, but rather buie vp that which the poore bring, vnder pretenſe of ſeed corne, or alteration of graine, although they bring none of their owne, becauſe one wheat often ſowen without change of ſeed, will ſoone decaie and be conuerted into darnell. For this cauſe therefore they muſt needs buie in the markets, though they be twentie miles off and where they be not knowne, promiſing there if they happen to be eſpied (which God wot is verie ſeldome) to ſend ſo much to their next market, to be performed I wot not when.

If this ſhift ſerue not (neither doth the for vſe alwaies one tracke for feare of a ſnare) they will compound with ſome one of the towne where the market is holden, who for a pot of huſcap or merie go downe, will not let to buie it for them, and that in his owne name. Or elſe they wage one poore man or other, to become a bodger, and thereto get him a licence vpon ſome forged ſurmiſe, which being doone, they will feed him with monie, to buie for them till he hath filled their lofts, and then if he can doo any good for himſelfe ſo it is, if not, they will giue him ſomewhat for his paines at this time, & reſerue him for an other yeare. How manie of the like prouiders ſtumble vpon blind creekes at the ſea coaſt, I wote not well; but that ſome haue ſo doone and yet doo vnder other mens wings, the caſe is too too plaine. But who dare find fault with them, when they haue once a licence? yea though it be but to ſerue a meane gentlemans houſe with corne, who hath caſt vp all his tillage, becauſe he boaſteth how he can buie his graine in the market better cheape, than he can ſow his land, as the rich graſier often doth alſo vpon the like deuiſe, becauſe graſing requireth a ſmaller houſehold and leſſe attendance and charge. If anie man come to buie a buſhell or two for his expenſes vnto the market croſſe, anſwer is made; Forſooth here was one euen now that bad me monie for it, and I hope he will haue it. And to ſaie the truth, theſe bodgers are faire chapmen, for there are no more words with them, but Let me ſee it, what ſhall I giue you, knit it vp, I will haue it, go carie it to ſuch a chamber, and if you bring in twentie ſeme more in the weeke daie to ſuch an Inne or ſollar where I laie my corne, I will haue it and giue you pence or more in euerie buſhell for ſix weekes day of paiment than an other will. Thus the bodgers beare awaie all, ſo that the poore artificer and labourer cannot make his prouiſion in the markets, ſith they will hardlie now adaies ſell by the buſhell, nor breake their meaſure; and ſo much the rather, for that the buier will looke (as they ſaie) for ſo much ouer meaſure in a buſhell as the bodger will doo in a quarter. Naie the poore man cannot oft get anie of the farmer at home, becauſe he prouideth altogither to ſerue the bodger, or hath an hope grounded vpon a greedie and inſatiable deſire of gaine, that the ſale will be better in the market: ſo that he muſt

Subornd bodgers.

Bodgers licenced.

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giue two pence or a groate more in a buſhell at his houſe than the laſt market craued, or elſe go without it, and ſléepe with an hungrie bellie. Of the common carriage of corne ouer vnto the parts beyond the ſeas I ſpeake not; or at the leaſtwiſe if I ſhould, I could not touch it alone but néeds muſt ioine other prouiſion withall, whereby not onelie our frends abroad, but alſo manie of our aduerſaries and countriemen the papiſts are abundantlie relieued (as the report goeth) but ſith I ſée it not, I will not ſo truſt mine eares as to write it for a truth. But to returne to our markets againe.

By this time the poore occupier hath all ſold his crop for néed of monie, being readie peraduenture to buie againe per long. And now is the whole ſale of corne in the great occupiers hands, who hitherto haue threſhed little or none of their owne, but bought vp of other men, ſo much as they could come by. Henceforth alſo they begin to ſell, not by the quarter or load at the firſt, for marring the market, but by the buſhell or two, or an horſeload at the moſt, therby to be ſéene to kéepe the croſſe, either for a ſhew, or to make men eger to buie, and ſo as they may haue it for monie, not to regard what they paie. And thus corne wareth dearer, but it will be déerer the next market daie. It is poſſible alſo that they miſlike the price in the beginning for the whole yeare inſuing, as men ſuppoſing that corne will be litle worth for this, & of better price in the next yeare. For they haue certeine ſuperſtitious obſeruations, whereby they will giue a geſſe at the ſale of corne for the yeare following. And our countriemen doo vſe commonlie for barleie where I dwell, to iudge after the price at Baldocke vpon S. Matthewes daie, and for wheat as it is ſold in ſéed time. They take in like ſort experiment by light of the firſt flockes of cranes that flée ſouthward in winter, the age of the moone in the beginning of Januarie, & ſuch other apiſh toies, as by laieng twelue cornes vpon the hot hearth for the twelue moneths, &c: whereby they ſhew themſelues to be ſcant good chriſtians, but what care they ſo they may come by monie? Herevpon alſo will they threſh out three parts of the old corne, toward the latter end of the ſummer, when new commeth apace to hand, and caſt the ſame in the fourth vnthreſhed, where it ſhall lie vntill the next ſpring, or peraduenture till it muſt and putrifie. Certes it is not deintie to ſée muſtie corne in manie of our great markets of England, which theſe great occupiers bring forth when they can kéepe it no longer. But as they are inforced oftentimes vpon this one occaſion ſomwhat to abate the price, ſo a plague is not ſeldome ingendred thereby among the poore ſort that of neceſſitie muſt buie the ſame, wherby manie thouſands of all degrées are conſumed, of whoſe deaths (in mine opinion) theſe farmers are not vnguiltie. But to proceed. If they laie not vp their graine or wheat in this maner, they haue yet another policie, whereby they will ſéeme to haue but ſmall ſtore left in their barnes: for elſe they will gird their ſheues by the band, and ſtacke it vp of new in leſſe rome, to the end it may not onlie ſéeme leſſe in quantitie, but alſo giue place to the corne that is yet to come into the barne, or growing in the field. If there happen to be ſuch plentie in the market on anie market daie, that they cannot ſell at their own price, then will they ſet it vp in ſome frends houſe, againſt an other or the third daie, & not bring it forth till they like of the ſale. If they ſell anie at home, beſide harder meaſure, it ſhall be déerer to the poore man that bieth it by two pence or a groat in a buſhell than they may ſell it in the market. But as theſe things are worthie redreſſe, ſo I wiſh that God would once open their eies that deale thus, to ſée their owne errours: for as yet ſome of them little care how manie poore men ſuffer extremitie, ſo that they may fill their purſes, and carie awaie the gaine.

It is a world alſo to ſée how moſt places of the realme are peſtered with puruetours, who take vp egs, butter, chéeſe, pigs, capons, hens, chickens, hogs, bakon, &c: in one market, vnder pretenſe of their commiſſions, & ſuffer their wiues to ſell the ſame in another, or to pulters of London. If theſe chapmen be abſent but two or three market daies, then we may perfectlie ſée theſe wares to be more reaſonablie ſold, and therevnto the croſſes ſufficientlie furniſhed of all things. In like ſort, ſince the number of buttermen haue ſo much increaſed, and ſince they trauell in ſuch wiſe, that they come to mens houſes for their butter faſter than they can make it; it is almoſt incredible to ſée how the price of butter is augmented: whereas when the owners were inforced to bring it to the market townes, & fewer of theſe butter buiers were ſtirring, our butter was ſcarſlie worth eightéene pence the gallon, that now is worth three ſhillings foure pence, & perhaps fiue ſhillings. Wherby alſo I gather that the maintenance of a ſuperfluous number of dealers in moſt trades, tillage alwaies excepted, is one of the greateſt cauſes why the prices of things become exceſſiue: for one of them doo cõmonlie vſe to out bid another. And whileſt our countrie commodities are commonlie bought and ſold at our priuate houſes, I neuer looke to ſée this enormitie redreſſed, or the markets well furniſhed.

I could ſaie more, but this is euen inough, & more peraduenture than I ſhall be well thanked for: yet true it is though ſome thinke it no treſpaſſe. This moreouer is to be lamented, that one generall meaſure is not in vſe throughout all England, but euerie market towne hath in maner a ſeuerall buſhell, and the leſſer it be, the more ſellers it draweth to reſort vnto the ſame. Such alſo is the couetouſneſſe of manie clearkes of the market, that in taking view of meaſures, they will alwaie ſo prouide, that one and the ſame buſhell ſhall be either to big or to little at their next comming, and yet not depart without a fée at the firſt: ſo that what by their mending at one time and empairing the ſame at another, the countrie is greatlie charged, and few iuſt meaſures to be had in anie ſtéed. It is oft found likewiſe, that diuerſe vnconſcionable dealers haue one meaſure to ſell by, & another to buie withall, the like is alſo in weights and yet all ſealed and bronded. Wherefore it were verie good that theſe two were reduced vnto one ſtandard, that is, one buſhell, one pound, one quarter, one hundred, one tale, one number: ſo ſhould things in time fall into better order, and fewer cauſes of contention be moued in this land. Of the complaint of ſuch poore tenants as paie rent corne vnto their landlords, I ſpeake not, who are often dealt withall very hardlie. For beſide that in the meaſuring of ten quarters, for the moſt part they loſe one through the iniquitie of the buſhell (ſuch is the greédineſſe of the appointed receiuers thereof) fault is found alſo with the goodneſſe and cleanneſſe of the graine. Wherby ſome péece of monie muſt néeds paſſe vnto their purſes to ſtop their mouths withall, or elſe my lord will not like of the corne; Thou art worthie to loſe thy leaſe, &c. Or if it be cheaper in the market, than the rate allowed for it is in their rents, then muſt they paie monie and no corne, which is no ſmall extremitie. And thereby we may ſée how each one of vs indeuoureth to fléece and eat vp another.

Another thing there is in our markets worthie to be loked vnto, and that is the recarriage of graine from the ſame into lofts and ſollars, of which before I gaue ſome intimation: wherefore if it were ordered, that euerie ſeller ſhould make his market by an houre, or elſe the bailie, or clearke of the ſaid market

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to make ſale therof according to his diſcretion, without libertie to the farmer to ſet vp their corne in houſes and chambers, I am perſuaded that the prices of our graine would ſone be abated. Againe, if it were enacted that each one ſhould kéepe his nert market with his graine, and not to run ſir, eight, ten, foureténe, or twentie miles from home to ſell his corne, where he dooth find the higheſt price, and therby leaueth his neighbours vnfurniſhed, I doo not thinke but that our markets would be farre better ſerued than at this preſent they are. Finallie if mens barns might be indifferentlie viewed immediatlie after haruеſt, and a note gathered by an eſtimat, and kept by ſome appointed & truſtie perſon for that purpoſe, we ſhould haue much more plentie of corne in our towne croſſes than as yet is commonlie ſéene: becauſe each one hideth and hoordeth what he may vpon purpoſe either that it will be dearer, or that he ſhall haue ſome priuie veine by bodgers, who doo accuſtomablie ſo deale, that the ſea dooth lead awaie no ſmall part thereof into other countries & our enimies, to the great hinderance of our common-wealth at home, and more likelie yet to be, except ſome remedie be found. But what doo I talke of theſe things, or deſire the ſuppreſſion of bodgers being a miniſter? Certes I may ſpeake of them right well, as féeling the harme in that I am a buier, neuertheleſſe I ſpeake generallie in ech of them.

To conclude therefore, in our markets all things are to be ſold neceſſarie for mans vſe, and there is our prouiſion made commonlie for all the weéke inſuing. Therefore as there are no great townes without one weékelie market at the leaſt, ſo there are verie few of them that haue not one or two faires or more within the compaſſe of the yeare aſſigned vnto them by the prince. And albeit that ſome of them are not much better than Lowſe faire or the common kirkemeſſes beyond the ſea, yet there are diuerſe not inferiour to the greateſt marts in Europe, as Sturbridge faire néere to Cambridge, Ballow faire, Bartholomew faire at London, Lin mart, Cold faire at Newport pond for cattell, and diuerſe other, all which or at leaſt wiſe the greateſt part of them (to the end I may with the more eaſe to the reader and leſſe trauell to my ſelfe fulfill my taſke in their rectall) I haue ſet downe, according to the names of the moneths wherein they are holden, at the end of this booke, where you ſhall find them at large, as I borowed the ſame from I. Stow, and the reports of others.

Of Parkes and Warrens.

Chap. 19.

IN euerie ſhire of England there is great plentie of parkes, whereof ſome here and there, to wit, welnere to the number of two hundred for hir daily prouiſion of that fleſh apperteine to the prince, the reſt to ſuch of the nobilitie and gentlemen as haue their lands and patrimonies lieng in or néere vnto the ſame. I would gladlie haue ſet downe the iuſt number of theſe incloſures to be found in euerie countie: but ſith I cannot ſo doo, it ſhall ſuffice to ſaie, that in Kent and Eſſex onelie are to the number of an hundred, and twentie in the biſhoprike of Durham, wherein great plentie of fallow déere is cheriſhed and kept. As for warrens of conies, I iudge them almoſt innumerable, and dailie like to increaſe, by reaſon that the blacke ſkins of thoſe beaſts are thought to counteruaile the prices of their naked carcaſes, and this is the onelie cauſe whie the graie are leſſe eſtéemed. Néere vnto London their quickeſt merchandize is of the yong rabbets, wherfore the older conies are brought from further off, where there is no ſuch ſpeedie vtterance of rabbets and ſucklings in their ſeaſon, nor ſo great loſſe by their ſkins, ſith they are ſuffered to growe vp to their full greatneſſe with their owners. Our parkes are generallie incloſed with ſtrong pale made of oke, of which kind of wood there is great ſtore cheriſhed in the woodland countries from time to time in ech of them, onelie for the maintenance of the ſaid defenſe, and ſafekéeping of the fallow déere from ranging about the countrie. Howbeit in times paſt diuerſe haue béen fenſed in with ſtone walles (eſpeciallie in the times of the Romans, who firſt brought fallow déere into this land (as ſome coniecture) albeit thoſe incloſures were ouerthrowne againe by the Saxons & Danes, as Cauiſham, Towner, and Woodſtocke, beſide other in the weſt countrie, and one alſo at Bolton. Among other things alſo to be ſéene in that towne, there is one of the faireſt clockes in Europe. Where no wood is, they are alſo incloſed with piles of ſlate; and therto it is douted of manie whether our bucke or doe are to be reckoned in wild or tame beaſts or not. Plinie déemeth them to be wild, Martial is alſo of the ſame opinion, where he ſaith, *Imbelles damæ quid niſi præda ſumus?* And ſo in time paſt the like controuerſie was about bées, which the lawiers call *Feras, tit. de acquirendo rerum dominio, & lib. 2. inſtit.* But Plinie attempting to decide the quarell calleth them *Medias inter feras & placidas aues*. But whither am I ſo ſuddenlie digreſſed? In returning therefore vnto our parks, I find alſo the circuit of theſe incloſures in like manner conteine often times a walke of foure or fiue miles, and ſometimes more or leſſe. Wherby it is to be ſéene what ſtore of ground is emploied vpon that vaine commoditie, which bringeth no manner of gaine or profit to the owner, ſith they commonlie giue awaie their fleſh, neuer taking penie for the ſame, except the ordinarie fée and parts of the déere giuen vnto the kéeper by a cuſtome, who beſide three ſhillings foure pence, or fiue ſhillings in monie, hath the ſkin, head, vmbles, chine, and ſhoulders: whereby he that hath the warrant for an whole bucke, hath in the end little more than halfe, which in my iudgement is ſcarſelie equall dealing; for venſon in England is neither bought nor ſold, as in other countries, but mainteined onelie for the pleaſure of the owner and his friends. Albeit I heard of late of one ancient ladie, which maketh a great gaine by ſelling yéerelie hir husbands veniſon to the cookes (as another of no leſſe name will not ſticke to ride to the market to ſée hir butter ſold) but not performed without infinite ſcoffes and mockes, euen of the pooreſt pezzants of the countrie, who thinke them as odious matters in ladies and women of ſuch countenance to ſell their veniſon and their butter, as for an earle to féele his oxen, ſhéepe, and lambs, whether they be readie for the butcher or not, or to ſell his wooll vnto the clothier, or to kéepe a tan-houſe, or deale with ſuch like affaires as belong not to men of honor, but rather to farmers, or graziers; for which ſuch, if there be anie may well be noted (and not vniuſtlie) to degenerate from true nobilitie, and betake themſelues to huſbandrie. And euen the ſame enormitie tooke place ſometime among the Romans, and entred ſo farre as into the verie ſenate, of whome ſome one had two or three ſhips going vpon the ſea, pretending prouiſion for their houſes; but in truth following the trades of merchandize, till a law was made which did inhibit and reſtraine them. Liuie alſo telleth of another

ther law which paſſed likewiſe againſt the ſenators by Claudius the tribune, and helpe onelie of C. Flaminius, that no ſenator, or he that had bæne father to anie ſenator ſhould poſſeſſe anie ſhip or veſſell aboue the capacitie of thrée hundred amphoras, which was ſuppoſed ſufficient for the cariage and recariage of ſuch neceſſities as ſhould apperteine vnto his houſe: ſith further trading with merchandizes and commodities doth declare but a baſe and couetous mind, not altogither void of enuie, that anie man ſhould liue but he; or that if anie gaine were to be had, he onelie would haue it himſelfe: which is a wonderfull dealing, and muſt néeds prooue in time the confuſion of that countrie wherein ſuch enormities are exerciſed. Where in times paſt, manie large and wealthie occupiers were dwelling within the compaſſe of ſome one parke, and thereby great plentie of corne and cattell ſéene, and to be had among them, beſide a more copious procreation of humane iſſue, whereby the realme was alwaies better furniſhed with able men to ſerue the prince in his affaires: now there is almoſt nothing kept but a ſort of wild and ſauage beaſts, cheriſhed for pleaſure and delight; and yet ſome owners ſtill deſirous to inlarge thoſe grounds, as either for the bréed and féeding of cattell, do not let dailie to take in more, not ſparing the verie commons whervpon manie townſhips now and then do liue, affirming that we haue alreadie too great ſtore of people in England; and that youth by marrieng too ſoone do nothing profit the countrie, but fill it full of beggars, to the hurt and vtter vndoing (they ſaie) of the common wealth.

Tillage and mankind diminiſhed by parkes.

The decaie of the people is the deſtruction of a kingdome.

Certes if it be not one curſe of the Lord, to haue our countrie conuerted in ſuch ſort from the furniture of mankind, into the walks and ſhrowds of wild beaſts, I know not what is anie. How manie families alſo theſe great and ſmall games (for ſo moſt kéepers call them) haue eaten vp and are likelie hereafter to deuoure, ſome men may coniecture, but manie more lament, ſith there is no hope of reſtraint to be loked for in this behalfe, becauſe the corruption is ſo generall. But if a man may preſentlie giue a gheſſe at the vniuerſalitie of this euill by contemplation of the circumſtance, he ſhall ſaie at the laſt, that the twentith part of the realme is imploied vpon déere and conies alreadie, which ſéemeth verie much if it be not dulie conſidered of.

King Henrie the eight, one of the nobleſt princes that euer reigned in this land, lamented oft that he was conſtreined to hire forren aid, for want of competent ſtore of ſouldiors here at home, perceiuing (as it is indeed) that ſuch ſupplies are oftentimes more hurtfull than profitable vnto thoſe that interteine them, as may cheéflie be ſeene in Malens the emperor, our Mortiger, and no ſmall number of others. He would oft maruell in priuate talke, how that when ſeuen or eight princes ruled here at once, one of them could lead thirtie or fortie thouſand men to the field againſt another, or two of them 100000 againſt the third, and thoſe taken out onelie of their owne dominions. But as he found the want, ſo he ſaw not the cauſe of this decaie, which grew beſide this occaſion now mentioned, alſo by laieng houſe to houſe, and land to land, whereby manie mens occupiengs were conuerted into one, and the bréed of people not a little thereby diminiſhed. The auarice of landlords by increaſing of rents and fines alſo did ſo wearie the people, that they were readie to rebell with him that would ariſe, ſuppoſing a ſhort end in the warres to be better than a long and miſerable life in peace.

Priuileges and faculties alſo are another great cauſe of the ruins of a common wealth, and diminution of mankind: for whereas law and nature doth permit all men to liue in their beſt maner, and whatſoeuer trade they be exerciſed in, there commeth ſome priuilege or other in the waie, which cutteth them off from this or that trade, wherby they muſt néeds ſhift ſoile, and ſéeke vnto other countries. By theſe alſo the greateſt commodities are brought into the hands of few, who imbaſe, corrupt, and yet raiſe the prices of things at their owne pleaſures. Example of this laſt I can giue alſo in bookes, which (after the firſt impreſſion of anie one booke) are for the moſt part verie negligentlie handled: whereas if another might print it ſo well as the firſt, then would men ſtriue which of them ſhould do it beſt; and ſo it falleth out in all other trades. It is an eaſie matter to proue that England was neuer leſſe furniſhed with people than at this preſent; for if the old records of euerie manour be ſought, and ſearch made to find what tenements are fallen, either downe, or into the lords hands, or brought and vnited togither by other men: it will ſoone appéere, that in ſome one manour ſeuentéen, eightéene, or twentie houſes are ſhrunke. I know what I ſaie by mine owne experience: notwithſtanding that ſome one cotage be here and there erected of late, which is to little purpoſe. Of cities and townes either vtterlie decaied, or more than a quarter or halfe diminiſhed, though ſome one be a little increaſed here and there; of townes pulled downe for ſhæpe-walks, and no more but the lordſhips now ſtanding in them, beſide thoſe that William Rufus pulled downe in his time; I could ſaie ſomewhat: but then I ſhould ſwarue yet further from my purpoſe, whereunto I now returne.

Wée had no parkes left in England at the comming of the Normans, who added this calamitie alſo to the ſeruitude of our nation, making men of the beſt ſort furthermore to become kéepers of their game, whileſt they liued in the meane time vpon the ſpoile of their reuenues, and dailie ouerthrew townes, villages, and an infinit ſort of families, for the maintenance of their venerie. Neither was anie parke ſuppoſed in theſe times to be ſtatelie enough, that conteined not at the leaſt eight or ten hidelands, that is, ſo manie hundred acres or families (or as they haue bæne alwaies called in ſome places of the realme carrucats or cartwares) of which one was ſufficient in old time to mainteine an honeſt yeoman.

King John trauelling on a time northwards, to wit 1209 to warre vpon the king of Scots, becauſe he had married his daughter to the earle of Bullen without his conſent: in his returne ouerthrew a great number of parkes and warrens, of which ſome belonged to his barons, but the greateſt part to the abbats and prelats of the cleargie. For hearing (as he trauelled) by complaint of the countrie, how theſe incloſures were the chéefe decaie of men, and of tillage in the land, he ſware with an oth that he would not ſuffer wild beaſts to féed vpon the fat of his ſoile, and ſée the people periſh for want of abilitie to procure and buie them food that ſhould defend the realme. Howbeit, this act of his was ſo ill taken by the religious and their adherents, that they inuerted his intent herein to another end; affirming moſt ſlanderouſlie how he did it rather of purpoſe to ſpoile the corne and graſſe of the commons and catholikes that held againſt him of both eſtates, and by ſo doing to impouriſh and bring the north part of the realme to deſtruction, becauſe they refuſed to go with him into Scotland. If the ſaid prince were aliue in theſe daies, wherein Andrew Boord ſaith there are more parks in England than in all Europe (ouer which he trauelled in his owne perſon) and ſaw how much ground they conſume,

I thinke he would either double his othes, or laie the moſt of them open that tillage might be better looked vnto. But this I hope ſhall not need in time, for the owners of a great ſort of them begin now to ſmell out, that ſuch parcels might be emploied to their more gaine, and therefore ſome of them dow grow to be diſparked.

Next of all we haue the franke chaſe, which taketh ſomething both of parke and forreſt, and is giuen either by the kings grant or preſcription. Certes it differeth not much from a parke; nay, it is in maner the ſelfe ſame thing that a parke is, ſauing that a parke is inuironed with pale, wall, or ſuch like: the chaſe alwaie open and nothing at all incloſed, as we ſee in Enuæld & Maluerne chaſes. And as it is the cauſe of the ſeiſure of the franchiſe of a parke not to keepe the ſame incloſed, ſo it is the like in a chaſe if at anie time it be imparked. It is treſpaſſe, and againſt the law alſo, for anie man to haue or make a chaſe, parke, or free warren without good warrantie of the king by his charter or perfect title of preſcription: for it is not lawfull for anie ſubiect either to carnilate, that is, build ſtone houſes, imbattell, haue the querke of the ſea, or keepe the aſſiſe of bread, ale, or wine, or ſet vp furels, tumbrell, thew, or pillorie, or incloſe anie ground to the aforeſaid purpoſes within his owne ſoile, without his warrant and grant. The beaſts of the chaſe were commonlie the bucke, the roe, the fox, and the marterne. But thoſe of venerie in old time were the hart, the hare, the bore and the woolfe; but as this held not in the time of Canutus, ſo in ſtéed of the woolfe the beare is now crept in, which is a beaſt cõmonlie hunted in the eaſt countries, and fed vpon as excellent venſon, although with vs I know not anie that féed thereon or care for it at all. Certes it ſhould ſeeme, that forreſts and franke chaſes haue alwaies béene had, and religiouſlie preſerued in this Iland for the ſolace of the prince, and recreation of his nobilitie: howbeit I read not that euer they were incloſed more than at this preſent, or otherwiſe fenſed than by vſuall notes of limitation, whereby their bounds were remembred from time to time, for the better preſeruation of ſuch venerie and vert of all ſorts as were nouriſhed in the ſame. Neither are anie of the ancient laws preſcribed for their maintenance, before the daies of Canutus, now to be had; ſith time hath ſo dealt with them that they are periſhed and loſt. Canutus therefore ſeeing the dailie ſpoile that was made almoſt in all places of his game, did at the laſt make ſundrie ſanctions and decrées, whereby from thenceforth the red and fallow déere were better looked to throughout his whole dominions. We haue in theſe daies diuerſe forreſts in England and Wales, of which, ſome belong to the king, and ſome to his ſubiects, as Waltham forreſt, Windleſor, Pickering, Feckham, Delamore, Gillingham, Kingſwood, Wencedale, Clun, Rath, Bredon, Weire, Charlie, Leiceſter, Lée, Rokingham, Selwood, New forreſt, Wichwood, Hatfeld, Sauernake, Weſtbirie, Blacamore Peke, Deane, Penriſe, & manie other now cleane out of my remembrance: and which although they are far greater in circuit than manie parkes and warrens, yet are they in this our time leſſe deuourers of the people than theſe latter, ſith beſide much tillage, & manie townes are found in each of them, whereas in parks and warrens we haue nothing elſe than either the keepers & wareners lodge, or at leaſt the manor place of the chéefe lord & owner of the ſoile. I find alſo by good record, that all Eſſex hath in time paſt wholie béene forreſt ground, except one cantred or hundred; but how long it is ſince it loſt the ſaid denomination in good ſooth I dow not read. This neuertheleſſe remaineth yet in memorie, that the towne of Walden in Eſſex ſtanding in the limits of the aforeſaid countie doth take hir name thereof. For in the Celtike tong, wherewith the Saxon or Scithian ſpéech doth not a little participate, huge woods and forreſts were called Walds, and likewiſe their Druides were named Wale or Waldie, becauſe they frequented the woods, and there made ſacrifice among the okes and thickets. So that if my coniecture in this behalfe be anie thing at all, the aforeſaid towne taketh denomination of of Wald and end, as if I ſhould ſay, The end of the woodie ſoile; for being once out of that pariſh, the champaine is at hand. Or it may be that it is ſo called of Wald and dene: for I haue read it written in old euidences Waldæne, with a diphthong. And to ſaie truth, Dene is the old Saxon word for a vale or lowe bottome, as Dune or Don is for an hill or hillie ſoile. Certes if it be ſo, then Walden taketh hir name of the woodie vale, in which it ſometime ſtood. But the firſt deriuation liketh me better, and the higheſt part of the towne is called alſo Chipping Walden, of the Saxon word Gipping, which ſignifieth Leaning or hanging, and may verie well be applied thereunto, ſith the whole towne hangeth as it were vpon the ſides of two hils, whereof the leſſer runneth quite through the middeſt of the ſame. I might here for further confirmation of theſe things bring in mention of the Wald of Kent: but this may ſuffice for the vſe of the word Wald, which now differeth much from Wold. For as that ſignifieth a woodie ſoile, ſo this betokeneth a ſoile without wood, or plaine champaine countrie, without anie ſtore of trées, as may be ſeene in Cotſwold, Porkewold, &c. Beſide this I could ſaie more of our forreſts, and the aforeſaid incloſures alſo, & therein to prooue by the booke of forreſt law, that the whole countie of Lancaſter hath likewiſe béene forreſt heretofore. Alſo how William the Baſtard made a law, that whoſoeuer did take anie wild beaſt within the kings forreſt ſhould loſe an eare; as Henrie the firſt did puniſh them either by life or lim: which ordinance was confirmed by Henrie the ſecond and his péeres at Woodſtocke, whereupon great trouble inſued vnder king John and Henrie the third, as appeareth by the chronicles: but it ſhall ſuffice to haue ſaid ſo much as is ſet downe alreadie.

Gipping, o
going by t
anie place.

Howbeit, that I may reſtore one antiquitie to light, which hath hitherto lien as it were raked vp in the embers of obliuion, I will giue out thoſe laws that Canutus made for his forreſt: whereby manie things ſhall be diſcloſed concerning the ſame (wherof peradventure ſome lawiers haue no knowlege) and diuerſe other notes gathered touching the ancient eſtate of the realme not to be found in other. But before I deale with the great charter (which as you may perceiue, is in manie places vnperfect by reaſon of corruption, and want alſo of congruitie, crept in by length of time, not by me to be reſtored) I will note another breefe law, which he made in the firſt yeare of his reigne at Wincheſter, afterward inſerted into theſe his later conſtitutions, canon 32, & beginneth thus in his owne Saxon tong; Ic will that elc one, &c: I will and grant that ech one ſhall be worthie of ſuch venerie as he by hunting can take either in the plaines or in the woods, within his owne fée or dominion; but ech man ſhall abſtaine from my venerie in euerie place, where I will that my beaſts ſhall haue firme peace and quietneſſe, vpon paine to forfet ſo much as a man may forfet. Hitherto the ſtatute made by the aforeſaid Canutus, which was afterward confirmed by king Edward ſurnamed the Confeſſor; & ratified by the Baſtard in the fourth yeare of his reigne. Now followeth the great charter it ſelfe in ſuch rude order and Latine

as

as I find it word for word, and which I would gladlie haue turned into English, if it might haue sounded to anie benefit of the vnskilfull and vnlearned.

Incipiunt constitutiones Canuti regis de foresta.

HAe sunt sanctiones de foresta, quas ego Canutus rex cum consilio primariorum hominum meorum condo & facio, vt cunctis regni nostri Angliæ ecclesijs & pax & iustitia fiat, & vt omnis delinquens secundum modum delicti, & delinquentis fortunam patiatur.

Pegened. 1 Sint iam deinceps quatuor ex liberalioribus hominibus, qui habent saluas suas debitas consuetudines (quos Angli Pegened appellant) in qualibet regni mei prouincia constituti, ad iustitiam distribuẽdam, vna cum pœna merita & materijs forestæ cuncto populo meo, tam Anglis quàm Danis per totum regnum meum Angliæ, quos quatuor primaries forestæ appellandos censemus.

Lespegend. Nunc fortè Fringald. 2 Sint sub quolibet horum, quatuor ex mediocribus hominibus (quos Angli Lespegend nuncupant, Dani verò yoong men vocant) locati, qui curam & onus tum viridis tum veneris suscipiant.

3 In administranda autem iustitia nullatenus volo vt tales se intromittant: mediocrésq; tales post ferarum curam susceptam, pro liberalibus semper habeantur, quos Dani Ealdermen appellant. Ealdermen.

Tineman. 4 Sub horum iterum quolibet sint duo minutorum hominum, quos Tineman Angli dicunt, hi nocturnam curam & veneris & viridis tum seruilia opera subibunt.

5 Si talis minutus seruus fuerit, tam citò quàm in foresta nostra locabitur, liber esto, omnésq; hos ex sumptibus nostris manutenebimus.

Michni. 6 Habeat etiam quilibet primariorum quolibet anno de nostra warda, quam Michni Angli appellant, duos equos, vnum cum sella, alterum sine sella, vnum gladium, quinque lanceas, vnum cuspidem, vnum scutum, & ducentos solidos argenti.

7 Mediocrium quilibet vnum equum, vnam lanceam, vnum scutum, & 60 solidos argenti.

8 Minutorum quilibet, vnum lanceam, vnam arcubalistam, & 15 solidos argenti.

Hundred law. Warscot. 9 Sint omnes tam primarij, quàm mediocres, & minuti, immunes, liberi, & quieti ab omnibus prouincialibus summonitionibus, & popularibus placitis, quæ Hundred laghe Angli dicunt, & ab omnibus armorum oneribus, quod Warscot Angli dicunt, & forinsecis querelis.

10 Sint mediocrium & minutorum causæ, & earum correctiones, tam criminalium quàm ciuilium per prouidam sapientiam & rationem primariorum iudicatæ & decisæ: primariorum verò enormia si quæ fuerint (ne scelus aliquod remaneat inultum) nosmet in ira nostra regali puniemus.

Muchehunt. 11 Habeant hi quatuor vnam regalem potestatem (salua semper nobis nostra præsentia) quatérq; in anno generales forestæ demonstrationes & viridis & veneris forisfactiones, quas Muchehunt dicunt, vbi teneant omnes calumniam de materia aliqua tangente forestam, eántque ad triplex iudicium, quod Angli Ofgangfordell dicunt. Ita autem acquiratur illud triplex iudicium. Accipiat secum quinque, & sit ipse sextus, & sic iurando acquirat triplex iudicium, aut triplex iuramentum. Sed purgatio ignis nullatenus admittatur, nisi vbi nuda veritas nequit aliter inuestigari.

Ofgangfordell. Purgatio ignis, triplex ordalia.

12 Liberalis autem homo. 1. Pegen, modo crimen suum non sit inter maiora, habeat fidelem hominem qui possit pro eo iurare iuramentum. 1. Forathe: si autem non habet, ipsemet iuret, nec pardonetur ei aliquod iuramentum. Pegen. Forathe.

13 Si aduena vel peregrinus qui de longinquo venerit sit calumniatus de foresta, & talis est sua inopia vt non possit habere plegium ad primam calumniam, qualem * nullus Anglus iudicare potest: tunc subeat captionem regis, & ibi expectet quousque vadat ad iudicium ferri & aquæ: attamen si quis extraneo aut peregrino de longè venienti * * sibi ipsi nocet, si aliquod iudicium iudicauerint.

14 Quicúq; coram primarios homines meos forestæ in falso testimonio steterit & victus fuerit, non sit dignus imposterum stare aut portare testimonium, quia legalitatem suam perdidit, & pro culpa soluat regi decem solidos, quos Dani vocant Halfehang, aliàs Halfehang. Halfehang.

15 Si quis vim aliquam primarijs forestæ meæ intulerit, si liberalis sit amittat libertatem & omnia sua, si villanus abscindatur dextra.

16 Si alteruter iterum peccauerit, reus sit mortis.

17 Si quis autem contra primarium pugnauerit, in plito emendet secundum pretium sui ipsius, quod Angli Pere & pite dicunt, & soluat primario quadraginta solidos. Pere & Pite.

18 Si pacem quis fregerit ante mediocres forestæ, quod dicunt Gethbrech, emendet regi decem solidis. Gethbrech.

19 Si quis mediocrium aliquem cum ira percusserit, emendetur prout interfectio feræ regalis mihi emendari solet.

20 Si quis delinquens in foresta nostra capietur, pœnas luet secundum modum & genus delicti.

21 Pœna & forisfactio non vna eadémq; erit liberalis (quem Dani Ealderman vocant) & illiberalis: domini & serui: noti & ignoti: nec vna eadémq; erit causarum tum ciuilium tum criminalium, ferarum forestæ, & ferarum regalium: viridis & veneris tractatio: nam crimen veneris ab antiquo inter maiora & non immeritò numerabatur: viridis verò (fractione chaceæ nostræ regalis excepta) ita pusillum & exiguum est, quòd vix ea respicit nostra constitutio: qui in hoc tamen deliquerit, sit criminis forestæ reus. Ealderman.

22 Si liber aliquis feram forestæ ad cursum impulerit, siue casu, siue præhabita voluntate, ita vt cursu celeri cogatur fera anhelare, decem solidis regi emendet, si illiberalis dupliciter emendet, si seruus careat corio.

23 Si verò harum aliquot interfecerit, soluat dupliciter & persoluat, sitque pretij sui reus contra regem.

24 Sed si regalem feram, quam Angli Staggon appellant, alteruter coegerit anhelare, alter per vnum annum, alter per duos careat libertate naturali: si verò seruus, pro vtlegato habeatur, quem Angli Frendlesman vocant. Staggon or Stagge. Frendlesman.

25 Si verò occiderit, amittat liber scutum libertatis, si sit illiberalis careat libertate, si seruus vita.

26 Episcopi, abbates, & barones mei non calumniabuntur pro venatione, si non regales feras occiderint: & si regales, restabunt rei regi pro libito suo, sine certa emendatione.

27 Sunt aliæ (præter feras forestæ) bestiæ, quæ

dum inter septa & sepes foresta continentur, emendationi subiacent: quales sunt capreoli, lepores, & cuniculi. Sunt & alia quam plurima animalia, quæ quãquam infra septa foresta viuunt, &
Beasts of chase in England. *cneri & curæ mediocrium subiacent foresta, tamen nequaquã censeri possunt, qualia sunt bubali, vaccæ, & similia. Vulpes & lupi, nec foresta nec veneris habentur, & proinde eorum interfectio nulli emendationi subiacet. Si tamen infra limites occiduntur, fractio sit regalis chaceæ, & mitius emendetur. Aper verò quanquam foresta sit, nullatenus tamen animal veneris haberi est assuetus.*

28 Bosco nec subbosco nostro sine licentia primariorum foresta nemo manum apponat, quod si quis fecerit reus sit fractionis regalis chaceæ.

Hares aliquando pro Britannia nuncupata, quæritur de quercu. *29 Si quis verò ilicem aut arborẽ aliquam, quæ victum feris suppeditat sciderit, præter fractionem regalis chaceæ, emendet regi viginti solidis.*

30 Volo vt omnis liber homo pro libito suo habeat venerem siue viridem in planis suis super terras suas, sine chacea tamen; & deuitent omnes meam, vbicũq; eam habere voluero.

Bee hounds. *31 Nullus mediocris habebit nec custodiet canes, quos Angli* Greihounds *appellant. Liberali vero, dum genuisciſio eorum facta fuerit coram primario foresta licebit, aut sine genuisciſione dum remoti sunt a limitibus foresta per decem miliaria: quando vero propius venerint, emendet quodlibet miliare vno solido. Si verò infra septa foresta reperiatur, dominus canis forisfaciet & decem solidos regi.*

Ueltres Langeran. *32 Veltieres verò quos* Langeran *appellant, quia manifestè constat in ijs nihil esse periculi, cuilibet licebit sine genuisciſione eos custodire.*
Ramhundt. *Idem de canibus quos* Ramhundt *vocant.*

33 Quòdsi casu inauspicato huiusmodi canes rabidi fiant & vbiq; vagãtur, negligentia dominorum, redduntur illiciti, & emendetur regi pro illicitis, &c. Quòdsi intra septa foresta reperiantur, talis exquiratur herus, & emendet secundum pretium hominis mediocris, quod secundum legem Werinorum. 1. Churingorum, est ducentorum solidorum.
Pretium hominis mediocris.

34 Si canis rabidus momorderit feram, tunc emendet secundum pretiũ hominis liberalis, quod est duodecies solidis centum. Si verò fera regalis morsa fuerit, reus sit maximi criminis.
Pretium liberi hominis.

And these are the constitutions of Canutus concerning the forrest, verie barbarouslie translated by those that toke the same in hand. Howbeit as I find it so I set it downe, without anie alteration of my copie in anie iot or tittle.

Of gardens and orchards.

Chap. 19.

AFter such time as Calis was woone from the French, and that our countriemen had learned to trade into diuerse countries (whereby they grew rich) they began to wax idle also, and thereupon not onlie left off their former painfulnesse and frugalitie, but in like sort gaue themselues to liue in excesse and vanitie, whereby manie goodlie commodities failed, and in short time were not to be had amongst vs. Such strangers also as dwelled here with vs, perceiuing our sluggishnesse, and espieng that this idlenesse of ours might redound to their great profit, forthwith imploied their endeuours to bring in the supplie of such things as we lacked, continuallie from forren countries; which yet more augmented our idlenes. For hauing all things at reasonable prices as we supposed, by such means from them, we thought it meere madnesse to spend either time or cost about the same here at home. And thus we became enimies to our owne welfare, as men that in those daies reposed our felicitie in following the wars, wherewith we were often exercised both at home and other places. Besides this, the naturall desire that mankind hath to esteeme of things farre sought, because they be rare and costlie, and the irksome contempt of things neere hand, for that they are common and plentifull, hath borne no small swaie also in this behalfe amongst vs. For hereby we haue neglected our owne good gifts of God, growing here at home as vile and of no valure, and had euerie trifle and toie in admiration that is brought hither from far countries, ascribing I wot not what great forces and solemne estimation vnto them, vntill they also haue waren old, after which they haue beene so little regarded, if not more despised amongst vs than our owne. Examples hereof I could set downe manie, & in manie things, but sith my purpose is to deale at this time with gardens and orchards, it shall suffice that I touch them onelie, and shew our inconstancie in the same, so farre as shall seeme & be conuenient for my turne. I comprehend therefore vnder the word garden, all such grounds as are wrought with the spade by mans hand, for so the case requireth. Of wine I haue written alreadie elsewhere sufficientlie, which commoditie (as I haue learned further since the penning of that booke) hath beene verie plentifull in this Iland, not onlie in the time of the Romans, but also since the conquest, as I haue seene by record: yet at this present haue we none at all or else verie little to speake of growing in this Iland: which I impute not vnto the soile, but the negligence of my countrimen. Such herbes, fruits, and roots also as grow yearelie out of the ground, of seed, haue beene verie plentifull in this land, in the time of the first Edward, and after his daies: but in processe of time they grew also to be neglected, so that from Henrie the fourth till the latter end of Henrie the seuenth, & beginning of Henrie the eight, there was litle or no vse of them in England, but they remained either vnknowne, or supposed as food more meet for hogs & sauage beasts to feed vpon than mankind. Whereas in my time their vse is not onelie resumed among the poore commons, I meane of melons, pompions, gourds, cucumbers, radishes, skirets, parsneps, carrets, cabbages, nauewes, turneps, and all kinds of salad herbes, but also fed vpon as deintie dishes at the tables of delicate merchants, gentlemen, and the nobilitie, who make their prouision yearelie for new seeds out of strange countries, from whence they haue them aboundantlie. Neither do they now skale with such of these fruits as are wholesome in their kinds, but aduenture further vpon such as are verie dangerous and hurtfull, as the verangenes, mushroms, &c: as if nature had ordeined all for the bellie, or that all things were to be eaten, for whose mischiefous operation the Lord in some measure hath giuen and prouided a remedie.

Hops in time past were plentifull in this land, afterwards also their maintenance did cease, and now being reuiued, where are anie better to be found: where anie greater commoditie to be raised by them: onelie poles are accounted to be their greatest charge. But sith men haue learned of late to sow ashen keies in ashyards by themselues, that inconuenience

uenience in ſhort time will be redreſſed. Madder hath growne abundantlie in this Iland, but of long time neglected, and now a little reuiued, and offereth it ſelfe to proue no ſmall benefit vnto our countrie, as manie other things elſe, which are now fetched from vs; as we before time when we gaue our ſelues to idleneſſe, were glad to haue them other. If you looke into our gardens annexed to our houſes, how wonderfullie is their beautie increaſed, not onelie with floures, which Colmella calleth *Terrena ſydera*, ſaieng;

Pingit & in varios terreſtria ſydera flores,

and varietie of curious and coſtlie workmanſhip, but alſo with rare and medicinable hearbes ſought vp in the land within theſe fortie yeares: ſo that in compariſon of this preſent, the ancient gardens were but dunghils and laiſkowes to ſuch as did poſſeſſe them. How art alſo helpeth nature in the daſlie colouring, doubling and inlarging the proportion of our floures, it is incredible to report: for ſo curious and cunning are our gardeners now in theſe daies, that they preſume to do in maner what they liſt with nature, and moderate hir courſe in things as if they were hir ſuperiours. It is a world alſo to ſée, how manie ſtrange hearbs, plants, and annuall fruits, are dailie brought vnto vs from the Indies, Americans, Tarprobane, Canarie Iles, and all parts of the world: the which albeit that in reſpect of the conſtitutions of our bodies they do not grow for vs, bicauſe that God hath beſtowed ſufficient commodities vpon euerie countrie for hir owne neceſſitie; yet for delectation ſake vnto the eie, and their odoriferous ſauours vnto the noſe, they are to be cheriſhed, and God to be glorified alſo in them, bicauſe they are his good gifts, and created to do man helpe and ſeruice. There is not almoſt one noble man, gentleman, or merchant, that hath not great ſtore of theſe floures, which now alſo do begin to wax ſo well acquainted with our ſoiles, that we may almoſt accompt of them as parcell of our owne commodities. They haue no leſſe regard in like ſort to cheriſh medicinable hearbs fetched out of other regions nérer hand: inſomuch that I haue ſéene in ſome one garden to the number of three hundred or foure hundred of them, if not more; of the halfe of whoſe names within fortie yéeres paſſed we had no maner knowledge. But herein I find ſome cauſe of juſt complaint, for that we extoll their vſes ſo farre that we fall into contempt of our owne, which are in truth more beneficiall and apt for vs than ſuch as grow elſewhere, ſith (as I ſaid before) euerie region hath abundantlie within hir owne limits whatſoeuer is needfull and moſt conuenient for them that dwell therein. How do men extoll the vſe of Tabacco in my time, whereas in truth (whether the cauſe be in the repugnancie of our conſtitution vnto the operation thereof, or that the ground doth alter hir force, I cannot tell) it is not found of ſo great efficacie as they write. And beſide this, our common germander or thiſtle benet is found & knowne to bée ſo wholeſome and of ſo great power in medicine, as anie other hearbe, if they be vſed accordinglie. I could exemplifie after the like maner in ſundrie other, as the *Salſa parilla, Mechoacan, &c.*: but I forbeare ſo to do, becauſe I couet to be briefe. And trulie the eſtimation and credit that we yéeld and giue vnto compound medicines made with forren drugs, is one great cauſe wherefore the full knowledge and vſe of our owne ſimples hath bene ſo long raked vp in the imbers. And as this may be verified, ſo to be one ſound concluſion, for the greater number of ſimples that go vnto anie compound medicine, the greater confuſion is found therein, becauſe the qualities and operations of verie few of the particulars are throughlie knowne. And euen ſo our continuall deſire of ſtrange drugs, whereby the phyſician and apothecarie onlie hath the benefit, is no ſmall cauſe that the vſe of our ſimples here at home doth go to looſe, and that we tread thoſe herbes vnder our féet, whoſe forces if we knew, & could aplie them to our neceſſities, we wold honor & haue in reuerence as to their caſe behoueth. Alas what haue we to do with ſuch Arabian & Grecian ſtuffe as is dailie brought from thoſe parties, which lie in another clime? And therefore the bodies of ſuch as dwell there, are of another conſtitution, than ours are here at home. Certes they grow not for vs, but for the Arabians and Grecians. And albeit that they maie by ſkill be applied vnto our benefit, yet to be more ſkilfull in them than in our owne, is follie; and to vſe forren wares when our owne maie ſerue the turne is more follie; but to deſpiſe our owne and magnifie aboue meaſure the vſe of them that are ſought and brought from farre, is moſt follie of all: for it ſauoureth of ignorance, or at the leaſtwiſe of negligence, and therefore worthie of reproch.

Among the Indians, who haue the moſt preſent cures for euerie diſeaſe, of their owne nation, there is ſmall regard of compound medicins, & leſſe of forren drugs, becauſe they neither know them nor can vſe them, but worke wonders euen with their owne ſimples. With them alſo the difference of the clime doth ſhew hir full effect. For whereas they will heale one another in ſhort time with application of one ſimple, &c: if a Spaniard or Engliſh man ſtand in need of their helpe, they are driuen to haue a longer ſpace in their cures, and now and then alſo to vſe ſome addition of two or three ſimples at the moſt, whoſe forces vnto them are throughlie knowne, becauſe their exerciſe is onelie in their owne, as men that neuer ſought or heard what vertue was in thoſe that came from other countries. And euen ſo did Marcus Cato the learned Roman indeuor to deale in his cures of ſundrie diſeaſes, wherein he not onelie vſed ſuch ſimples as were to be had in his owne countrie, but alſo examined and learned the forces of each of them, wherewith he dealt ſo diligentlie, that in all his life time, he could atteine to the exact knowledge but of a few, and thereto wrote of thoſe moſt learnedlie, as would eaſilie be ſéene, if thoſe his bookes were extant. For the ſpace alſo of 600 yéeres, the colewort onelie was a medicine in Rome for all diſeaſes, ſo that his vertues were thoroughlie knowne in thoſe parts.

In Plinies time the like affection to forren drugs did rage among the Romans, whereby their owne did grow in contempt. Crieng out therefore of this extreame follie, lib. 22. cap. 24, he ſpeaketh after this maner: *Non placent remedia tam longè naſcentia, non enim nobis gignuntur, immò ne illis quidem, alioquin non venderent; ſi placet etiam ſuperſtitionis gratiâ emantur, quoniam ſupplicamus, &c. Salutem quidem ſine his poſſe conſtare, vel ob id probabimus, vt tanto magis ſui tandem pudeat.* For my part I doubt not, if the vſe of outlandiſh drugs had not blinded our phyſicians of England in times paſſed, but that the vertues of our ſimples here at home would haue béene far better knowne, and ſo well vnto vs, as thoſe of India are to the practiſioners of thoſe partes, and thereunto be found more profitable for vs than the forren either are or maie be. This alſo will I ad, that euen thoſe which are moſt common by reaſon of their plentie, and moſt vile bicauſe of their abundance, are not without ſome vniuerſall and eſpeciall efficacie, if it were knowne, for our benefit: ſith God in nature hath ſo diſpoſed his creatures, that the moſt néedfull are the moſt plentifull, and ſeruing for ſuch generall diſeaſes as our conſtitution moſt commonlie is affected

withall. Great thanks therefore be giuen vnto the phyſicians of our age and countrie, who not onelie indeuour to ſearch out the vſe of ſuch ſimples as our ſoile doth yéeld and bring forth, but alſo to procure ſuch as grow elſewhere, vpō purpoſe ſo to acquaint them with our clime, that they in time through ſome alteration receiued from the nature of the earth, maie likewiſe turne to our benefit and commoditie, and be vſed as our owne.

The chiefe workeman, or as I maie call him the founder of this deuiſe, is Carolus Cluſius, the noble herbariſt, whoſe induſtrie hath wonderfullie ſtirred them vp vnto this good act. For albeit that Matthiolus, Rembert, Lobell, and other haue trauelled verie farre in this behalfe, yet none hath come néere to Cluſius, much leſſe gone further in the finding and true deſcriptions of ſuch herbes as of late are brought to light. I doubt not but if this man were in England but one ſeuen yéeres, he would reueale a number of herbes growing with vs, whereof neither our phyſicians nor apothecaries as yet haue anie knowledge. And euen like thankes be giuen vnto our nobilitie, gentlemen, and others, for their continuall nutriture and cheriſhing of ſuch homeborne and forren ſimples in their gardens, for hereby they ſhall not onlie be had at hand and preſerued, but alſo their formes made more familiar to be diſcerned, and their forces better knowne than hitherto they haue béene.

And euen as it fareth with our gardens, ſo doth it with our orchards, which were neuer furniſhed with ſo good fruit, nor with ſuch varietie as at this preſent. For beſide that we haue moſt delicate apples, plummes, peares, walnuts, filberds, &c. and thoſe of ſundrie ſorts, planted within fortie yéeres paſſed, in compariſon of which moſt of the old trées are nothing worth: ſo haue we no leſſe ſtore of ſtrange fruit, as abricotes, almonds, peaches, figges, cornetrees in noble mens orchards. I haue ſéene capers, orenges, and lemmons, and heard of wild oliues growing here, beſide other ſtrange treés, brought from far, whoſe names I know not. So that England for theſe commodities was neuer better furniſhed, neither anie nation vnder their clime more plentifullie indued with theſe and other bleſſings from the moſt high God, who grant vs grace withall to vſe the ſame to his honour and glorie! and not as inſtruments and prouocations vnto further exceſſe and vanitie, wherewith his diſpleaſure may be kindled, leaſt theſe his benefits do turne vnto thornes and briers vnto vs for our annoiance and puniſhment, which he hath beſtowed vpon vs for our conſolation and comfort.

We haue in like ſort ſuch workemen as are not onelie excellent in graffing the naturall fruits, but alſo in their artificiall mixtures, whereby one trée bringeth forth ſundrie fruits, and one and the ſame fruit of diuers colours and taſts, dallieng as it were with nature and hir courſe, as if hir whole trade were perfectlie knowne vnto them: of hard fruits they will make tender, of ſowre ſweet, of ſweet yet more delicate, béereuing alſo ſome of their kernels, other of their cozes, and finallie induing them with the ſauour of muſke, ambre, or ſweet ſpices at their pleaſures. Diuerſe alſo haue written at large of theſe ſeuerall practiſes, and ſome of them how to conuert the kernels of peaches into almonds, of ſmall fruit to make farre greater, and to remoue or add ſuperfluous or neceſſarie moiſture to the trées, with other things belonging to their preſeruation, and with no leſſe diligence than our phyſicians do commonlie ſhew vpon our owne diſeaſed bodies, which to me doth ſéeme right ſtrange. And euen ſo do our gardeners with their herbes, whereby they are ſtrengthened againſt noiſome blaſts, and preſerued from putrifaction and hinderance, whereby ſome ſuch as were annuall, are now made perpetuall, being yéerelie taken vp, and either reſerued in the houſe, or hauing the roſſe pulled from their rotes, laid againe into the earth, where they remaine in ſafetie. What choiſe they make alſo in their waters, and wherewith ſome of them do now and then kéepe them moiſt, it is a world to ſée; inſomuch that the apothecaries ſhops maie ſéeme to be nédfull alſo to our gardens and orchards, and that in ſundrie wiſe: naie the kitchin it ſelfe is ſo farre from being able to be miſſed among them, that euen the verie diſhwater is not without ſome vſe amongeſt our fineſt plants. Whereby and ſundrie other circumſtances not here to bée remembred, I am perſuaded, that albeit the gardens of the Heſperides were in times paſt ſo greatlie accounted of because of their delicacie: yet if it were poſſible to haue ſuch an equall iudge, as by certeine knowledge of both were able to pronounce vpon them, I doubt not but he would giue the price vnto the gardens of our daies, and generallie ouer all Europe, in compariſon of thoſe times, wherein the old excéeded. Plinie and other ſpeake of a roſe that had three ſcore leaues growing vpon one button: but if I ſhould tell of one which bare a triple number vnto that proportion, I know I ſhall not be beléeued, and no great matter though I were not, howbeit, ſuch a one was to be ſéene in Antwarpe 1585, as I haue heard, and I know who might haue had a ſlip or ſtallon thereof, if he would haue ventured ten pounds vpon the growth of the ſame, which ſhould haue bene but a tickle hazard, and therefore better vndone, as I did alwaies imagine. For mine owne part, good reader, let me boaſt a litle of my garden, which is but ſmall, and the whole *Area* thereof little aboue 300 foot of ground, and yet, ſuch hath béene my good lucke in purchaſe of the varietie of ſimples, that notwithſtanding my ſmall abilitie, there are verie néere three hundred of one ſort and other conteined therein, no one of them being common or vſuallie to bee had. If therefore my little plot, void of all coſt in kéeping be ſo well furniſhed, what ſhall we thinke of thoſe of Hampton court, Noneſuch, Tibaults, Cobham garden, and ſundrie other apertaining to diuerſe citizens of London, whom I could particularlie name, if I ſhould not ſéeme to offend them by ſuch my demeanour and dealing?

Of waters generallie.

Chap. 21.

There is no one commoditie in England, whereof I can make leſſe report than of our waters. For albeit our ſoile abound with water in all places, and that in the moſt ample maner: yet can I not find by ſome experience that almoſt anie one of our riuers hath ſuch od and rare qualities as diuers of the maine are ſaid to be indued withall. Vitruuius writeth of a well in Paphlagonia, whoſe water ſéemeth as it were mired with wine, & addeth thereto that diuerſe become drunke by ſuperfluous taking of the ſame. The like force is found *In amne Liceſio*, a riuer of Thracia, vpon whoſe bankes a man ſhall hardlie miſſe to find ſome traueller or other ſléeping for drunkenneſſe, by drinking of that liquor. Néere alſo vnto Epheſus are certeine welles, which taſte like ſharpe vineger, and therefore,

therefore are much eſteemed of by ſuch as are ſicke and euill at eaſe in thoſe parts. At Hieropolis is a ſpring of ſuch force (as Strabo ſaith) that the water thereof mixed with certaine herbes of choiſe, doth colour woll with ſuch a gloſſe, that the die thereof contendeth with ſkarlet, murreie, and purple, and oft ouercommeth the ſame. The Cydnus in Tarſus of Cilicia, is of ſuch vertue, that who ſo batheth himſelfe therein, ſhall find great eaſe of the gowt that runneth ouer all his ioints. In one of the fortunate Iles (ſaith Pomponius the Coſmographer) are two ſprings, one of the which bringeth immoderate laughter to him that drinketh thereof, the other ſadneſſe and reſtraint of that effect, whereby the laſt is taken to be a ſouereigne medicine againſt the other, to the great admiration of ſuch as haue beholden it. At Suſis in Perſia there is a ſpring, which maketh him that drinketh downe anie of the water, to caſt all his teeth: but if he onlie waſh his mouth withall, it maketh them faſt, & his mouth to be verie healthfull. So there is a riuer among the Gadarens, whereof if a beaſt drinke, he forthwith caſteth hoofe, haire, and hornes, if he haue anie. Alſo a lake in Aſſyria, neere vnto the which there is a kind of glewie matter to be found, which holdeth ſuch birds as by hap do light thereon ſo faſt as birdlime, by meanes whereof verie manie do periſh and are taken that light vpon the ſame: howbeit if anie portion hereof happen to be ſet on fire by caſualtie or otherwiſe, it will neuer be quenched but by caſting on of duſt, as Caietanus doth report. Another at Halicarnaſſus called Salmacis, which is noted to make ſuch men effeminate as drinke of the water of the ſame. Certes it maie be (ſaith Strabo) that the water and aire of a region maie qualifie the courage of ſome men, but none can make them effeminate, nor anie other thing becauſe of ſuch corruption in them, ſooner than ſuperfluous wealth, and inconſtancie of liuing and behauiour, which is a bane vnto all natures, lib. 4. All which, with manie other not now comming to memorie, as the Letheus, Styx, Phlegeton, Cocitus, &c: haue ſtrange & incredible reports made of them by the new and ancient writers, the like whereof are not to be found in England, which I impute wholie to the bleſſing of God, who hath ordeined nothing amongſt vs in this our temperate region, but that which is good, wholeſome, and moſt commodious for our nation. We haue therefore no hurtfull waters amongſt vs, but all wholeſome and profitable for the benefit of the people. Neuertheles as none of them is to be found without hir fiſh: ſo we know by experience, that diuerſe turne aſh, ſome other elme, and oken ſtakes or poles that lie or are throwne into them into hard ſtone, in long continuance of time, which is the ſtrangeſt thing that I can learne at this preſent whereupon to reſt for a certentie. Yet I read of diuerſe welles, whereunto our old writers aſcribe either wonderfull vertues, or rare courſes, as of one vpon the ſhore, beyond the which the ſea floweth euerie daie twiſe a large mile and more; and yet is the ſurge of that water alwaies ſeuen foot from the ſalt ſea: whereby it ſhould ſéeme that the head of the ſpring is moueable. But alas I do not eaſilie beléeue it, more than that which is written of the Lilingwan lake in Wales, which is néere to the Seuerne, and receiueth the flowing ſea into hir chanell as it were a gulfe, and yet is neuer full: but when the ſea goeth awaie by reaſon of the ebbe, it caſteth vp the water with ſuch violence, that hir banks are ouerflowne and drowned, which is an abſurd report. They adalſo, that if all the people of the countrie ſtood néere to the ſame, with their faces toward the lake, in ſuch maner that the daſhing of the water might touch and wet their clothes, they ſhould haue no power to go from thence, but maugre their reſiſtance be drawne into that gulfe and periſh; whereas if they turned their backs vnto the ſame, they ſhould ſuffer no ſuch inconuenience though they ſtood neuer ſo néere. Manie other ſuch like toies I could ſet downe of other welles and waters of our countrie. But whie ſhould I write that for other men to read, whereto I giue no credit my ſelfe, more than to the report which Iohannes du Choul doth make in his deſcription of Pilats lake, *In monte Pilati in Gallia*, or Boccatius of the Scaphigiolo in the Appenine hils, or Fœlix Malliolus of Pilats lake *In monte fracto* (where Iacobus de Voragino biſhop of Gene, & Ioachimus Vadianus in Pompon. Melam do alſo make mention) ſith I take them but for fables, & far vnworthie that anie good man ſhould ſtaine his paper with ſuch friuolous matters as are reported of them, being deuiſed at the firſt by Satanas the father of lies, for the holding of the ignorant & credulous in their ſuperſtitions and errors. Such alſo is the tale that goeth of Wenefrids well, & nothing inferior to that of Mercurie néere to port Caperia in Rome, wherein ſuch as went by would dip branches of baie, and ſprinkle the ſame vpon themſelues: and ſo manie as ſtood about them, calling vpon Mercurie, and craning pardon for their ſinnes, as if that ceremonie had bene of force vnto forgiueneſſe and remiſſion of their treſpaſſes. And ſo it appeareth partlie by Cicero, who (being a man neither thinking well of their owne gods nor liking of the augures) doth write in his firſt *De legibus* (except my memorie faile me) *aſperſione aquæ labem tolli corpoream, & caſtimoniam corporis præſtari*, which maketh me to thinke further, that they thought it equall with our late holie-water, wherewith it maie be compared. I might further alſo (if I would) make relation of diuerſe welles, which haue wrought manie miracles in time of ſuperſtition, as S. Butolphs well in Hadſtocke, S. Germans well at Falkeburne, Holie well at S. Albones and London, and ſundrie other in other places: but as their vertues are now found out to be but baits to draw men and women vnto them, either for gaine vnto the places where they were, or ſatisfaction of the lewd diſpoſition of ſuch as hunted after other gaine, ſo it ſhall ſuffice to haue touched them far off. Onlie this will I ad, that we haue no hurtfull waters, no not vnto our ſheepe, though it pleaſe Cardan to auouch otherwiſe; for our waters are not the cauſes, but the ſignes of their infections when they drinke, as I elſewhere haue noted in the chapter of cattell, as alſo that we haue a ſpring néere Saffron Walden, and not farre from the houſe of the lord Audleie, which is of ſuch force, that it looſeth the bodie of him that drinketh therof in verie gentle maner, and beſide that is verie delectable & pleaſant to be taken, as I haue found by experience. I heare alſo of two welles néere London, of which the one is verie excellent water, the other will beare no ſope, and yet ſo ſituat that the one is hard by the other. And thus much of waters.

Of woods and mariſhes.

Chap. 22.

Great abundance of wood ſometime in England.

IT ſhould ſéeme by ancient records, and the teſtimonie of ſundrie authors, that the whole countries of Lhoegres and Cambria, now England and Wales, haue ſometimes béene verie well replenished with great woods & groues, although at this time the ſaid commoditie be not a little decaied in both, and in ſuch wiſe that a man

ſhall oft ride ten or twentie miles in ech of them, and find verie little or rather none at all, except it be neere vnto townes, gentlemens houſes, & villages, where the inhabitants haue planted a few elmes, okes, haſels, or aſhes about their dwellings for their defenſe from the rough winds, and keeping of the ſtormie weather from annoiance of the ſame. This ſcarſitie at the firſt grew (as it is thought) either by the induſtrie of man, for maintenance of tillage (as we vnderſtand the like to be done of late by the Spaniards in the weſt Indies, where they fired whole woods of verie great compaſſe therby to come by ground whereon to ſow their graines) or elſe thorough the couetouſneſſe of ſuch, as in preferring of paſture for their ſheepe and greater cattell, doo make ſmall account of firebote and timber: or finallie by the crueltie of the enimies, whereof we haue ſundrie examples declared in our hiſtories. Howbeit where the rocks and quarrie grounds are, I take the ſwart of the earth to be ſo thin, that no tree of anie greatneſſe, other than ſhrubs and buſhes, is able to grow or proſper long therein for want of ſufficient moiſture wherewith to feed them with freſh humour, or at the leaſtwiſe of mould, to ſhrowd, ſtaie vpright, and cheriſh the ſame in the blaſtering winters weather, till they may grow vnto anie greatneſſe, and ſpread or yéeld their rotes downe right into the ſoile about them: and this either is or may be one other cauſe, wherefore ſome places are naturallie void of wood. But to proceed. Although I muſt néeds confeſſe that there is good ſtore of great wood or timber here and there, euen now in ſome places of England, yet in our daies it is far vnlike to that plentie, which our anceſtors haue ſéene heretofore, when ſtatelie building was leſſe in vſe. For albeit that there were then greater number of meſuages and manſions almoſt in euery place; yet were their frames ſo ſlight and ſlender, that one meane dwelling houſe in our time is able to counteruaile verie manie of them, if you conſider the preſent charge with the plentie of timber that we beſtow vpon them. In times paſt men were contented to dwell in houſes, builded of ſallow, willow, plumtree, hardbeame, and elme, ſo that the vſe of oke was in maner dedicated wholie vnto churches, religious houſes, princes palaces, noblemens lodgings, & nauigation: but now all theſe are reiected, and nothing but oke anie whit regarded. And yet ſée the change, for when our houſes were builded of willow, then had we oken men; but now that our houſes are come to be made of oke, our men are not onlie become willow, but a great manie through Perſian delicacie crept in among vs altogither of ſtraw, which is a ſore alteration. In thoſe the courage of the owner was a ſufficient defenſe to keepe the houſe in ſafetie, but now the aſſurance of the timber, double doores, lockes and bolts muſt defend the man from robbing. Now haue we manie chimnies and yet our tenderlings complaine of rheumes, catarhs and poſes. Then had we none but reredoſſes, and our heads did neuer ake. For as the ſmoke in thoſe daies was ſuppoſed to be a ſufficient hardning for the timber of the houſe; ſo it was reputed a far better medicine to keepe the goodman and his familie from the quacke or poſe, wherewith as then verie few were oft acquainted.

Deſire of much wealth and eaſe abateth manhood, & ouerthroweth a manlie courage.

Of the curiouſneſſe of theſe piles I ſpeake not, ſith our workemen are growne generallie to ſuch an excellencie of deuiſe in the frames now made, that they far paſſe the fineſt of the old. And ſuch is their huſbandrie in dealing with their timber, that the ſame ſtuffe which in time paſt was reiected as crooked, vnprofitable, and to no vſe but the fire, doth now come in the fronts and beſt part of the worke. Whereby the common ſaieng is likewiſe in theſe daies verified in our manſion houſes, which earſt was ſaid onelie of the timber for ſhips, that no oke can grow ſo crooked but it falleth out to ſome vſe, & that neceſſarie in the naue. It is a world to ſée moreouer how diuerſe men being bent to building, and hauing a delectable veine in ſpending of their goods by that trade, doo dailie imagine new deuiſes of their owne to guide their workemen withall, and thoſe more curious and excellent alwaies than the former. In the proceeding alſo of their workes, how they ſet vp, how they pull downe, how they inlarge, how they reſtreine, how they ad to, how they take from, whereby their heads are neuer idle, their purſes neuer ſhut, nor their bookes of account neuer made perfect.

Deſtruunt, ædificant, mutant quadrata rotundis

ſaith the poet. So that if a man ſhould well conſider of all the od crotchets in ſuch a builders braine, he would thinke his head to haue euen inough of thoſe affaires onelie, & therefore iudge that he ſhould not well be able to deale in anie other. But ſuch commonlie are our workemaſters, that they haue beſide this veine afore mentioned, either great charge of merchandizes, little leſſe buſineſſe in the common-wealth, or finallie no ſmall dealings otherwiſe incident vnto them, whereby gaine ariſeth, and ſome trouble oft among withall. Which cauſeth me to wonder not a little how they can plaie the parts ſo well of ſo manie ſundrie men, whereas diuerſe other of greater forecaſt in apparance can ſeldome ſhift well or thriue in anie one of them. But to our purpoſe.

We haue manie woods, forreſts, and parks, which cheriſh trées abundantlie, although in the woodland countries there is almoſt no hedge that hath not ſome ſtore of the greateſt ſort, beſide infinit numbers of hedgerowes, groues, and ſprings, that are maintained of purpoſe for the building and proviſion of ſuch owners as doo poſſeſſe the ſame. Howbeit as euerie ſoile doth not beare all kinds of wood, ſo there is not anie wood, parke, hedgerow, groue, or forreſt, that is not mixed with diuerſe, as oke, aſh, haſell, hawthorne, birch, beech, hardbeame, hull, ſorſe, quicken aſpe, poplers, wild cherie, and ſuch like, whereof oke hath alwaies the preheminence, as moſt méet for building and the naue, whervnto it is reſerued. This tree bringeth forth alſo a profitable kind of maſt, whereby ſuch as dwell néere vnto the aforeſaid places doo cheriſh and bring vp innumerable heards of ſwine. In time of plentie of this maſt, our red and fallow déere will not let to participat thereof with our hogs, more than our nete: yea our common pultrie alſo if they may come vnto them. But as this abundance doth proue verie pernicious vnto the firſt, ſo theſe egs which theſe latter doo bring forth (beſide blackeneſſe in colour and bitterneſſe of taſt) haue not ſeldome béene found to breed diuerſe diſeaſes vnto ſuch perſons as haue eaten of the ſame. I might ad in like ſort the profit inſuing by the barke of this wood, whereof our tanners haue great vſe in dreſſing of leather, and which they buie yearelie in Maie by the ſadame, as I haue oft ſéene: but it ſhall not néed at this time to enter into anie ſuch diſcourſe, onlie this I wiſh, that our ſole and vpper leathering may haue their due time, and not be haſted on by extraordinarie ſlights, as with aſh, barke, &c. Whereby as I grant that it ſéemeth outwardlie to be verie thicke & well done: ſo if you reſpect the ſadnes therof, it doth proue in the end to be verie hollow & not able to hold out water. Neuertheleſſe we haue good lawes for redreſſe of this enormitie, but it cõmeth to paſſe in theſe as in the execution of moſt penall ſtatutes. For the gaines to be gotten by the ſame being giuen to one or two hungrie and vnthriftie perſons, they make a ſhew of great reformation at the firſt, & for a litle while, till they find that following of ſute

The like I ſéene w hens doo t vpon the der blade garlike.

in law againſt the offendors is ſomwhat too chargeable and tedious. This therefore perceiued, they giue ouer the law, and fall to the admiſſion of gifts and rewards to winke at things paſt, and when they haue once gone ouer their ground with this kind of tillage, then do they tender licences, and offer large diſpenſations vnto him that ſhall aſke the ſame, thereby to do what him liſteth in his trade for an yearelie penſion, whereby the bribour now groweth to ſome certeine reuenues, & the tanner to ſo great libertie that his lether is much worſe than before. But is not this a mockerie of our lawes, & manifeſt illuſion of the good ſubiect whom they thus pill & poll? Of all oke growing in England the parke oke is the ſofteſt, and far more ſpalt and brickle than the hedge oke. And of all in Eſſex, that growing in Wardfield parke is the fineſt for ioiners craft: for oftentimes haue I ſeene of their workes made of that oke ſo fine and faire, as moſt of the waineſcot that is brought hither out of Danſke, for our waineſcot is not made in England. Yet diuerſe haue aſſaied to deale without okes to that end, but not with ſo good ſucceſſe as they haue hoped, becauſe the ab or iuice will not ſo ſoone be remoued and cleane drawne out, which ſome attribute to want of time in the ſalt water. Neuertheleſſe in building, ſo well the hedge as the parke oke go all one waie, and neuer ſo much hath beene ſpent in a hundred yeares before, as is in ten yeare of our time; for euerie man almoſt is a builder, and he that hath bought any ſmall parcell of ground, be it neuer ſo little, will not be quiet till he haue pulled downe the old houſe (if anie were there ſtanding) and ſet vp a new after his owne deuiſe. But whereunto will this curioſitie come?

Of elme we haue great ſtore in euerie high waie and elſewhere, yet haue I not ſeene thereof anie together in woods or forreſts, but where they haue béene firſt planted and then ſuffered to ſpread at their owne willes. Yet haue I knowen great woods of béech and haſell in manie places, eſpeciallie in Barkeſhire, Oxfordſhire, and Buckinghamſhire, where they are greatlie cheriſhed, & conuerted to ſundrie vſes by ſuch as dwell about them. Of all the elms that euer I ſaw, thoſe in the ſouth ſide of Douer court, in Eſſex néere Harwich are the moſt notable, for they grow (I meane) in crooked maner, that they are almoſt apt for nothing elſe but naule timber, great ordinance, and béetels: and ſuch thereto is their naturall qualitie, that being vſed in the ſaid behalfe, they continue longer, and more long than anie the like trées in whatſoeuer parcell elſe of this land, without cuphar, ſhaking, or cleauing, as I find.

Aſh commeth vp euerie where of it ſelfe, and with euerie kind of wood. And as we haue verie great plentie and no leſſe vſe of theſe in our huſbandrie, ſo are we not without the plane, the vgh, the ſorſe, the cheſnut, the line, the blacke cherrie, and ſuch like. And although that we inioy them not in ſo great plentie now in moſt places, as in times paſt, or the other afore remembred: yet haue we ſufficient of them all for our neceſſarie turnes and vſes, eſpeciallie of vgh; as may be ſeene betwixt Rotheram and Sheffield, and ſome ſtéeds of Kent alſo, as I haue béene informed.

The firre, frankincenſe, and pine, we do not altogither want, eſpeciallie the firre, whereof we haue ſome ſtore in Chatleie more in Darbiſhire, Shropſhire, Anderneſſe, and a moſſe néere Mancheſter, not far from Leiceſters houſe: although that in time paſt not onelie all Lancaſterſhire, but a great part of the coaſt betwéene Cheſter and the Solme were well ſtored. As for the frankincenſe and pine, they haue béene planted onelie in colleges and cloiſters, by the cleargie and religious heretofore. Wherefore (in mine opinion) we may rather ſaie that we want them altogither: for except they grew naturallie, and not by force, I ſée no cauſe whie they ſhould be accounted for parcell of our commodities. We haue alſo the aſpe, whereof our fletchers make their arrowes. The ſeuerall kinds of poplars of our turners haue great vſe for bolles, treies, troughs, diſhes, &c. Alſo the alder, whoſe barke is not vnprofitable to die blacke withall, and therefore much vſed by our countrie wiues in colouring their knit hoſen. I might here take occaſion to ſpeake of the great ſales yéerelie made of wood, whereby an infinit quantitie hath bin deſtroied within theſe few yéers: but I giue ouer to trauell in this behalfe. Howbeit thus much I dare affirme, that if woods go ſo faſt to decaie in the next hundred yeare of Grace, as they haue done and are like to do in this, ſometimes for increaſe of ſheepwalks, and ſome maintenance of prodigalitie and pompe (for I haue knowne a well burniſhed gentleman * that hath borne threeſcore at once in one paire of galigaſcons to ſhew his ſtrength and braueríe) it is to be feared that the fennie bote, brome, turffe, gall, heath, firze, brakes, whinnes, ling, dies, haſſacks, flags, ſtraw, ſedge, réed,ruſh, and alſo ſea cole will be good merchandize euen in the citie of London, whereunto ſome of them euen now haue gotten readie paſſage, and taken vp their inns in the greateſt merchants parlours. A man would thinke that our laws were able inough to make ſufficient prouiſion for the redreſſe of this error & enormitie likelie to inſue. But ſuch is the nature of our countriemen, that as manie laws are made, ſo they will kéepe none; or if they be vrged to make anſwer, they will rather ſéeke ſome crooked conſtruction of them to the increaſe of their priuat gaine, than yéeld themſelues to be guided by the ſame for a common wealth and profit to their countrie. So that in the end whatſoeuer the law ſaith we will haue our willes, whereby the wholeſome ordinances of the prince are contemned, the trauell of the nobilitie & councellors as it were derided, the common wealth impouériſhed, & a few onelie inriched by this peruerſe dealing. Thus manie thouſand perſons do ſuffer hinderance by this their lewd behauior. Hereby the wholeſome laws of the prince are oft defrauded, and the good meaning magiſtrate in conſultation about the common wealth vtterlie neglected. I would wiſh that I might liue no longer than to ſée foure things in this land reformed, that is: the want of diſcipline in the church: the couetous dealing of moſt of our merchants in the preferment of the commodities of other countries, and hinderance of their owne: the holding of faires and markets vpon the ſundaie to be aboliſhed and referred to the wedneſdaies: and that euerie man, in whatſoeuer part of the champaine ſoile enioieth fortie acres of land, and vpwards, after that rate, either by frée dœd, copie hold, or fée farme, might plant one acre of wood, or ſowe the ſame with oke maſt, haſell, béech, and ſufficient prouiſion be made that it may be cheriſhed and kept. But I feare me that I ſhould then liue too long, and ſo long, that I ſhould either be wearie of the world, or the world of me; and yet they are not ſuch things but they may eaſilie be brought to paſſe.

Certes euerie ſmall occaſion in my time is enough to cut downe a great wood, and euerie trifle ſufficeth to laie infinit acres of corne ground vnto paſture. As for the taking downe of houſes, a ſmall fine will beare out a great manie. Would to God we might once take example of the Romans, who in reſtreint of ſuperfluous graſing, made an exact limitation, how manie head of cattell ech eſtate might kéepe, and what numbers of acres ſhould ſuffice for that and other purpoſes. Neither was wood euer better

* This gentleman caught ſuch an heat with this ſore loade that he was faine to go to Rome for phyſicke, yet it could not ſaue his life, but hée muſt néeds die homeſwards.

he like haue ſéene where ns do féed on the ten- r blades of rlike.

better cherished or mansion houses maintained, than by their lawes and statutes. Such also was their care in the maintenance of navigation, that it was a great part of the charge of their consuls, yerelie to view and looke vnto the hilles whereon great timber did grow, least their vnnecessarie faults for the satisfaction of the priuat owner, and his couetous mind might prooue a preiudice vnto the common wealth, in the hinderance of sufficient stuffe for the furniture of their naule. Certes the like heed is yet obserued in Venice. Read also I praie you what Suetonius writeth of the consulship of Bibulus and Cesar. As for the wood that Ancus Martius dedicated toward the maintenance of the common naule, I passe it ouer, as hauing elsewhere remembred it vnto another end. But what doo I meane to speake of these, sith my purpose is onlie to talke of our owne woods? Well, take this then for a finall conclusion in woods, that beside some countries are alreadie driuen to sell their wood by the pound, which is an heauie report: within these fortie yeares we shall haue little great timber growing aboue fortie yeares old; for it is commonlie seene that those yong staddles which we leaue standing at one & twentie yeares fall, are vsuallie at the nert sale cut downe without any danger of the statute, and serue for fire bote, if it please the owner to burne them.

Marises and fennes.

Marises and fennie bogges we haue many in England, though not now so many as some of the old Roman writers doo specifie, but more in Wales, if you haue respect vnto the seuerall quantities of the countries. Howbeit as they are verie profitable in the summer halfe of the yeare, so are a number of them which lie lowe and neere to great riuers, to small commoditie in the winter part, as common experience doth teach. Yet this I find of manie mores, that in times past they haue beene harder ground, and sundrie of them well replenished with great woods, that now are void of bushes. And for example hereof, we may see the triall (beside the roots that are dailie found in the deeps of Monmouth, where turfe is digged, also in Wales, Aburgauennie, and Mertoneth) in sundrie parts of Lancashire, where great store of firre hath growen in times past, as I said, and the people go vnto this daie into their fens and marises with long spits, which they dash here and there vp to the verie cronge into the ground. In which practise, (a thing commonlie doone in winter) if they happen to smite vpon anie firre trées which lie there at their whole lengths, or other blocks, they note the place, and about haruest time, when the ground is at the driest, they come againe and get them vp, and afterward carieng them home, applie them to their vses. The like doo they in Shropshire with the like, which hath beene felled in old time, within 7 miles of Salop. Some of them foolishlie suppose the same to haue lien there since Noies flood: and other more fond than the rest, imagine them to grow euen in the places where they find them, without all consideration that in times past, the most part, if not all Lhoegres and Cambria was generallie replenished with wood, which being felled or ouerthrowne vpon sundrie occasions, was left lieng in some places still on the ground, and in processe of time became to be quite ouergrowne with earth and moulds, which moulds wanting their due fadnesse, are now turned into more plots. Wherby it commeth to passe also, that great plentie of water commeth betweene the new lose swart and the old hard earth, that being drawen awaie by ditching and dreanes (a thing soone doone if our countrie-men were painfull in that behalfe) might soone leaue a drie soile to the great lucre and aduantage of the owner. We find in our histories, that Lincolne was somtime builded by Lud brother to Cassibelan, who called it Caer Ludcoit, of the great store of woods that inuironed the same: but now the commoditie is vtterlie decaied there, so that if Lud were aliue againe, he would not call it his citie in the wood, but rather his towne in the plaines: for the wood (as I heare) is wasted altogither about the same. The hilles called the Peke were in like sort named Pennith and Dicoit, that is, the woodie hilles and forrests. But how much wood is now to be séene in those places, let him that hath béene there testifie, if he list; for I heare of no such store there as hath béene in time past by those that trauell that waie. And thus much of woods and marises, and so far as I can deale with the same.

Of baths and hot welles.

Chap. 23.

AS almightie GOD hath in most plentifull maner bestowed infinit, and those verie notable benefits vpon this Ile of Britaine, whereby it is not a little inriched: so in hot and naturall baths (whereof we haue diuerse in sundrie places) it manifestlie appéereth that he hath not forgotten England. There are sundrie baths therefore to be found in this realme, of which the first is called saint Vincents, the second Halliewell; both being places (in my opinion) more obscure than the other two, and yet not seldome sought vnto by such as stand in need. For albeit the same of their forces be not so generallie spread, yet in some cases they are thought to be nothing inferior to the other, as diuerse haue often affirmed by their owne experience and triall. The third place wherein hot bathes are to be found is néere vnto Burton, a towne in Darbishire, situat in the high Peke, not passing sixtéene miles from Manchester, or Marke chesterford, and twentie from Darbie, where, about eight or nine seuerall welles are to be séene; of which three are counted to be most excellent: but of all, the greatest is the hotest, void of corruption, and compared (as Iones saith) with those of Summersetshire, so cold indeed, as a quart of boiling water would be made if fiue quartes of running water were added therevnto; whereas on the other side, those of Bath likened vnto these, haue such heat appropriated vnto them, as a gallon of hot water hath when a quart of cold is mixed with the same. Herevpon the effect of this bath worketh more temperatlie and pleasantlie (as he writeth) than the other. And albeit that it maketh not so great spéed in cure of such as resort vnto it for helpe: yet it dealeth more effectuallie and commodiouslie than those in Summersetshire, and infer withall lesse grieuous accidents in the restreining of naturall issues, strengthening the affebled members, assisting the liuelie forces, dispersing annoious opilations, and qualifieng of sundrie griefes, as his experience hath oft confirmed. The like vertues haue the other two, but not in such measure: and therefore their operation is not so spedilie perceiued. The fourth place where baths are, is kings Newnam, and within certeine miles of Couentrie, the water wherof (as it is thought) procéedeth from some rocke of allume, and this I vnderstand by diuerse glouers which haue béene there, and also by mine owne experience, that it hath a taste much like to allume liquor, and yet nothing vnpleasant nor vnsauorie in the drinking. There are three welles in all, but the chiefest and best of them riseth out of an hill, and runneth toward the south, & from thence infinit plentie of water without anie

any notable diminution of the ſpring is dailie caried into ſundrie parties of the realme, & drunke by ſuch as haue need to occupie the ſame. Of the other two, one is reſerued for ſuch as be comelie perſonages and void of lothſome diſeaſes: the other is left common for tag and rag; but cleanſed dailie as the other is, whereby it becommeth the wholeſomer. Manie diſeaſes alſo are cured in the ſame, as the palſie, dimneſſe of ſight, dulneſſe of hearing, but eſpeciallie the collike and the ſtone, old ſores and greene wounds; ſo that I ſuppoſe there was neuer anie compound medicine of greater and more ſpeedie force in theſe behalfes, than the vſe of this ſimple liquor is to ſuch as doo frequent it. The ſaid water hath a naturall propertie alſo following it which is rare, for if a leafe, or ſticke of aſh, oke, &c: doo fall into the ſame, within a ſhort ſpace, ſuch ſtore of fine ſand (comming no doubt out of the earth with the water) will congeale and gather about it, that the forme being reſerued, and the inner part not lightlie altered, it will ſeeme to become an hard ſtone, and much like vnto that which is ingendred in the kidneis of a man, as I haue ſeene by experience. At the firſt entrance it is verie cold, but after a ſeaſon it warmeth the goer in, cauſing him into an indifferent heat. And this is furthermore remembred of it, that no man hath yet ſuſteined anie manner of impeachment through the coldneſſe of the ſame. The vertue thereof was found 1579 about Whitſuntide, by a man who had wounded himſelfe, & comming by the ſame water, thought onelie to waſh the blood from his hand therewith, and ſo to go home and ſeeke for helpe by ſurgerie: finallie finding the paine well aſſwaged, & the wound faire cleanſed, he departed, and miſliking his vſuall medicins, he eftſoones came againe, and ſo often indeed vnto the ſaid water till his hand was healed outright without anie other practiſe. By this meanes alſo he became a counſellor to other being hurt or in paine, that they ſhould trie the vertue of this ſpring, who finding eaſe alſo, gaue out ſuch commendation of the ſaid water, that now at this preſent their fame is fullie equall, and the reſort vnto them nothing inferior to that of the old baths. Beſide this, the cures of ſuch diſeaſes as their forces do extend vnto, is much more ſpeedie than we may haue at the other; and this is one commoditie alſo not ſmallie to be conſidered of. The fift place of baths or medicinable welles is at an hamlet called Newton, a little from ſaint Neots, or (as we pronounce it) ſaint Needs, which is ten or twelue miles from Cambridge, where two ſprings are knowne to be, of which the one is verie ſweet and freſh, the other brackiſh & ſalt; this is good for ſcabs and leaperie (as it is ſaid) the other for dimneſſe of ſight. Verie manie alſo do make their repaire vnto them for ſundrie diſeaſes, ſome returning whole, and ſome nothing at all amended, bicauſe their cure is without the reach and working of thoſe waters. Neuer went people ſo faſt from the church, either vnto a faire or market, as they go to theſe wels, and thoſe neere Rugbie, both places being diſcouered in this 1579 of Grace. I heare of another well to be found alſo about Ratcliffe neere London, euen at the ſame ſeaſon. But ſith rumors are now ſpred almoſt of euerie ſpring, & vaine tales flie about in maner of euerie water, I ſurceaſe to ſpeake at all of anie other, till further experience do trie whether they be medicinable or not: and yet I doubt not but moſt of theſe aforeſaid mentioned haue heretofore bin knowne & remembred alſo, though confuſedlie by the writers of old time; & yet in proceſſe of time either neglected or forgotten, by meanes of ſundrie troubles and turmoiles made in this realme by Danes, and other outward enimies, whereby their manifold benefit hath wonderfullie béene miſſed.

The laſt place of our baths, is a citie in Sommerſetſhire, which taketh his name of the hot waters there to be ſéene and vſed. At the firſt it was called Cair Bleduid, and not Cair Bledune, as ſome would haue it, for that is the old name of the ancient caſtell at Malmeſburie, which the Saxons named Ingleburne. Ptolomie afterward called it Thermæ, other Aquæ ſolis, or Scamannia, or Acmanceſter, but now it hight generallie Bath in Engliſh, and vnder that name it is likelie to continue. The citie of it ſelfe is a verie ancient thing, no doubt, as may yet appeare by diuerſe notable antiquities ingraued in ſtone, to be ſéene in the wals thereof; and firſt of all betweene the ſouth gate and the weſt, and betwixt the weſt gate and the north.

The firſt is the antike head of a man, made all flat, with great locks of haire, much like to the coine that I haue ſeene of Antius the Romane. The ſecond betweene the ſouth and the north gate is an image, as I take it, of Hercules, for he held in each hand a ſerpent, and ſo doth this. Thirdlie there ſtandeth a man on foot with a ſword in his one hand, and a buckler ſtretched out in the other. There is alſo a branch that lieth folded and wreathed into circles, like to the wreath of Alcimedon. There are moreouer two naked images, whereof the one imbraceth the other, beſide ſundrie antike heads, with ruffeled haire, a greiehound running, and at his taile certeine Romane letters, but ſo defaced that no man liuing can read them at this preſent. There is moreouer the image of Laocon, inuironed with two ſerpents, and an other inſcription, and all theſe betweene the ſouth and the weſt gates, as I haue ſaid before.

Now, betweene the weſt and north gate are two inſcriptions, of which ſome words are euident to be read, the reſidue are cleane defaced. There is alſo the image of a naked man, and a ſtone in like ſort, which hath *Cupidines & labruſcas intercurrentes*, and a table hauing at each hand an image vined and finelie flouriſhed both aboue and beneath. Finallie (ſauing that I ſaw afterward the image of a naked man graſping a ſerpent in each hand) there was an inſcription of a tome or buriall, wherein theſe words did plainelie appeare, *vixit annos xxx*: but ſo deſuſedlie written, that letters ſtood for whole words, and two or three letters combined into one. Certes I will not ſaie whether theſe were ſet into the places where they now ſtand by the gentiles, or brought thither from other ruines of the towne it ſelfe, and placed afterward in thoſe wals, in their neceſſarie reparations. But howſoeuer the matter ſtandeth, this is to be gathered by our hiſtories, that Bladud firſt builded that citie there, and peraduenture might alſo kindle the ſulphurous veines, of purpoſe to burne continuallie there in the honour of Minerua: by which occaſion the ſprings thereabout did in proceſſe of time become hot & not vnprofitable, for ſundrie kinds of diſeaſes, Indeed the later pagans dreamed, that Minerua was the cheefe goddeſſe and gouerneſſe of theſe waters, bicauſe of the néereneſſe of hir temple vnto the ſame. Solinus addeth furthermore, how that in hir ſaid temple, the fire which was continuallie kept, did neuer conſume into dead ſparkles; but ſo ſone as the embers thereof were cold, they congealed into clots of hard ſtone: all which I take to be nothing elſe than the effect of the aforeſaid fire, of the ſulphurous veine kindled in the earth, from whence the waters do come. That theſe baths or waters are deriued from ſuch, the marchaſites, which the Grecians call *Pyritis, per antonomaſiam* (for being ſmit with the iron, it yéeldeth more ſparkes than ante flint or calcedonie, and therefore ſeemeth to deſerue the name aboue the reſt) and beſides theſe other ſtones mixed with ſome copper, and daillie found vpon the mountains

Chap. 25.

The Pyrites is found almoſt in euerie veine of metall in great plentie, diuerſities and colour, and ſometimes mixed with that mettall of whoſe excrements it conſiſteth.

teins thereabouts will beare ſufficient witneſſe, though I would write the contrarie. Doctor Turner alſo the father of Engliſh phyſicke, and an excellent diuine, ſuppoſeth that theſe ſpringes do draw their forces from ſulphur: or if there be anie other thing mingled withall, he geſſeth that it ſhould be ſalt peter, becauſe he found an obſcure likelihood of the ſame, euen in the croſſe bath. But that they participate with anie allume at all, he could neuer till his dieng daie be induced to beléeue. I might here (if I thought it neceſſarie) intreat of the notable ſituation of the citie, which ſtandeth in a pleaſant bottome, inuironed on euerie ſide with great hils, out of the which come ſo manie ſpringes of pure water by ſundrie waies vnto the citie, and in ſuch abundance, as that euerie houſe is ſerued with the ſame by pipes of lead, the ſaid mettall being the more plentious and leſſe of value vnto them, becauſe it is not had far off from thoſe quarters. It ſhould not be amiſſe alſo to ſpeake of the foure gates, number of pariſh churches, bridges, religious houſes diſſolued, and their founders, if place did ſerue therefore: but for ſo much as my purpoſe is not to deale in this behalfe, I will omit the mention of theſe things, and go in hand with the baths themſelues, wherof in the title of this chapiter I profeſſed to intreat.

Croſſe bath. There are two ſpringes of water (as Leland ſaith) in the weſt ſouth weſt part of the towne, whereof the biggeſt is called the croſſe bath, of a certeine croſſe that was erected ſometime in the middeſt thereof. This bath is much frequented by ſuch as are diſeaſed with leaprie, pockes, ſcabs, and great aches: yet of it ſelfe it is verie temperate and pleaſant, hauing eleuen or twelue arches of ſtone in the ſides thereof, for men to ſtand vnder, when raine doth ought annoie them.

Common bath. The common bath, or as ſome call it, the hot bath, is two hundred foot, or thereabout from the croſſe bath, leſſe in compaſſe within the wall than the other, and with onelie ſeauen arches, wrought out of the maine incloſure. It is worthilie called the hot bath, for at the firſt comming into it, men thinke that it would ſcald their fleſh, and loſe it from the bone: but after a ſeaſon, and that the bodies of the commers thereto be warmed throughlie in the ſame, it is more tollerable and eaſie to be borne. Both theſe baths be in the middle of a little ſtréet, and ioine to S. Thomas hoſpitall, ſo that it may be thought that Reginald biſhop of Bath made his houſe nére vnto theſe common baths, onelie to ſuccour ſuch poore people as ſhould reſort vnto them.

Kings bath. The kings bath is verie faire and large, ſtanding almoſt in the middle of the towne, at the weſt end of the cathedrall church. It is compaſſed about with a verie high ſtone wall, and the brims thereof are mured round about, where in be two and thirtie arches for men and women to ſtand in ſeparatlie, who being of the gentrie for the moſt part, do reſort thither indifferentlie, but not in ſuch laſciuious ſort as vnto other baths and hot houſes of the maine, whereof ſome write more a great deale than modeſtie ſhould reueale, and honeſtie performe. There went a ſluce out of this bath, which ſerued in times paſt the priorie with water, which was deriued out of it vnto two places, and commonlie vſed for baths, but now I do not thinke that they remaine in vſage.

Hot houſes in ſome countries little better than brothels.

Colour of the water of the baths. As for the colour of the water of all the bathes, it is moſt like to a déepe blew, and réeketh much after the maner of a ſéething pot, commonlie yéelding ſomwhat a ſulpherous taſte, and verie vnpleaſant ſauour. The water alſo that runneth from the two ſmall baths, goeth by a dike into the Anon by weſt, and beneath the bridge: but the ſame that goeth from the kings bath turneth a mill, and after goeth into Auon aboue Bath bridge, where it loſeth both force and taſt, and is like vnto the reſt. In all the three baths a man maie euidentlie ſee how the water bubbleth vp from the ſpringes. This is alſo to be noted, that at certeine times all entrances into them is vtterlie prohibited, that is to ſaie, at high noone, and midnight: for at thoſe two ſeaſons, and a while before and after, they boile verie feruentlie, and become ſo hot that no man is able to indure their heat, or anie while ſuſteine their force and vehement working. They purge themſelues furthermore from all ſuch filth as the diſeaſed do leaue in each of them, wherfore we do forbeare the raſh entrance into them at that time: and ſo much the rather, for that we would not by contraction of anie new diſeaſes, depart more gréeuouſlie affected than we came vnto the citie, which is in déed a thing that each one ſhould regard. For theſe cauſes therefore they are commonlie ſhut vp from halfe an houre after ten of the clocke in the forenoone, to halfe an houre after one in the afternoone, and likewiſe at midnight: at which times the kéeper of them reſorteth to his charge, openeth the gates, and leaueth (or ſhould leaue) frée paſſage vnto ſuch as come vnto them. Hitherto Leland.

Fall or iſſue of the water.

Not good to enter into baths at all ſeaſons.

What coſt of late hath béene beſtowed vpon theſe baths by diuerſe of the nobilitie, gentrie, communaltie, and cleargie, it lieth not in me to declare: yet as I heare, they are not onelie verie much repared and garniſhed with ſundrie curious péeces of workemanſhip, partlie touching their commendation, and partlie for the eaſe and benefit of ſuch as reſort vnto them; but alſo better ordered, clenlier kept, & more friendlie prouiſion made for ſuch pouertie as dailie repaireth thither. But notwithſtanding all this, ſuch is the generall eſtate of things in Bath, that the rich men maie ſpend while they will, and the poore beg whileſt they liſt for their maintenance and diet ſo long as they remaine there: and yet I denie not but that there is verie good order in that citie for all degrées. But where ſhall a man find anie equall regard of poore and rich, though God doth giue theſe his good gifts fréelie, & vnto both alike? I would here intreat further of the cuſtoms vſed in theſe baths, what number of phyſicians dailie attend vpon thoſe waters, for no man (eſpeciallie ſuch as be able to interteine them) doth enter into theſe baths before he conſult with the phyſician; alſo, what diet is to be obſerued, what particular diſeaſes are healed there, and to what end the commers thither do drinke oftimes of that medicinable liquor: but then I ſhould exceed the limits of a deſcription. Wherefore I paſſe it ouer to others, hoping that ſome man yet long will vouchſafe to performe that at large, which the famous clearke Doctor Turner hath brieflie yet happilie begun, touching the effects & working of the ſame. For hitherto I do not know of manie that haue trauelled in the natures of thoſe baths of our countrie, with anie great commendation; much leſſe of anie that hath reuealed them at the full for the benefit of our nation, or commoditie of ſtrangers that reſort vnto the ſame.

Of antiquities found.

Chap. 24.

HAuing taken ſome occaſion to ſpeake here and there in this treatiſe of antiquities, it ſhall not be amis to deale yet more in this chapter, with ſome of them apart, & by themſelues, whereby the ſecure authoritie of the Romans ouer this Iland

land maie in ſome caſes moꝛe manifeſtlie appeare. Foꝛ ſuch was their poſſeſſion of this Iland on this ſide of the Tine, that they held not one oꝛ two, oꝛ a few places onelie vnder their ſubiection, but all the whole countrie from eaſt to weſt, from the Tine to the Britiſh ſea, ſo that there was no regi- on void of their gouernance: notwithſtanding that vntill the death of Lucius, and extinction of his iſſue, they did permit the ſucceſſoꝛs of Lud and Cimbaline to reigne and rule amongeſt them, though vnder a certeine tribute, as elſe-where I haue declared. The cheefe cauſe that vrgeth me to ſpeake of antiquities, is the paines that I haue taken to gather great numbers of them togither, intending (if euer my Chꝛonologie ſhall happen to come abꝛoad) to ſet downe the liuelie poꝛtraitures of euerie emperour ingrauen in the ſame: alſo the faces of Pompeie, Craſſus, the ſeuen kings of the Romans, Cicero, and diuerſe other, which I haue pꝛouided readie foꝛ the purpoſe, beſide the monuments and liuelie images of ſundꝛie philoſophers, and kings of this Iland, ſince the time of Edward the Confeſſoꝛ. Wherof although pꝛeſentlie I want a few, yet I doo not doubt but to obteine them all, if friendſhip at the leaſt wiſe pꝛocu- red foꝛ monie ſhall be able to pꝛeuaile. But as it hath doone hitherto, ſo the charges to be emploied vpon theſe bꝛaſen oꝛ copper images, will hereafter put by the impꝛeſſion of that treatiſe: whereby it maie come to paſſe, that long trauell ſhall ſoone pꝛoue to be ſpent in vaine, and much coſt come to verie ſmall ſucceſſe. Whereof yet I foꝛce not greatlie, ſith by this means I haue reaped ſome commoditie vnto my ſelfe, by ſearching of the hiſtoꝛies, which often miniſter ſtoꝛe of examples readie to be vſed in my function, as oc- caſion ſhall moue me. But to pꝛocéed with my pur- poſe.

Befoꝛe the comming of the Romans, there was a kind of copper monie currant here in Britaine, as Cæſar confeſſeth in the fift booke of his Commenta- ries, but I find not of what maner it was. Hereto he addeth a repoꝛt of certeine rings, of a pꝛopoꝛtionate weight, which they vſed in his time, in ſtead likewiſe of monie. But as hitherto it hath not bene my lucke (I ſaie) to haue the certeine view of anie of theſe, ſo after the comming of the Romans, they inforced vs to abandon our owne, and receiue ſuch imperiall mo- nies oꝛ coines, as foꝛ the paiment of their legions was dailie bꝛought ouer vnto them. What coines the Romans had, it is eaſie to be knowne, and from time to time much of it is found in manie places of this Iland, as well of gold and ſiluer, as of copper, bꝛaſſe, and other mettall, much like ſtéele, almoſt of e- uerie emperour. So that I account it no rare thing to haue of the Roman coine, albeit that it ſtill repꝛe- ſent an image of our captiuitie, and maie be a good admonition foꝛ vs, to take hæd how we yéeld our ſelues to the regiment of ſtrangers. Of the ſtoꝛe of theſe monies, found vpon the Kentiſh coaſt, I haue alreadie made mention in the deſcription of Richbo- row, and chapter of Iles adiacent vnto the Britiſh Albion, and there ſhewed alſo how ſimple fiſhermen haue had plentie of them, and that the coules in ma- king pꝛofers and holes to bꝛæd in, haue ſcraped them out of the ground in verie great abundance. In ſpeaking alſo of S. Albans, in the chapter of townes and villages, I haue not omitted to tell what plentie of theſe coines haue bene gathered there: wherfoꝛe I ſhall not néed here to repeat the ſame againe. How- beit this is certeine, that the moſt part of all theſe an- tiquities, to be found within the land, & diſtant from the ſhoꝛe, are to be gotten either in the ruines of an- cient cities and townes decaied, oꝛ in incloſed bur- rowes, where their legions accuſtomed ſometime to winter, as by experience is dailie confirmed. What ſtoꝛe hath bœne ſéene of them in the citie of London, which they called Auguſta, of the legion that ſoiour- ned there, & likewiſe in Yoꝛke named alſo Victrix, of the legion Victoria, oꝛ Altera Roma (becauſe of the beautie and fine building of the ſame) I my ſelfe can partlie witneſſe, that haue ſéene, & often had of them, if better teſtimonie were wanting. The like I maie affirme of Colcheſter, where thoſe of Clau- dius, Adrian, Traian, Veſpaſian, and other, are often- times plowed vp, oꝛ found by other means: alſo of Cantoꝛburie, Andꝛedeſcheſter (now decaied) Roche- ſter, then called Durobꝛeuum, Wincheſter, and di- uerſe other beyond the Thames, which foꝛ bꝛeuitie ſake I doo paſſe ouer in ſilence. Onlie the chiefe of all and where moſt are found in dœd, is néere vnto Car- leon and Caiꝛgwent in Southwales, about Kenche- ſter, thꝛée miles aboue Yerefoꝛd, Aldboꝛow, Anca- ſter, Bꝛamdon, Dodington, where a ſpurre and péece of a chaine of gold were found in king Henrie the eight his daies, beſides much of the ſaid Roman coine, Bincheſter, Camalet, Lacocke vpon A- uon, and Lincolne, Doꝛcheſter, Warwike, and Che- ſter, where they are often had in verie great abun- dance. It ſeemeth that Ancaſter hath bœne a great thing, foꝛ manie ſquare & colozed pauements, vaults, and arches are yet found, and often laid open by ſuch as dig and plow in the fields about the ſame. And a- mongſt theſe, one Ureſbie oꝛ Roſebie, a plowman, did ere vp not long ſince a ſtone like a trough, coue- red with another ſtone, wherein was great foiſon of the afoꝛeſaid coines. The like alſo was ſéene not yet foꝛtie yeares agone about Grantham. But in king Henrie the eight his daies, an huſbandman had far better lucke at Yarleſton, two miles from the afoꝛe- ſaid place, where he found not onelie great plentie of this coine, but alſo an huge bꝛaſſe pot, and therein a large helmet of pure gold, richlie fretted with pearle, and ſet with all kind of coſtlie ſtones: he tooke vp al- ſo chaines much like vnto beads of ſiluer, all which, as being (if a man might gheſſe anie certeintie by their beautie) not likelie to be long hidden, he pꝛeſen- ted to quæne Katharine then lieng at Peterboꝛow, and therewithall a few ancient rolles of parchment written long agone, though ſo defaced with mouldi- neſſe, and rotten foꝛ age, that no man could well hold them in his hand without falling into péeces, much leſſe read them by reaſon of their blindneſſe.

In the beginning of the ſame kings daies alſo at Billeie a man found as he eared, an arming girdle, harneſſed with pure gold, and a great maſſie pomell with a croſſe hilt foꝛ a ſwoꝛd of the ſame mettall, be- ſide ſtuds and harneſſe foꝛ ſpurs, and the huge long ſpurs of like ſtuffe, whereof one doctoꝛ Ruthall got a part into his hands. The boꝛoughs oꝛ buries, wher- of I ſpake beforе, were certeine plots of ground, wherin the Romane ſouldiers did vſe to lie when they kept in the open fields as choſen places, from whence they might haue eaſie acceſſe vnto their aduerſa- ries, if anie outrage were wꝛought oꝛ rebellion mo- ued againſt them. And as theſe were the vſuall a- boads foꝛ thoſe able legions that ſerued dailie in the wars, ſo had they other certeine habitations foꝛ the old and foꝛwoꝛne ſouldiers, whereby diuerſe cities grew in time to be repleniſhed with Romane colo- nies, as Caiꝛleon, Colcheſter, Cheſter, and ſuch o- ther, of which, Colcheſter bare the name of Colonia long time, and wherein A. Plautius builded a temple vnto the goddeſſe of Victoꝛie (after the departure of Claudius) which Tacitus calleth *Aram ſempiternæ do- minationis*, a perpetuall monument of that our Bꝛi- tiſh ſeruitude. But to returne vnto our boꝛowes, they were generallie walled about with ſtone wals, and ſo large in compaſſe that ſome did conteine thiꝛ- tie, fourtie, thꝛæ ſcoꝛe, oꝛ eightie acres of ground within

within their limits: they had alſo diuerſe gates or ports vnto each of them, and of theſe not a few remaine to be ſeene in our time, as one for example not far from great Cheſterford in Eſſex, neere to the limits of Cambridgſhire, which I haue often viewed, and wherein the compaſſe of the verie wall with the places where the gates ſtood is eaſie to be diſcerned: the like alſo is to be ſeene at a place within two miles ſouth of Burton, called the Borow hils. In theſe therefore and ſuch like, and likewiſe at Cuolſburg, now S. Neots, or S. Needs, and ſundrie other places, eſpecially vpon the ſhore and coaſts of Kent, as Douer, Rie, Romneie, Lid, &c: is much of their coine alſo to be found, and ſome peeces or other are dailie taken vp, which they call Borow pence, Dwarfs monie, Pegs pence, Feirie groats, Jewes monie, & by other ſuch names not worthie to be remembred. At the comming of the Saxons, the Britons vſed theſe holds as refuges for their cattell in the daie and night, when their enimies were abroad; the like alſo did the Saxons againſt the Danes, by which occaſions (and now and then by carieng of their ſtones to helpe forward other buildings neere at hand) manie of them were throwne downe and defaced, which otherwiſe might haue continued for a longer time, and ſo your honour would ſaie, if you ſhould happen to peruſe the thickeneſſe and maner of building of thoſe ſaid wals and borowes. It is not long ſince a ſiluer ſaucer of verie ancient making was found neere to Saffron Walden, in the open field among the Sterbirie hils, and eared vp by a plough, but of ſuch maſſie greatneſſe, that it weighed better than twentie ounces, as I haue heard reported. But if I ſhould ſtand in theſe things vntill I had ſaid all that might be ſpoken of them, both by experience and teſtimonie of Leland in his Commentaries of Britaine, and the report of diuerſe yet liuing, I might make a greater chapter than would be either conuenient or profitable to the reader: wherefore ſo much onelie ſhall ſerue the turne for this time as I haue ſaid alreadie of antiquities found within our Iland, eſpecially of coine, whereof I purpoſed chiefelie to intreat.

Sterbirie a place where an armie hath lien.

Of the coines of England.

Chap. 25.

The Saxon coine before the conqueſt is in maner vtterlie vnknowne to me: howbeit if my coniecture be anie thing, I ſuppoſe that one shilling of ſiluer in thoſe daies did counterpeiſe our common ounce, though afterward it came to paſſe that it aroſe to twentie pence, and ſo continued vntill the time of king Henrie the eight, who firſt brought it to three ſhillings and foure pence, & afterward our ſiluer coine vnto braſſe & copper monies, by reaſon of thoſe inceſſinable charges, which diuerſe wales oppreſſed him. And as I gather ſuch obſcure notice of the ſhilling which is called in Latine *Solidus*, ſo I read more manifeſtlie of another which is the 48 part of a pound, and this alſo currant among the Saxons of our Ile, ſo well in gold as in ſiluer, at ſuch time as 240 of their pences made vp a iuſt pound, fiue pence went to the ſhilling, and foure ſhillings to the ounce. But to proceed with my purpoſe. After the death of K. Henrie, Edward his ſonne began to reſtore the aforeſaid coine againe vnto fine ſiluer: ſo queene Marie his ſucceſſour did continue his good purpoſe, notwithſtanding that in hir time the Spaniſh monie was verie cõmon in England, by reaſon of hir mariage with Philip king of Spaine.

Copper monie.

After hir deceaſe the ladie Elizabeth hir ſiſter, and now our moſt gratious queene, ſouereigne and princeſſe, did finiſh the matter wholie, vtterly aboliſhing the vſe of copper and braſen coine, and conuerting the ſame into guns and great ordinance, ſhe reſtored ſundrie coines of fine ſiluer, as peeces of halfepenie farding, of a penie, of three halfe pence, peeces of two pence, of three pence, of foure pence (called the groat) of ſix pence vſuallie named the teſtone, and ſhilling of twelue pence, whereon ſhe hath imprinted hir owne image, and emphaticall ſuperſcription. Our gold is either old or new. The old is that which hath remained ſince the time of king Edward the third, or beene coined by ſuch other princes as haue reigned ſince his deceaſſe, without anie abaſing or diminution of the fineſſe of that mettall. Therof alſo we haue yet remaining, the riall, the George noble, the Henrie riall, the ſalut, the angell, and their ſmaller peeces, as halfes or quarters, though theſe in my time are not ſo common to be ſeene. I haue alſo beheld the ſouereigne of twentie ſhillings, and the peece of thirtie ſhillings, I haue heard likewiſe of peeces of fortie ſhillings, three pounds, fiue pounds, and ten pounds. But ſith there were few of them coined, and thoſe onelie at the commandement of kings, yearelie to beſtow where their maieſties thought good in lieu of new yeares gifts and rewards: it is not requiſit that I ſhould remember them here amongſt our currant monies.

Siluer reſtored.

Old gold.

The new gold is taken for ſuch as began to be coined in the latter daies of king Henrie the eight, at which time the fineſſe of the mettall began to be verie much alaied, & is not likelie to be reſtored for ought that I can ſee: and yet is it ſuch as hath beene coined ſince by his ſucceſſors princes of this realme, in value and goodneſſe equall and not inferiour to the coine and currant gold of other nations, where each one doth couet chiefelie to gather vp our old fine gold: ſo that the angels, rials, and nobles, are more plentifullie ſeene in France, Italie, and Flanders, than they be by a great deale within the realme of England, if you regard the paiments which they dailie make in thoſe kinds of our coine. Our peeces now currant are of ten ſhillings, fiue ſhillings, and two ſhillings and ſix pence onelie: and thoſe of ſundrie ſtamps and names, as halfe ſouereigns (equall in weight with our currant ſhilling, whereby that gold is valued at ten times ſo much ſiluer) quarters of ſouereigns (otherwiſe called crownes) and halfe crownes: likewiſe angels, halfe angels, and quarters of angels, or if there be anie other, in good ſooth I know them not, as one ſcarſelie acquainted with anie ſiluer at all, much leſſe then (God it wot) with anie ſtore of gold.

New gold.

The firſt currant ſhilling or ſiluer peeces of twelue pence ſtamped within memorie, were coined by K. Henrie the eight in the twentith yeare of his reigne, & thoſe of fiue ſhillings, and of two ſhillings and ſix pence, & the halfe ſhilling by king Edward the ſixt: but the od peeces aboue remembred vnder the groat by our high and mightie princeſſe queene Elizabeth, the name of the groat, penie, two pence, halfe penie, and farding, in old time the greateſt ſiluer monies if you reſpect their denominations onelie, being more ancient than that I can well diſcuſſe of the time of their beginnings. Yet thus much I read, that king Edward the firſt in the eight yeare of his reigne, did firſt coine the penie and ſmalleſt peeces of ſiluer roundwiſe, which before were ſquare, and wont to beare a double croſſe with a creſt, in ſuch ſort that the penie might eaſilie be broken, either into halfes or quarters: by which ſhift onelie the people came

came by ſmall monies, as halfe pence and fardings, that otherwiſe were not ſtamped nor coined of ſet purpoſe.

Of forren coines we haue all the ducats, the ſingle, double, and the double double, the cruſadoes, with the long croſſe and the ſhort: the portigue, a peece verie ſolemnelie kept of diuerſe, & yet oft times abaſed with waſhing, or abſolutelie counterfeited: and finallie the French and Flemiſh crownes, onlie currant among vs, ſo long as they hold weight. But of ſiluer coines, as the ſoules turnois, whereof ten make a chilling, as the franke doth two chillings, and three franks the French crowne, &c: we haue none at all: yet are the dalders, and ſuch often times brought ouer, but neuertheleſſe exchanged as bullion, according to their fineneſſe and weight, and afterward conuerted into coine, by ſuch as haue authoritie.

In old time we had ſundrie mints in England, and thoſe commonlie kept in abbaies and religious houſes before the conqueſt, where true dealing was commonlie ſuppoſed moſt of all to dwell: as at Rameſeie, S. Edmundſburie, Canturburie, Glaſſenburie, Peterborow, and ſuch like, ſundrie exemplifications of the grants whereof are yet to be ſeene in writting, eſpeciallie that of Peterborow vnder the confirmation of pope Eugenius: whereunto it appeareth further by a charter of king Edgar (which I haue) that they either held it or had another in Stanford. But after the Normans had once gotten the kingdome into their fingers, they truſted themſelues beſt with the ouerſight of their mints, and therefore erected diuerſe of their owne, although they afterward permitted ſome for ſmall peeces of ſiluer vnto ſundrie of the houſes aforeſaid. In my time diuerſe mints are ſuppreſſed, as Southwarke, Briſtow, &c: and all coinage is brought into one place, that is to ſaie, the Tower of London, where it is continuallie holden and peruſed, but not without great gaine to ſuch as deale withall. There is alſo coinage of tin holden yearelie at two ſeuerall times, that is to ſaie, Midſummer and Michaelmas in the weſt countrie; which at the firſt hearing I ſuppoſed to haue beene of monie of the ſaid mettall, and granted by priuilege from ſome prince vnto the towns of Haileſtone, Truric, and Loſtwithiell. Howbeit, vpon further examination of the matter, I find it to be nothing ſo, but an office onlie erected for the prince, wherin he is allowed the ordinarie cuſtomes of that mettall: and ſuch blocks of tin as haue paſſed the hands of his officers, are marked with an eſpeciall ſtampe, whereby it is knowne that the cuſtome due for the ſame hath ordinarilie beene anſwered. It ſhould ſeeme (and in my opinion is verie likelie to be true) that while the Romans reigned here, Kingſtone vpon Thames (ſometime a right noble citie and place where the Saxon kings were vſuallie crowned) was the chiefe place of their coinage for this prouince. For in earing of the ground about that towne in times paſt, and now of late (beſides the curious foundation of manie goodlie buildings that haue beene ripped vp by plowes, and diuerſe coines of braſſe, ſiluer, and gold, with Romane letters in painted pots found there) in the dates of cardinall Wolſeie, one ſuch huge pot was diſcouered full as it were of new ſiluer latelie coined; another with plates of ſiluer readie to be coined; and the third with chaines of ſiluer and ſuch broken ſtuffe redie (as it ſhould appeare) to be melted into coinage, whereof let this ſuffice to countenance out my coniecture. Of coins currant before the comming of the Romans I haue elſewhere declared, that there were none at all in Britaine: but as the Ilanders of Scylira, the old Romans, Armenians, Scythians, Seritans, Sarmatians, Indians, and Eſſences did barter ware for ware, ſo the Britons vſed braſſe or rings of iron, brought vnto a certeine proportion, in ſtead of monie, as the Lacedemonians & Biſantines alſo did, & the Achiui (as Homer writeth) who had (ſaith he) rough peeces of braſſe and iron in ſtead of coine, wherewith they purchaſed their wines.

The contents of the third booke.

1 Of cattell kept for profit.
2 Of wild and tame foules.
3 Of fiſh vſuallie taken vp on our coaſts.
4 Of ſauage beaſts and vermines.
5 Of hawkes and rauenous foules.
6 Of venemous beaſts.
7 Of our Engliſh dogs and their qualities.
8 Of our ſaffron, and the dreſſing thereof.
9 Of quarries of ſtone for building.
10 Of ſundrie minerals.
11 Of mettals to be had in our land.
12 Of pretious ſtones.
13 Of ſalt made in England.
14 Of our accompt of time and hir parts.
15 Of principall faires and markets.
16 Of our innes and thorowfaires.

Of cattell kept for profit.

Chap. 1.

There is no kind of tame cattell vſually to be ſeene in theſe parts of the world, whereof we haue not ſome, and that great ſtore in England; as horſſes, oxen, ſheepe, goats, ſwine, and far ſurmounting the like in other countries, as may be proued with eaſe. For where are oxen commonlie more large of bone, horſſes more decent and pleaſant in pace, kine more commodious for the pale, ſheepe more profitable for woll, ſwine more wholeſome of fleſh, and goates more gainefull to their keepers, than here with vs in England? But to ſpeke of them peculiarlie, I ſuppoſe that our kine are ſo abundant in yeeld of milke, whereof we make our butter & cheeſe, as the like anie where elſe, and ſo apt for the plough in diuerſe places as either our horſſes or oxen. And albeit they now and then twin, yet herein they ſeeme to come ſhort of that commoditie which is loked for

in other countries, to wit, in that they bring forth moſt commonlie but one calfe at once. The gaines alſo gotten by a cow (all charges borne) hath beene valued at twentie ſhillings yearelie: but now as land is inhanced, this proportion of gaine is much abated, and likelie to decaie more and more, if ground ariſe to be yet dearer, which God forbid, if it be his will and pleaſure. I heard of late of a cow in Warwikſhire, belonging to Thomas Bruer of Studleie, which in ſix yeares had ſixteene calfes, that is, foure at once in three caluings and twiſe twins, which vnto manie may ſeeme a thing incredible. In like maner

Oxen. our oxen are ſuch as the like are not to be found in anie countrie of Europe, both for greatneſſe of bodie and ſweetneſſe of fleſh: or elſe would not the Romane writers haue preferred them before thoſe of Liguria. In moſt places our graſiers are now growen to be ſo cunning, that if they doo but ſee an ox or bullocke, and come to the feeling of him, they will giue a gheſſe at his weight, and how manie ſcore or ſtone of fleſh and tallow he beareth, how the butcher may liue by the ſale, and what he may haue for the skin and tallow; which is a point of ſkill not commonlie practiſed heretofore. Some ſuch graſiers alſo are reported to ride with veluet coats, and chaines of gold about them: and in their abſence their wiues will not let to ſupplie thoſe turnes with no leſſe ſkill than their huſbands: which is an hard worke for the poore butcher, ſith he through this means can ſeldome be rich or wealthie by his trade. In like ſort the fleſh of our oxen and kine is ſold both by hand and by weight as the baier will: but in yong ware rather by weight, eſpeciallie for the ſteere and heighfer, ſith the finer beefe is the lightſt, whereas the fleſh of buls and old kine, &c: is of ſadder ſubſtance and therefore much heauier as it lieth in the ſcale. Their hornes alſo are knowne to be more faire and large in England than in anie other places, except thoſe which are to be ſeene among the Paeones, which quantitie albeit that it be giuen to our breed generallie by nature, yet it is now and then helped alſo by art. For when they be verie yong, manie graſiers will oftentimes annoint their budding hornes, or tender tips with honie, which moſtifieth the naturall hardneſſe of that ſubſtance, and thereby maketh them to grow vnto a notable greatneſſe. Certes, it is not ſtrange in England, to ſee oxen whoſe hornes haue the length of a yard or three foot betweene the tips, and they themſelues thereto ſo tall, as the heigth of a man of meane and indifferent ſtature is ſcarſe equall vnto them. Neuertheleſſe it is much to be lamented that our generall breed of cattell is not better looked vnto: for the greateſt occupiers weane leaſt ſtore, becauſe they can buie them (as they ſaie) far better cheape than to raiſe and bring them vp. In my time a cow hath riſen from foure nobles to foure marks by this means, which notwithſtanding were no great price if they did yearelie bring forth more than one calfe a peece, as I heare they doo in other countries.

Athenæus lib. 10. cap. 8.

Horſes. Our horſes moreouer are high, and although not commonlie of ſuch huge greatneſſe as in other places of the maine: yet if you reſpect the eaſineſſe of their pace, it is hard to ſaie where their like are to be had. Our land doth yeeld no aſſes, and therefore we want the generation alſo of mules and ſomers; and therefore the moſt part of our cariage is made by theſe, which remaining ſtoned, are either reſerued for the cart, or appointed to beare ſuch burdens as are conuenient for them. Our cart or plough horſſes (for we vſe them indifferentlie) are commonlie ſo ſtrong that fiue or ſix of them (at the moſt) will draw three thouſand weight of the greateſt tale with eaſe for a long iourneie, although it be not a load of common vſage, which conſiſteth onelie of two thouſand, or fiftie foot of timber, fortie buſhels of white ſalt, or ſix and thirtie of baie, or fiue quarters of wheat, experience dailie teacheth, and I haue elſewhere remembred. Such as are kept alſo for burden, will carie foure hundred weight commonlie, without anie hurt or hinderance. This furthermore is to be noted, that our princes and the nobilitie haue their cariage commonlie made by carts, wherby it commeth to paſſe, that when the queenes maieſtie doth remoue from anie one place to another, there are vſuallie 400 carewares, which amount to the ſumme of 2400 horſſes, appointed out of the countries adioining, whereby hir cariage is conueied ſafelie vnto the appointed place. Hereby alſo the ancient vſe of ſomers and ſumpter horſſes is in maner vtterlie relinquiſhed, which cauſeth the traines of our princes in their progreſſes to ſhew far leſſe than thoſe of the kings of other nations.

Such as ſerue for the ſaddle are commonlie gelded, and now growne to be verie deere among vs, eſpeciallie if they be well coloured, iuſtlie limmed, and haue thereto an eaſie ambling pace. For our countriemen, ſeeking their eaſe in euerie corner where it is to be had, delight verie much in theſe qualities, but chieflie in their excellent paces, which beſides that it is in maner peculiar vnto horſſes of our ſoile, and not hurtfull to the rider or owner ſitting on their backes: it is moreouer verie pleaſant and delectable in his eares, in that the noiſe of their well proportioned pace doth yeeld comfortable ſound as he trauelleth by the waie. Yet is there no greater deceipt vſed anie where than among our horſſekeepers, horſſecorſers, and horſkelers: for ſuch is the ſubtill knauerie of a great ſort of them (without exception of anie of them be it ſpoken which deale for priuat gaine) that an honeſt meaning man ſhall haue verie good lucke among them, if he be not deceiued by ſome falſe tricke or other. There are certeine notable markets, wherein great plentie of horſſes and colts is bought and ſold, and wherevnto ſuch as haue need reſort yearelie to buie and make their neceſſarie prouiſion of them, as Ripon, Newport pond, Molſpit, Harborow, and diuerſe other. But as moſt drouers are verie diligent to bring great ſtore of theſe vnto thoſe places; ſo manie of them are too too lewd in abuſing ſuch as buie them. For they haue a cuſtome to make them looke faire to the eie, when they come within two daies iourneie of the market, to driue them till they ſweat, & for the ſpace of eight or twelue houres, which being done they turne them all ouer the backs into ſome water, where they ſtand for a ſeaſon, and then go forward with them to the place appointed, where they make ſale of their infected ware, and ſuch as by this meanes doo fall into manie diſeaſes and maladies. Of ſuch outlandiſh horſſes as are dailie brought ouer vnto vs I ſpeake not, as the genet of Spaine, the courſer of Naples, the hobbie of Ireland, the Flemiſh roile, and Scotiſh nag, becauſe that further ſpeech of them commeth not within the compaſſe of this treatiſe, and for whoſe breed and maintenance (eſpeciallie of the greateſt ſort) king Henrie the eight erected a noble ſtudderie and for a time had verie good ſucceſſe with them, till the officers waring wearie, procured a mired brood of baſtard races, whereby his good purpoſe came to little effect. Sir Nicholas Arnold of late hath bred the beſt horſſes in England, and written of the maner of their production: would to God his compaſſe of ground were like to that of Pella in Syria, wherein the king of that nation had vſuallie a ſtudderie of 30000 mares and 300 ſtallions, as Strabo doth remember *Lib.* 16. But to leaue this, let vs ſee what may be ſaid of ſheepe.

Geldings.

Sheepe. Our ſheepe are verie excellent, ſith for ſweetneſſe of

of fleſh they paſſe all other. And ſo much are our wolles to be preferred before thoſe of Meſſia and other places, that if Iaſon had knowne the value of them that are bred, and to be had in Britaine, he would neuer haue gone to Colchis, to loke for anie there. For as Dionyſius Alexandrinus ſaith in his *De ſitu orbis*, it may by ſpinning be made comparable to the ſpiders web. What fooles then are our countrimen, in that they ſeeke to bereue themſelues of this commoditie, by practiſing dailie how to tranſfer the ſame to other nations, in carieng ouer their rams & ewes to breed & increaſe among them? The firſt example hereof was giuen vnder Edward the fourth, who not vnderſtanding the botome of the ſute of ſundrie traitorous merchants, that ſought a preſent gaine with the perpetuall hinderance of their countrie, licenced them to carie ouer certeine numbers of them into Spaine, who hauing licence but for a few ſhipped veris manie: a thing commonlie practiſed in other commodities alſo, whereby the prince and his land are not ſeldome times defrauded. But ſuch is our nature, and ſo blind are we in deed, that we ſée no inconuenience before we feele it: and for a preſent gaine we regard not what damage may inſue to our poſteritie. Hereto ſome other man would ad alſo the deſire that we haue to benefit other countries, and to impech our owne. And it is ſo ſure as God liueth, that euerie trifle which commeth from beyond the ſea, though it be not worth three pence, is more eſteemed than a continuall commoditie at home with vs, which far exceedeth that value. In time paſt the vſe of this commoditie conſiſted (for the moſt part) in cloth and woolſeds: but now by meanes of ſtrangers ſuccoured here from domeſticall perſecution, the ſame hath béene imploied vnto ſundrie other vſes, as mockados, bales, vellures, grograines, &c: whereby the makers haue reaped no ſmall commoditie. It is furthermore to be noted, for the low countries of Belgie know it, and dailie experience (notwithſtanding the ſharpeneſſe of our lawes to the contrarie) doth yet confirme it: that although our rams & weathers do go thither from vs neuer ſo well headed according to their kind: yet after they haue remained there a while, they caſt there their heads, and from thenceforth they remaine polled without any hornes at all. Certes this kind of cattell is more cheriſhed in England, than ſtandeth well with the commoditie of the commons, or proſperitie of diuerſe townes, whereof ſome are wholie conuerted to their féeding: yet ſuch a profitable ſweetneſſe is their fléece, ſuch neceſſitie in their fleſh, and ſo great a benefit in the manuring of barren ſoile with their dung and piſſe, that their ſuperfluous numbers are the better borne withall. And there is neuer an husbandman (for now I ſpeake not of our great ſhéepemaſters of whom ſome one man hath 20000) but hath more or leſſe of this cattell féeding on his fallowes and ſhort grounds, which yéeld the finer fléece, as Virgil (following Varro) well eſpied Georg. 3. where he ſaith:

Si tibi lanicium curæ, primùm aſpera ſylua,
Lappæque tribulique abſint, fuge pabula læta.

Neuertheleſſe the ſhéepe of our countrie are often troubled with the rot (as are our ſwine with the meaſels though neuer ſo generallie) and manie men are now and then great loſers by the ſame: but after the calamitie is ouer, if they can recouer and kéepe their new ſtocks ſound for ſeauen yeares togither, the former loſſe will eaſilie be recompenſed with double commoditie. Cardan writeth that our waters are hurtfull to our ſhéepe, how beit this is but his coniecture: for we know that our ſhéepe are infected by going to the water, and take the ſame as a ſure and certeine token that a rot hath gotten hold of them, their liuers and lights being alredie diſtempered through

ngs.

Shéepe without hornes.

exceſſiue heat, which inforceth them the rather to ſéeke vnto the water. Certes there is no parcell of the maine, wherin a man ſhall generallie find more fine and wholeſome water than in England; and therfore it is impoſſible that our ſhéepe ſhould decaie by taſting of the ſame. Wherfore the hinderance by rot is rather to be aſcribed to the vnſeaſonableneſs & moiſture of the weather in ſummer, alſo their licking in of mildewes, goſſamire, rowtie fogs, & ranke graſſe, full of ſuperfluous iuice: but ſpecíallie (I ſaie) to ouer moiſt wether, whereby the continuall raine pearſing into their hollow felles, ſoketh forthwith into their fleſh, which bringeth them to their baines. Being alſo infected their firſt ſhew of ſickeneſſe is their deſire to drinke, ſo that our waters are not vnto them *Cauſa ægritudinis*, but *ſignum morbi*, what ſo euer Cardan do mainteine to the contrarie. There are (& peraduenture no ſmall babes) which are growne to be ſo good husbands, that they can make account of euerie ten kine to be clérelie worth twentie pounds in cómon and indifferent yeares, if the milke of fiue ſhéepe be dailie added to the ſame. But as I wote not how true this ſurmiſe is, becauſe it is no part of my trade, ſo I am ſure hereof, that ſome houſewiues can and do ad dailie a leſſe proportion of ewes milke vnto the chéeſe of ſo manie kine, whereby their chéeſe doth the longer abide moiſt, and eateth more brickle and mellow than otherwiſe it would.

Goats. Goats we haue plentie, and of ſundrie colours in the weſt parts of England; eſpecíallie in and towards Wales, and amongſt the rockie hilles, by whome the owners do reape no ſmall aduantage: ſome alſo are cheriſhed elſewhere in diuerſe ſtéeds for the benefit of ſuch as are diſeaſed with ſundrie maladies, vnto whom (as I heare) their milke, chéeſe, and bodies of their yong kids are iudged verie profitable, and therefore inquired for of manie farre and néere. Certes I find among the writers, that the milke of a goat is next in eſtimation to that of the woman; for that it helpeth the ſtomach, remoueth oppilations and ſtoppings of the liuer, and looſeth the belly. Some place alſo next vnto it the milke of the ew: and thirdlie that of the cow. But hereof I can ſhew no reaſon; onelie this I know, that ewes milke is fulſome, ſweet, and ſuch in taſt, as except ſuch as are vſed vnto it no man will gladlie yéeld to liue and féed withall.

Swine. As for ſwine, there is no place that hath greater ſtore, nor more wholeſome in eating, than are theſe here in England, which neuerthe leſſe do neuer ante good till they come to the table. Of theſe ſome we eat greene for porke, and other dried vp into bacon to haue it of more continuance. Lard we make ſome though verie little, becauſe it is chargeable: neither haue we ſuch vſe thereof as is to be ſéene in France and other countries, ſith we do either bake our meat with ſweet ſuet of beefe or mutton, and baſt all our meat with ſweet or ſalt butter, or ſuffer the fatteſt to baſt it ſelfe by leiſure. In champaine countries they are kept by herds, and an hogherd appointed to attend and wait vpon them, who commonlie gathereth them togither by his noiſe and crie, and leadeth them forth to féed abroad in the fields. In ſome places alſo women do ſcowre and wet their cloths with their dung, as other do with hemlocks and netles: but ſuch is the ſauor of the cloths touched withall, that I cannot abide to weare them on my bodie, more than ſuch as are ſcowred with the reffuſe ſope, than the which (in mine opinion) there is none more vnkindlie ſauor.

Bores. Of our tame bores we make brawne, which is a kind of meat not vſuallie knowne to ſtrangers (as I take it) otherwiſe would not the ſwart Rutters and French cookes, at the loſſe of Calis (where they

found great ſtore of this prouiſion almoſt in euerie houſe, haue attempted with ridiculous ſucceſſe to roſt, bake, broile, & frie the ſame for their maſters, till they were better informed. I haue heard moreouer, how a noble man of England, not long ſince, did ſend ouer an hogſhead of brawne readie ſowſed to a catholike gentleman of France, who ſuppoſing it to be fiſh, reſerued it till Lent, at which time he did eat thereof with verie great frugalitie. Thereto he ſo well liked of the prouiſion it ſelfe, that he wrote ouer verie earneſtlie & with offer of great recompenſe for more of the ſame fiſh againſt the yeare inſuing: whereas if he had knowne it to haue beene fleſh, he would not haue touched it (I dare ſaie) for a thouſand crownes without the popes diſpenſation. A frend of mine alſo dwelling ſometime in Spaine, hauing certeine Iewes at his table, did ſet brawne before them, whereof they did eat verie earneſtlie, ſuppoſing it to be a kind of fiſh not common in thoſe parties: but when the goodman of the houſe brought in the head in paſtime among them, to ſhew what they had eaten, they roſe from the table, hied them home in haſt, ech of them procuring himſelfe to vomit, ſome by ſtle, and ſome by other meanes, till (as they ſuppoſed) they had cleanſed their ſtomachs of that prohibited food. With vs it is accounted a great peece of ſeruice at the table, from November vntill Februarie be ended; but cheeflie in the Chriſtmaſſe time. With the ſame alſo we begin our dinners ech daie after other: and becauſe it is ſomewhat hard of digeſtion, a draught of malueſeie, baſtard, or muſcadell, is vſuallie drunke after it, where either of them are conuenientlie to be had: otherwiſe the meaner ſort content themſelues with their owne drinke, which at that ſeaſon is generallie verie ſtrong, and ſtronger indeed than in all the yeare beſide. It is made commonlie of the fore part of a tame bore, ſet vp for the purpoſe by the ſpace of a whole yere or two, eſpeciallie in gentlemens houſes (for the huſbandmen and farmers neuer franke them for their owne vſe aboue three or foure moneths, or halfe a yeere at the moſt) in which time he is dieted with otes and peaſon, and lodged on the bare planks of an vneaſie coat, till his fat be hardened ſufficientlie for their purpoſe: afterward he is killed, ſcalded, and cut out, and then of his former parts is our brawne made, the reſt is nothing ſo fat, and therefore it beareth the name of ſowſe onelie, and is commonlie reſerued for the ſeruing man and hind, except it pleaſe the owner to haue anie part therof baked, which are then handled of cuſtome after this manner. The hinder parts being cut off, they are firſt drawne with lard, and then ſodden; being ſodden they are ſowſed in claret wine and vineger a certeine ſpace, and afterward baked in paſties, and eaten of manie in ſtéed of the wild bore, and trulie it is verie good meat: the peſtles may be hanged vp a while to drie before they be drawne with lard if you will, and thereby proue the better. But hereof inough, and therefore to come againe vnto our brawne. The necke peeces being cut off round, are called collars of brawne, the ſhoulders are named ſhilds, onelie the ribs reteine the former denomination, ſo that theſe aforeſaid peeces deſerue the name of brawne: the bowels of the beaſt are commonlie caſt awaie becauſe of their rankneſſe, and ſo were likewiſe his ſtones; till a fooliſh fantaſie got hold of late amongſt ſome delicate dames, who haue now found the meanes to dreſſe them alſo with great coſt for a deintie diſh, and bring them to the bord as a ſeruice among other of like ſort, though not without note of their deſire to the prouocation of fleſhlie luſt, which by this their fond curioſitie is not a little reuealed. When the bore is thus cut out, ech peece is wrapped vp, either with bulruſhes], ozier peeles, tape, inkle, or ſuch like, and then ſodden in a lead or caldron togither, till they be ſo tender that a man may thruſt a bruſed ruſh or ſoft ſtraw cleane through the fat: which being done, they take it vp, and laie it abroad to cole: afterward putting it into cloſe veſſels, they powre either good ſmall ale or beere mingled with verjuice and ſalt thereto till it be couered, and ſo let it lie (now and then altering and changing the ſowſing drinke leaſt it ſhould wax ſowre) till occaſion ſerue to ſpend it out of the waie. Some vſe to make brawne of great barrow hogs, and ſeeth them, and ſowſe the whole, as they do that of the bore; and in my iudgement it is the better of both, and more eaſie of digeſtion. But of brawns thus much; and ſo much may ſeeme ſufficient.

Brawne of the bore.

Baked hog.

Of wild and tame foules.

Chap. 2.

READer requireth that I ſpeake ſomewhat of the foules alſo of England, which I may eaſilie diuide into the wild & tame: but alas ſuch is my ſmall ſkill in foules, that to ſaie the truth, I can neither recite their numbers, nor well diſtinguiſh one kind of them from another. Yet this I haue by generall knowledge, that there is no nation vnder the ſunne, which hath alreadie in the time of the yere more plentie of wild foule than we, for ſo manie kinds as our Iland doth bring forth, and much more would haue, if thoſe of the higher ſoile might be ſpared but one yeare or two, from the greedie engins of couetous foulers, which ſet onlie for the pot & purſe. Certes this enormitie bred great trouble in K. Johns daies, inſomuch that going in progreſſe about the tenth of his reigne, he found little or no game wherewith to ſolace himſelf, or exerciſe his falcons. Wherfore being at Briſtow in the Chriſtmas inſuing, he reſtreined all maner of hawking or taking of wildfoule throughout England for a ſeaſon, whereby the land within few yeares was throughlie replenished againe. But what ſtand I vpon this impertinent diſcourſe? Of ſuch therefore as are bred in our land, we haue the crane, the bitter, the wild & tame ſwan, the buſtard, the herron, curlew, ſnite, wildgoſe, wind or doterell, brant, larke, plouer of both ſorts, lapwing, teele, wigeon, mallard, ſheldrake, ſhoueler, pelwet, ſeanew, barnacle, quaile (who onelie with man are ſubiect to the falling ſickneſſe) the notte, the oliet or olike, the dunbird, woodcocke, partrich and feaſant, beſides diuerſe other, whoſe names to me are vtterlie vnknowne, and much more the taſte of their fleſh; wherewith I was neuer acquainted. But as theſe ſerue not at all ſeaſons, ſo in their ſeuerall turnes there is no plentie of them wanting, whereby the tables of the nobilitie and gentrie ſhould ſeeme at anis time furniſht. But of all theſe the production of none is more maruellous in my mind, than that of the barnacle, whoſe place of generation we haue ſought oft times ſo farre as the Orchades, whereas peraduenture we might haue found the ſame nearer home, and not onelie vpon the coaſts of Ireland, but euen in our owne riuers. If I ſhould ſaie how either theſe or ſome ſuch other foule not much vnlike vnto them haue bred of late times (for their place of generation is not perpetuall, but as opportunitie ſerueth, and the circumſtances do miniſter occaſion) in the Thames mouth, I do not thinke that manie will beleeue me: yet ſuch a thing hath there béene ſeene, where a kind of foule had his beginning vpon a ſhort tender ſhrub ſtanding neere vnto the ſhore, from whence when their

their time came, they fell downe, either into the ſalt water and liued, or vpon the drie land and periſhed, as Pena the French herbarian hath alſo noted in the verie end of his herball. What I for mine owne part haue ſéene here by experience, I haue alreadie ſo touched in the chapter of Ilands, that it ſhould be but time ſpent in vaine to repeat it here againe. Looke therefore in the deſcription of Man or Manaw for more of theſe barnacles, as alſo in the eleuenth chapter of the deſcription of Scotland, & I doo not doubt but you ſhall in ſome reſpect be ſatiſfied in the generation of theſe foules. As for egrets, pawpers, and ſuch like, they are dailie brought vnto vs from beyond the ſea, as if all the foule of our countrie could not ſuffice to ſatiſfie our delicate appetites.

Our tame foule are ſuch (for the moſt part) as are common both to vs and to other countries, as cocks, hens, géeſe, ducks, peacocks of Inde, pigeons, now an hurtfull foule by reaſon of their multitudes, and number of houſes dailie erected for their increaſe (which the bowres of the countrie call in ſcorne almes houſes, and dens of thæues, and ſuch like) wherof there is great plentie in euerie farmers yard. They are kept there alſo to be ſold either for readie monie in the open markets, or elſe to be ſpent at home in good companie amongſt their neighbors without reprehenſion or fines. Neither are we ſo miſerable in England (a thing onelie granted vnto vs by the eſpeciall grace of God, and libertie of our princes) as to dine or ſup with a quarter of a hen, or to make ſo great a repaſt with a cocks combe, as they doo in ſome other countries: but if occaſion ſerue, the whole carcaſſes of manie capons, hens, pigeons, and ſuch like doo oft go to wracke, beſide béefe, mutton, veale, and lambe: all which at euerie feaſt are taken for neceſſarie diſhes amongeſt the communaltie of England.

The gelding of cocks, whereby capons are made, is an ancient practiſe brought in of old time by the Romans when they dwelt here in this land: but the gelding of turkies or Indiſh peacocks is a newer deuiſe: and certeinlie not vſed amiſſe, ſith the rankeneſſe of that bird is verie much abated thereby, and the ſtrong taſte of the fleſh in ſundrie wiſe amended. If I ſhould ſay that ganders grow alſo to be gelded, I ſuppoſe that ſome will laugh me to ſcorne, neither haue I talked at anie time of ſuch a foule ſo ſerued, yet haue I heard it more than once to be vſed in the countrie, where their géeſe are driuen to the field like heards of cattell by a goſeheard, a toie alſo no leſſe to be maruelled at than the other. For as it is rare to heare of a geloed gander, ſo is it ſtrange to me to ſée or heare of géeſe to be led to the field like ſhéepe: yet ſo it is, & their goſeheard carieth a rattle of paper or parchment with him, when he goeth about in the morning to gather his goſlings togither, the noiſe whereof commeth no ſooner to their eares, than they fall to gagling, and haſten to go with him. If it happen that the gates be not yet open, or that none of the houſe be ſtirring, it is ridiculous to ſée how they will pepe vnder the doores, and neuer leaue creaking and gagling till they be let out vnto him to ouertake their fellowes. With vs where I dwell they are not kept in this ſort, nor in manie other places, neither are they kept ſo much for their bodies as their feathers. Some hold furthermore an opinion, that in ouer ranke ſoiles their dung doth ſo qualifie the batablenеſſe of the ſoile, that their cattell is thereby kept from the garget, and ſundrie other diſeaſes, although ſome of them come to their ends now and then, by licking vp of their feathers. I might here make mention of other foules produced by the induſtrie of man, as betweene the feſant cocke and dunghill hen, or betweene the feſant and the ringdoue, the peacocke and the turkie hen, the partrich and the pigeon: but ſith I haue no more knowledge of theſe, than what I haue gotten by mine care, I will not meddle with them. Yet Cardan ſpeaking of the ſecond ſort, doth affirme it to be a foule of excellent beautie. I would likewiſe intreat of other foules which we repute vncleane, as rauens, crowes, pies, choughes, rookes, kites, tales, ringtailes, ſtarlings, woodſpikes, woodnawes, rauens, &c: but ſith they abound in all countries, though peraduenture moſt of all in England (by reaſon of our negligence) I ſhall not néed to ſpend anie time in the rehearſall of them. Neither are our crowes and choughs cheriſhed of purpoſe to catch vp the wormes that bréed in our ſoiles (as Polydor ſuppoſeth) ſith there are no vplandiſh townes but haue (or ſhould haue) nets of their owne in ſtore to catch them withall. Sundrie acts of parlement are likewiſe made for their vtter deſtruction, as alſo the ſpoile of other rauenous fouls hurtfull to pultrie, conies, lambs, and kids, whoſe valuation of reward to him that killeth them is after the head: a deuiſe brought from the Goths, who had the like ordinance for the deſtruction of their white crowes, and tale made by the becke, which killed both lambs and pigs. The like order is taken with vs for our vermines, as with them alſo for the rootage out of their wild beaſts, ſauing that they ſpared their greateſt beares, eſpeciallie the white, whoſe ſkins are by cuſtome & priuilege reſerued to couer thoſe planchers whereupon their prieſts doo ſtand at Maſſe, leaſt he ſhould take ſome vnkind cold in ſuch a long péece of worke: and happie is the man that may prouide them for him, for he ſhall haue pardon inough for that ſo religious an act, to laſt if he will till doomes day doo approch; and manie thouſands after. Nothing therefore can be more vnlikelie to be true, than that theſe noiſome creatures are nouriſhed amongſt vs to deuoure our wormes, which doo not abound much more in England than elſewhere in other countries of the maine. It may be that ſome looke for a diſcourſe alſo of our other foules in this place at my hand, as nightingales, thruſhes, blackebirds, mauiſes, ruddocks, redſtarts or dunocks, larkes, tiuits, kingfiſhers, buntings, turtles white or graie, linets, bullfinches, goldfinches, waſhtailes, cherriecrackers, yellowhamers, felfares, &c: but I ſhould then ſpend more time vpon them than is conuenient. Neither will I ſpeake of our coſtlie and curious antaries dailie made for the better hearing of their melodie, and obſeruation of their natures: but I ceaſe alſo to go anie further in theſe things, hauing (as I thinke) ſaid inough alreadie of theſe that I haue named.

Of fiſh vſuallie taken vpon *our coaſts.*

Cap. 3.

I Haue in my deſcription of waters, as occaſion hath ſerued, intreated of the names of ſome of the ſeuerall fiſhes which are commonlie to bée found in our riuers. Neuertheleſſe as euerie water hath a ſundrie mixture, and therefore is not ſtored with euerie kind: ſo there is almoſt no houſe, euen of the meaneſt bowres, which haue not one or mo ponds or holes made for reſeruation of water vnſtored with ſome of them, as with tench, carpe, breame, roch, dace, eéles, or ſuch like as will liue and bréed togither. Certes it is not poſſible for me to deliuer the names of all ſuch kinds of fiſhes as

as our riuers are found to beare: yet leaſt I ſhould ſeeme ingratious to the reader, in not deliuering ſo manie of them as haue beene brought to my knowledge, I will not let to ſet them downe as they come to mind. Beſides the ſalmons therefore, which are not to be taken from the middeſt of September to the middeſt of Nouember, and are verie plentifull in our greateſt riuers, as their yong fiſhe are not to be touched from mid Aprill vnto Midſummer, we haue the trout, barbell, graile, pewit, cheuin, pike, gudgeon, ſmelt, perch, menan, ſhrimpes, creuiſes, lamprees, and ſuch like, whoſe preſeruation is prouided for by verie ſharpe lawes, not onelie in our riuers, but alſo in plaſhes or lakes and ponds, which otherwiſe would bring ſmall profit to the owners, and too much harme by continuall maintenance of idle perſons, who would ſpend their whole times vpon their bankes, not couting to labour with their hands, nor follow anie good trade. Of all theſe there are none more preiudiciall to their neighbours that dwell in the ſame water, than the pike and eele, which commonlie deuoure ſuch fiſh or frie and ſpawne as they may get and come by. Neuertheleſſe, the pike is friend vnto the tench, as to his leach ſurgeon. For when the fiſhmonger hath opened his ſide and laid out his riuet and fat vnto the buier, for the better vtterance of his ware, and can not make him away at that preſent, he laieth the ſame againe into the proper place, and ſowing vp the wound, he reſtoreth him to the pond where tenches are, who neuer ceaſe to ſucke and licke his greeued place, till they haue reſtored him to health, and made him readie to come againe to the ſtall, when his turne ſhall come about. I might here make report how the pike, carpe, and ſome other of our riuer fiſhes are ſold by inches of cleane fiſh, from the eies or gilles to the crotch of the tailes, but it is needleſſe: alſo how the pike as he ageth, receiueth diuerſe names, as from a frie to a gilthed, from a gilthed to a pod, from a pod to a tacke, from a tacke to a pickerell, from a pickerell to a pike, and laſt of all to a luce; alſo that a ſalmon is the firſt yeare a grauellin, and commonlie ſo big as an herring, the ſecond a ſalmon peale, the third a pug, and the fourth a ſalmon: but this is in like ſort vnneceſſarie.

I might finallie tell you, how that in fennie riuers ſides if you cut a turfe, and laie it with the graſſe downewards, vpon the earth, in ſuch ſort as the water may touch it as it paſſeth by, you ſhall haue a brood of eels, it would ſeeme a wonder; and yet it is beleeued with no leſſe aſſurance of ſome, than that an horſe haire laid in a pale full of the like water will in ſhort time ſtirre and become a liuing creature. But ſith the certeintie of theſe things is rather proued by few than the certeintie of them knowne vnto manie, I let it paſſe at this time. Neuertheleſſe this is generallie obſerued in the maintenance of frie ſo well in riuers as in ponds, that in the time of ſpawne we vſe to throw in faggots made of willow and ſallow, and now and then of buſhes for want of the other, whereby ſuch ſpawne as falleth into the ſame is preſerued and kept from the pike, perch, eele and other fiſh, of which the carpe alſo will feed vpon his owne, and thereby hinder the ſtore and increaſe of proper kind. Some vſe in cuerie fift or ſeauenth yeere to laie their great ponds drie for all the ſummer time, to the end they may gather graſſe, and a thin ſwart for the fiſh to feed vpon; and afterwards ſtore them with breeders, after the water be let of new againe into them: finallie, when they haue ſpawned, they draw out the breeders, leauing not aboue foure or ſix behind, euen in the greateſt ponds, by meanes whereof the reſt do proſper the better: and this obſeruation is moſt vſed in carpe and breame; as for perch a delicate fiſh it proſpereth euerie where, I meane ſo well in ponds as riuers, and alſo in meres and pittes, as I doo know by experience, though their bottome be but clare. Here would I write of our freſh fiſh, if anie more were needfull; therefore I will now turne ouer vnto ſuch of the ſalt water as are taken vpon our coaſts. As our fowles therefore haue their ſeaſons, ſo likewiſe haue all our ſorts of ſea fiſh: whereby it commeth to paſſe that none, or at the leaſt wiſe verie few of them are to be had at all times. Neuertheleſſe, the ſeas that moiſten our coaſts, are of all other moſt plentifull: for as by reaſon of their depth they are a great ſuccour, ſo our low ſhores miniſter great plentie of food vnto the fiſh that come thereto, no place being void or barren either through want of food for them, or the falles of filthie riuers, which naturallie annoie them. In December therefore and Januarie we commonlie abound in herring and red fiſh, as rochet, and gurnard. In Februarie and March we feed on plaice, trowts, turbut, mullets, &c. In Aprill and May, with makrell, and cockles. In June and Julie, with conger. In Auguſt and September, with haddocke and herring: and the two moneths inſuing with the ſame, as alſo thornbacke and reigh of all ſorts; all which are the moſt vſuall, and wherewith our common ſort are beſt of all refreſhed.

For mine owne part I am greatlie acquainted neither with the ſeaſons, nor yet with the fiſh it ſelfe: and therefore if I ſhould take vpon me to deſcribe or ſpeake of either of them abſolutelie, I ſhould enterpriſe more than I am able to performe, and go in hand with a greater matter than I can well bring about. It ſhall ſuffice therefore to declare what ſorts of fiſhes I haue moſt often ſeene, to the end I may not altogither paſſe ouer this chapter without the rehearſall of ſomething, although the whole ſumme of that which I haue to ſaie be nothing indeed, if the performance of a full diſcourſe hereof be anie thing hardlie required.

Of fiſhes therefore as I find fiue ſorts, the flat, the round, the long, the legged and ſhelled: ſo the flat are diuided into the ſmooth, ſcaled and tailed. Of the firſt are the plaice, the but, the turbut, birt, floke or ſea flounder, dorſie, dab, &c. Of the ſecond the ſoles, &c. Of the third, our chatts, maidens, kingſons, flath and thornbacke, whereof the greater be for the moſt part either dried and carried into other countries, or ſodden, ſowſed, & eaten here at home, whileſt the leſſer be fried or buttered; ſome after they be taken as prouiſion not to be kept long for feare of putrifaction. Under the round kinds are commonlie comprehended lumps, an vglie fiſh to ſight, and yet verie delicat in eating, if it be kindlie dreſſed: the whiting (an old waiter or ſeruitor in the court) the rochet, ſea breame, pirle, hake, ſea trowt, gurnard, haddocke, cod, herring, pilchard, ſprat, and ſuch like. And theſe are they whereof I haue beſt knowledge, and be commonlie to be had in their times vpon our coaſts. Under this kind alſo are all the great fiſh conteined, as the ſeale, the dolphin, the porpoiſe, the thirlepole, whale, and whatſoeuer is round of bodie be it neuer ſo great and huge. Of the long ſort are congers, eles, garefiſh, and ſuch other of that forme. Finallie, of the legged kind we haue not manie, neither haue I ſeene anie more of this ſort than the Polypus called in Engliſh the lobſter, crafiſh or creuis, and the crab. As for the little crafiſhes they are not taken in the ſea, but plentifullie in our freſh riuers in banks, and vnder ſtones, where they keepe themſelues in moſt ſecret maner, and oft by likeneſſe of colour with the ſtones among which they lie, deceiue euen the ſkilfull takers of them, except they vſe great diligence. Carolus Stephanus in his maiſon ruſtique,

Flat fiſh.

Round fiſh.

Long fiſh.

Legged fiſh.

ruſtique, doubted whether theſe lobſtars be fiſh or not; and in the end concludeth them to grow of the purgation of the water as doth the frog, and theſe alſo not to be eaten, for that they be ſtrong and verie hard of digeſtion. But hereof let other determine further.

I might here ſpeake of ſundrie other fiſhes now and then taken alſo vpon our coaſts: but ſith my mind is onelie to touch either all ſuch as are vſuallie gotten, or ſo manie of them onelie as I can well rehearſe vpon certeine knowledge, I thinke it good at this time to forbeare the further intreatie of them. As touching the ſhellie ſort, we haue plentie of oiſters, whoſe valure in old time for their ſweetneſſe was not vnknowne in Rome (although Mutianus as Plinie noteth lib. 32, cap. 6. preferre the Cyzicene before them) and theſe we haue in like maner of diuerſe quantities, and no leſſe varietie alſo of our muſkles and cockles. We haue in like ſort no ſmall ſtore of great whelkes, ſcalops and perewinkles, and each of them brought farre into the land from the ſea coaſt in their ſeuerall ſeaſons. And albeit our oiſters are generallie forborne in the foure hot moneths of the yeare, that is to ſaie, Maie, June, Julie, and Auguſt, which are void of the letter R: yet in ſome places they be continuallie eaten, where they be kept in pits as I haue knowne by experience. And thus much of our ſea fiſh, as a man in maner vtterlie vnacquainted with their diuerſitie of kinds: yet ſo much haue I yelded to doo, hoping hereafter to ſaie somewhat more, and more orderlie of them, if it ſhall pleaſe God that I may liue and haue leaſure once againe to peruſe this treatiſe, and ſo make vp a perfect peece of worke, of that which as you now ſee is verie ſlenderlie attempted and begun.

t fiſh.

nd fiſh.

y fiſh.

zed fiſh.

Of ſauage beaſts and vermines.

Chap. 4.

IT is none of the leaſt bleſſings wherewith God hath indued this Iland, that it is void of noiſome beaſts, as lions, beares, tigers, pardes, wolfes, & ſuch like, by means whereof our countrimen may trauell in ſafetie, & our herds and flocks remaine for the moſt part abroad in the field without anie herdman or keeper.

This is chæfelie ſpoken of the ſouth and ſouthweſt parts of the Iland. For whereas we that dwell on this ſide of the Twed, may ſafelie boaſt of our ſecuritie in this behalfe: yet cannot the Scots doo the like in euerie point within their kingdome, ſith they haue greeuous wolfes and cruell fores, beſide ſome other of like diſpoſition continuallie conuerſant among them, to the generall hinderance of their husbandmen, and no ſmall damage vnto the inhabiters of thoſe quarters. The happie and fortunate want of theſe beaſts in England is vniuerſallie aſcribed to the politike gouernement of king Edgar, who to the intent the whole countrie might once be cleanſed and clearelie rid of them, charged the conquered Welſhmen (who were then peſtered with theſe rauenous creatures aboue meaſure) to paie him a yearelie tribute of wolfes ſkinnes, to be gathered within the land. He appointed them thereto a certeine number of three hundred, with free libertie for their prince to hunt & purſue them ouer all quarters of the realme; as our chronicles doo report. Some there be which write how Ludwall prince of Wales paid yearelie to king Edgar this tribute of three hundred wolfes, whoſe carcaſes being brought into Lhoegres, were buried at Wolfpit in Cambridgeſhire, and that by means thereof within the compaſſe and terme of foure yeares, none of thoſe noiſome creatures were left to be heard of within Wales and England. Since this time alſo we read not that anie wolfe hath beene ſeene here that hath beene bred within the bounds and limits of our countrie: howbeit there haue beene diuerſe brought ouer from beyond the ſeas for greedineſſe of gaine, and to make monie onlie by the gaſing and gaping of our people vpon them, who couet oft to ſee them being ſtrange beaſts in their eies, and ſildome knowne (as I haue ſaid) in England.

Wolfes.

Tribute of wolfes ſkins.

Lions we haue had verie manie in the north parts of Scotland, and thoſe with maines of no leſſe force than they of Mauritania were ſometimes reported to be; but how and when they were deſtroied as yet I doo not read. They had in like ſort no leſſe plentie of wild and cruell buls, which the princes and their nobilitie in the frugall time of the land did hunt, and follow for the triall of their manhood, and by purſute either on horſſebacke or foot in armor; notwithſtanding that manie times they were dangerouſlie aſſailed by them. But both theſe ſauage cretures are now not heard of, or at the leaſt wiſe the later ſcarſelie known in the ſouth parts. Howbeit this I gather by their being here, that our Iland was not cut from the maine by the great deluge or flood of Noah: but long after, otherwiſe the generation of thoſe & other like creatures could not haue extended into our Ilands. For, that anie man would of ſet purpoſe replenith the countrie with them for his pleaſure and paſtime in hunting, I can in no wiſe beleeue.

Of fores we haue ſome but no great ſtore, and alſo badgers in our ſandie & light grounds, where woods, furzes, brome, and plentie of ſhrubs are to ſhrowd them in, when they be from their borrowes, and thereto warrens of conies at hand to feed vpon at will. Otherwiſe in claie, which we call the cledgie mould, we ſildom heare of anie, becauſe the moiſture and toughneſſe of the ſoile is ſuch, as will not ſuffer them to draw and make their borrowes deepe. Certes if I may freelie ſaie what I thinke, I ſuppoſe that theſe two kinds (I meane fores and badgers) are rather preſerued by gentlemen to hunt and haue paſtime withall at their owne pleaſures, than otherwiſe ſuffered to liue, as not able to be deſtroied becauſe of their great numbers. For ſuch is the ſcantitie of them here in England, in compariſon of the plentie that is to be ſeene in other countries, and ſo earneſtlie are the inhabitants bent to rot them out, that except it had beene to beare thus with the recreations of their ſuperiors in this behalfe, it could not otherwiſe haue beene choſen, but that they ſhould haue beene vtterlie deſtroied by manie yeares agone.

Fores. Badgers.

I might here intreat largelie of other vermine, as the polcat, the miniuer, the weaſell, ſtote, fulmart, ſquirrill, fitchew, and ſuch like, which Cardan includeth vnder the word *Muſtela*: alſo of the otter, and likewiſe of the beuer, whoſe hinder feet and taile onlie are ſuppoſed to be fiſh. Certes the taile of this beaſt is like vnto a thin whetſtone, as the bodie vnto a monſterous rat: the beaſt alſo it ſelfe is of ſuch force in the teeth, that it will gnaw an hole through a thicke planke, or there thorough a dubble billet in a night; it loueth alſo the ſtilleſt riuers: & it is giuen to them by nature, to go by flockes vnto the woods at hand, where they gather ſticks wherewith to build their neſts, wherein their bodies lie drie aboue the water, although they ſo prouide moſt commonlie, that their tailes may hang within the ſame. It is alſo reported that their ſaid tailes are a delicate diſh, and their ſtones of ſuch medicinable force, that (as

Beuers.

Verto-

Vertomannus ſaith) foure men ſmelling vnto them each after other did bléd at the noſe through their attractiue force, proceéding from a vehement ſauour wherewith they are indued: there is greateſt plentie of them in Perſia, chéefelie about Balaſcham, from whence they and their dried cods are brought into all quarters of the world, though not without ſome forgerie by ſuch as prouide them. And of all theſe here remembred, as the firſt ſorts are plentifull in euerie wood and hedgerow: ſo theſe latter, eſpeciallie the otter (for to ſaie the truth we haue not manie beuers, but onelie in the Teſſie in Wales) is not wanting or to ſéeke in manie, but moſt ſtreams and riuers of this Ile: but it ſhall ſuffice in this ſort to haue named them as I doo finallie the marterne, a beaſt of the chaſe, although for number I worſhilie doubt whether that of our beuers or marterns may be thought to be the leſſe.

Marterns.

Other pernicious beaſts we haue not, except you repute the great plentie of red & fallow déere, whoſe colours are oft garled white and blacke, all white or all blacke, and more of cones amongſt the hurtfull ſort. Which although that of themſelues they are not offenſiue at all, yet their great numbers are thought to be verie preiudiciall, and therfore iuſtlie reproued of many; as are in like ſort our huge flocks of ſhéepe, whereon the greateſt part of our ſoile is emploied almoſt in euerie place, and yet our mutton, woll, and felles neuer the better cheape. The yong males which our fallow déere doo bring forth, are commonlie named according to their ſeuerall ages: for the firſt yéere it is a fawne, the ſecond a pucket, the third a ſerell, the fourth a ſoare, the fift a bucke of the firſt head; not bearing the name of a bucke till he be fiue yéers old: and from henceforth his age is commonlie knowne by his head or horns. Howbeit this notice of his yéers is not ſo certeine, but that the beſt woodman may now and then be deceiued in that account: for in ſome grounds a bucke of the firſt head will be ſo well headed as another in a high rowtie ſoile will be in the fourth. It is alſo much to be maruelled at, that whereas they doo yéerelie mew and caſt their horns: yet in fighting they neuer breake off where they doo griſe or mew. Furthermore, in examining the condition of our red déere, I find that the yong male is called in the firſt yéere a calfe, in the ſecond a broket, the third a ſpaie, the fourth a ſtagon or ſtag, the fift a great ſtag, the ſixt an hart, and ſo forth vnto his death. And with him in degrée of venerie are accounted the hare, bore, and woolfe. The fallow déere as bucks and does, are nouriſhed in parkes, and cones in warrens and burrowes. As for hares, they run at their owne aduenture, except ſome gentleman or other (for his pleaſure) doo make an incloſure for them. Of theſe alſo the ſtag is accounted for the moſt noble game, the fallow déere is the next, then the roe, whereof we haue indifferent ſtore; and laſt of all the hare, not the leaſt in eſtimation, becauſe the hunting of that ſeelie beaſt is mother to all the terms, blaſts, and artificiall deuiſes that hunters doo vſe. All which (notwithſtanding our coſtome) are paſtimes more meét for ladies and gentlewomen to exerciſe (whatſoeuer Franciſcus Patritius ſaith to the contrarie in his inſtitution of a prince) than for men of courage to follow, whoſe hunting ſhould practiſe their armes in taſting of their manhood, and dealing with ſuch beaſts as eſkſones will turne againe, and offer them the hardeſt rather than their horſſes féet, which manie times may carrie them with diſhonour from the field. Surelie this noble kind of hunting onelie did great princes frequent in times paſt, as it may yet appéere by the hiſtories of their times, eſpeciallie of Alexander, who at vacant times hunted the tiger, the pard, the bore, and the beare, but moſt willinglie lions, becauſe of the honorable eſtimation of that beaſt; inſomuch that at one time he cauſed an od or choſen lion (for force and beautie) to be let forth vnto him hand to hand, with whome he had much buſineſſe, albeit that in the end he ouerthrew and killed the beaſt. Herevnto beſide that which we read of the vſuall hunting of the princes and kings of Scotland, of the wild bull, woolfe, &c: the example of king Henrie the firſt of England, who diſdaining (as he termed them) to follow or purſue cowards, cheriſhed of ſet purpoſe ſundrie kinds of wild beaſts, as bears, libards, ounces, lions at Woodſtocke, & one or two other places in England, which he walled about with hard ſtone, An. 1120, and where he would often fight with ſome one of them hand to hand, when they did turne againe and make anie raiſe vpon him: but chéeflie he loued to hunt the lion and the bore, which are both verie dangerous exerciſes, eſpeciallie that with the lion, except ſome policie be found wherwith to trouble his eie ſight in anie manner of wiſe. For though the bore be fierce, and hath learned by nature to harden his fleſh and ſkin againſt the trées, to ſharpen his teeth, and defile himſelfe with earth, thereby to prohibit the entrance of the weapons: yet is the ſport ſomewhat more eaſie, eſpeciallie where two ſtand ſo neere together, that the one (if néed be) may helpe and be a ſuccour to the other. Neither would he ceaſe for all this to follow his paſtime, either on horſſebacke or on foot, as occaſion ſerued, much like the yonger Cyrus. I haue read of wild bores and bulles to haue béene about Blackleie néere Manchéſter, whither the ſaid prince would now and then reſort alſo for his ſolace in that behalfe, as alſo to come by thoſe excellent falcons then bred thereabouts; but now they are gone, eſpeciallie the bulles, as I haue ſaid alreadie.

King Henrie the fift in his beginning thought it a méere ſcofferie to purſue anie fallow déere with hounds or greihounds, but ſuppoſed himſelfe alwaies to haue done a ſufficient act when he had tired them by his owne trauell on foot, and ſo killed them with his hands in the vpſhot of that exerciſe and end of his recreation. Certes herein he reſembled Polymneſtor Mileſius, of whome it is written, how he ran ſo ſwiftlie, that he would and did verie often ouertake hares for his pleaſure, which I can hardlie beléeue: and therefore much leſſe that one Lidas did run ſo lightlie and ſwiftlie after like game, that as he paſſed ouer the ſand, he left not ſo much as the prints of his feet behind him. And thus did verie manie in like ſort with the hart (as I doo read) but this I thinke was verie long agone, when men were farre higher and ſwifter than they are now: and yet I denie not, but rather grant willinglie that the hunting of the red déere is a right princelie paſtime. In diuerſe forren countries they cauſe their red and fallow déere to draw the plough, as we doo our oxen and horſſes. In ſome places alſo they milke their hinds as we doo here our kine and goats. And the experience of this latter is noted by Giraldus Cambrenſis to haue béene ſéene and vſed in Wales, where he did eat cheeſe made of hinds milke, at ſuch time as Baldwine archbiſhop of Canturburie preached the croiſad there, when they were both lodged in a gentlemans houſe, whoſe wife of purpoſe kept a deirie of the ſame. As for the plowing with oxen (which I ſuppoſe to be vnlikelie) becauſe they are (in mine opinion) vntameable and alkes a thing commonlie vſed in the eaſt countries; here is no place to ſpeake of it, ſince we want theſe kind of beaſts, neither is it my purpoſe to intreat at large of other things than are to be ſeene in England. Wherfore I will omit to ſaie anie more of wild and ſauage beaſts at this time, thinking my ſelfe to haue ſpoken alreadie ſufficientlie

Stags.

Hinds haue béene milked

ſufficientlie of this matter, if not too much in the iudgement of the curious.

Of hawkes and rauenous foules.

Chap. 5.

I Can not make (as yet) anie iuſt report how manie ſorts of hawkes are bred within this realme. Howbeit which of thoſe that are vſuallie had among vs are diſcloſed with in this land, I thinke it more eaſie and leſſe difficult to ſet downe. Firſt of all therefore that we haue the egle, common experience doth euidentlie confirme, and diuerſe of our rockes whereon they breed, if ſpeach did ſerue, could well declare the ſame. But the moſt excellent aierie of all is not much from Cheſter, at a caſtell called Dinas Bren, ſometime builded by Brennus, as our writers do remember. Certes this caſtell is no great thing, but yet a pile ſometime verie ſtrong and inacceſſible for enimies, though now all ruinous as manie other are. It ſtandeth vpon an hard rocke, in the ſide whereof an eagle breedeth euerie yeare. This alſo is notable in the ouerthrow of hir neſt (a thing oft attempted) that he which goeth thither muſt be ſure of two large baſkets, and ſo prouide to be let downe thereto, that he may ſit in the one and be couered with the other: for otherwiſe the eagle would kill him, and teare the fleſh from his bones with hir ſharpe talons though his aparell were neuer ſo good. The common people call this foule an erne, but as I am ignorant whither the word eagle and erne do ſhew anie difference of ſexe, I meane betweene the male and female, ſo we haue great ſtore of them. And neere to the places where they breed, the commons complaine of great harme to be done by them in their fields: for they are able to beare a yong lambe or kid vnto their neaſts, therwith to feed their yong and come againe for more. I was once of the opinion that there was a diuerſitie of kind betweene the eagle and the erne, till I perceiued that our nation vſed the word erne in moſt places for the eagle. We haue alſo the lanner and the lanneret: the terſell and the goſehawke: the muſket and the ſparhawke: the iacke and the hobbie: and finallie ſome (though verie few) marlons. And theſe are all the hawkes that I do heare as yet to be bred within this Iland. Howbeit as theſe are not wanting with vs, ſo are they not verie plentifull: wherefore ſuch as delite in hawking do make their chiefe purueiance & prouiſion for the ſame out of Danſke, Germanie, and the Eaſtcountries, from whence we haue them in great abundance, and at exceſſiue prices, whereas at home and where they be bred they are ſold for almoſt right naught, and vſuallie brought to the markets as chickins, pullets and pigeons are with vs, and there bought vp to be eaten (as we do the aforeſaid foules) almoſt of euerie man. It is ſaid that the ſparhawke preieth not vpon the foule in the morning that ſhe taketh ouer euen, but as loth to haue double benefit by one ſelie foule, doth let it go to make ſome ſhift for it ſelfe. But hereof as I ſtand in ſome doubt, ſo this I find among the writers worthie the noting, that the ſparhawke is enimie to yong children, as is alſo the ape; but of the pecocke ſhe is marueilouſlie afraid & ſo appalled, that all courage & ſtomach for a time is taken from hir vpon the ſight thereof. But to proceed with the reſt. Of other rauenous birds we haue alſo verie great plentie, as the buſſard, the kite, the ringtaile, dunkite, & ſuch as often annoie our countrie dames by ſpoiling of their yong breeds of chickens, ducks and goſlings, wherevnto our verie rauens and crowes haue learned alſo the waie: and ſo much are our rauens giuen to this kind of ſpoils, that ſome idle and curious heads of ſet purpoſe haue manned, reclaimed, and vſed them in ſtead of hawkes, when other could not be had. Some do imagine that the rauen ſhould be the vulture, and I was almoſt perſuaded in times paſt to beleeue the ſame: but finding of late a deſcription of the vulture, which better agreeth with the forme of a ſecond kind of eagle, I freelie surceaſe to be longer of that opinion: for as it hath after a ſort the ſhape, colour, and quantitie of an eagle, ſo are the legs and feet more hairie and rough, their ſides vnder their wings better couered with thicke downe (wherewith alſo their gorge or a part of their breſt vnder their throtes is armed, and not with fethers) than are the like parts of the eagle, and vnto which portraiture there is no member of the rauen (who is alſo verie blacke of colour) that can haue anie reſemblance: we haue none of them in England to my knowledge, if we haue, they go generallie vnder the name of eagle or erne. Neither haue we the pygargus or gripe, therefore I haue no occaſion to intreat further. I haue ſeene the carren crowes ſo cunning alſo by their owne induſtrie of late, that they haue vſed to ſoare ouer great riuers (as the Thames for example) & ſuddenlie comming downe haue caught a ſmall fiſh in their feet & gone awaie withall without wetting of their wings. And euen at this preſent the aforeſaid riuer is not without ſome of them, a thing (in my opinion) not a little to be wondered at. We haue alſo oſprais which breed with vs in parks and woods, whereby the keepers of the ſame do reape in breeding time no ſmall commoditie: for ſo ſone almoſt as the yong are hatched, they tie them to the but ends or ground ends of ſundrie trees, where the old ones finding them, do neuer ceaſe to bring fiſh vnto them, which the keepers take & eat from them, and commonlie is ſuch as is well fed, or not of the worſt ſort. It hath not beene my hap hitherto to ſee anie of theſe foules, & partlie through mine owne negligence: but I heare that it hath one foot like an hawke to catch hold withall, and another reſembling a goſe wherewith to ſwim; but whether it be ſo or not ſo, I refer the further ſearch and triall thereof vnto ſome other. This neuertheles is certeine that both aliue and dead, yea euen hir verie oile is a deadlie terrour to ſuch fiſh as come within the wind of it. There is no cauſe wherefore I ſhould deſcribe the cormorant amongſt hawkes, of which ſome be blacke and manie pied chiefelie about the Ile of Elie, where they are taken for the night rauen, except I ſhould call him a water hawke. But ſith ſuch dealing is not conuenient, let vs now ſee what may be ſaid of our venemous wormes, and how manie kinds we haue of them within our realme and countrie.

Of venemous beaſts.

Chap. 6.

IF I ſhould go about to make anie long diſcourſe of venemous beaſts or wormes bred in England, I ſhould attempt more than occaſion it ſelfe would readilie offer, ſith we haue verie few worms, but no beaſts at all, that are thought by their naturall qualities to be either venemous or hurtfull. Firſt of all therefore we haue the adder (in our old Saxon tong called an atter) which ſome

ſome men dw not raſhlie take to be the viper. Certes if it be ſo, then is it not the viper author of the death of hir ⋆ parents, as ſome hiſtories affirme; and thereto Encelius a late writer in his *De re metallica*, *lib.* 3. *cap.* 38. where he maketh mention of a ſhe adder which he ſaw in Sala, whoſe wombe (as he ſaith) was eaten out after a like faſhion, hir yong ones lieng by hir in the ſunne ſhine, as if they had bene earth worms. Neuertheleſſe as he nameth them *viperas*, ſo he calleth the male Echis, and the female Echidna, concluding in the end that Echis is the ſame ſerpent which his countrimen to this daie call Ein atter, as I haue alſo noted before out of a Saxon dictionarie. For my part I am perſuaded that the ſlaughter of their parents is either not true at all, or not alwaies (although I doubt not but that nature hath right well prouided to inhibit their ſuperfluous increaſe by ſome meanes or other) and ſo much the rather am I led hereunto, for that I gather by Nicander, that of all venemous worms the viper onelie bringeth out hir yong aliue, and therefore is called in Latine *Vipera quaſi viuipara*: but of hir owne death he doth not (to my remembrance) ſaie any thing. It is teſtified alſo by other in other words, & to the like ſenſe, that *Echis id eſt vipera ſola ex ſerpentibus non ouaſed animalia parit*. And it may well be, for I remember that I haue read in Philoſtratus *De vita Appollonij*, how he ſaw a viper licking hir yong. I did ſee an adder once my ſelfe that laie (as I thought) ſleeping on a moule hill, out of whoſe mouth came eleuen yong adders of twelue or thirteene inches in length a peece, which plaied to and fro in the graſſe one with another, till ſome of them eſpied me. So ſone therefore as they ſaw my face, they ran againe into the mouth of their dam, whome I killed, and then found each of them ſhrowded in a diſtinct cell or pannicle in hir bellie, much like vnto a ſoft white tellie, which maketh me to be of the opinion that our adder is the viper indeed. The colour of their ſkin is for the moſt part like ruſtie iron or iron grate: but ſuch as be verie old reſemble a ruddie blew, & as once in the yeare, to wit, in Aprill or about the beginning of Maie they caſt their old ſkins (whereby as it is thought their age reneweth) ſo their ſtinging bringeth death without preſent remedie be at hand, the wounded neuer ceaſing to ſwell, neither the venem to worke till the ſkin of the one breake, and the other aſcend vpward to the hart, where it finiſheth the naturall effect, except the iuice of dragons (in Latine called *Dracunculus minor*) be ſpedilie miniſtred and dronke in ſtrong ale, or elſe ſome other medicine taken of like force, that may counteruaile and ouercome the venem of the ſame. The length of them is moſt commonlie two foot and ſomwhat more, but ſeldome doth it extend vnto two foot ſix inches, except it be in ſome rare and monſterous one: whereas our ſnakes are much longer, and ſeene ſometimes to ſurmount a yard, or three foot, although their poiſon be nothing ſo grieuous and deadlie as the others. Our adders lie in winter vnder ſtones, as Ariſtotle alſo ſaith of the viper Lib. 8. cap. 15. and in holes of the earth, rotten ſtubs of trees, and amongſt the dead leaues: but in the heat of the ſummer they come abroad, and lie either round on heapes, or at length vpon ſome hillocke, or elſewhere in the graſſe. They are found onelie in our woodland countries and higheſt grounds, where ſometimes (though ſeldome) a ſpeckled ſtone called Echites, in dutch Ein atter ſtein, is gotten out of their dried carcaſes, which diuers report to be good againſt their poiſon. As for our ſnakes, which in Latine are properlie named *Angues*, they commonlie are ſeene in mores, fens, lomie wals, and low bottoms.

And as we haue great ſtore of todes where adders commonlie are found, ſo dw frogs abound where ſnakes dw keepe their reſidence. We haue alſo the ſloworme, which is blacke and grateſh of colour, and ſomewhat ſhorter than an adder. I was at the killing once of one of them, and thereby perceiued that ſhe was not ſo called of anie want of nimble motion, but rather of the contrarie. Neuertheleſſe we haue a blind worme to be found vnder logs in woods, and timber that hath lien long in a place, which ſome alſo dw call (and vpon better ground) by the name of ſlow worms, and they are knowen eaſilie by their more or leſſe varietie of ſtriped colours, drawen long waies from their heads, their whole bodies little exceeding a foot in length, & yet is there venem deadlie. This alſo is not to be omitted, that now and then in our fennie countries, other kinds of ſerpents are found of greater quantitie than either our adder or our ſnake: but as theſe are not ordinarie and oft to be ſeene, ſo I meane not to intreat of them among our common annoiances. Neither haue we the ſcorpion, a plague of God ſent not long ſince into Italie, and whoſe poiſon (as Apollodorus ſaith) is white, neither the tarantula or Neopolitane ſpider, whoſe poiſon bringeth death, except muſike be at hand. Wherfore I ſuppoſe our countrie to be the more happie (I meane in part) for that it is void of theſe two grieuous annoiances, wherewith other nations are plagued.

We haue alſo eefts, both of the land and water, and likewiſe the noiſome ſwifts, whereof to ſaie anie more it ſhould be but loſſe of time, ſith they are well knowne; and no region to my knowledge found to be void of manie of them. As for flies (ſith it ſhall not be amiſſe a little to touch them alſo) we haue none that can dw hurt or hinderance naturallie vnto anie: for whether they be cut waſted, or whole bodied, they are void of poiſon and all venemous inclination. The cut or girt waſted (for ſo I Engliſh the word Inſecta) are the hornets, waſpes, bees, and ſuch like, whereof we haue great ſtore, and of which an opinion is conceiued, that the firſt dw breed of the corruption of dead horſſes, the ſecond of peares and apples corrupted, and the laſt of kine and oxen: which may be true, eſpeciallie the firſt and latter in ſome parts of the beaſt, and not their whole ſubſtances, as alſo in the ſecond, ſith we haue neuer waſpes, but when our fruit beginneth to waxripe. In deed Virgil and others ſpeake of a generation of bees, by killing or ſmothering of a bruſed bullocke or calfe, and laieng his bowels or his fleſh wrapped vp in his hide in a cloſe houſe for a certeine ſeaſon; but how true it is hitherto I haue not tried. Yet ſure I am of this, that no one liuing creature corrupteth without the production of another; as we may ſee by our ſelues, whoſe fleſh doth alter into lice; and alſo in ſheepe for exceſſiue numbers of fleſh flies, if they be ſuffered to lie vnburied or vneaten by the dogs and ſwine, who often and happilie preuent ſuch needleſſe generations.

As concerning bees, I thinke it good to remember, that whereas ſome ancient writers affirme it to be a commoditie wanting in our Iland, it is now found to be nothing ſo. In old time peraduenture we had none in deed, but in my daies there is ſuch plentie of them in maner euerie where, that in ſome vplandiſh townes, there are one hundred, or two hundred hiues of them, although the ſaid hiues are not ſo huge as thoſe of the eaſt countrie, but far leſſe, as not able to conteine aboue one buſhell of corne, or fiue pecks at the moſt. Plinie (a man that of ſet purpoſe deliteth to write of wonders) ſpeaking of bonie noteth that in the north regions the hiues in his time were of ſuch quantitie, that ſome one combe conteined eight foot in length, & yet (as it ſhould ſeeme) he ſpeketh not of the greateſt. For in Podolia, which is now ſubiect to the king of Poland, their hiues are ſo great,

*Galenus de Theriaca ad Piſonem, *Plin. lib. 10. cap. 62.

Adder or viper.

Slowworme.

Lyonts.

Eefts.
Swifts.

Flies.

Cutwaſted.
Wholebodied.
Hornets.
Waſpes.

See Ariſtotle, Animalium lib. 5. cap. vltimo, & Theophraſt. lib. 7. cap. 13.

Snakes.

Sol. cap. 40.
Plin. lib. 37. cap. 11.

Todes.
Frogs.

great and combes ſo abundant, that huge boxes ouerturning and falling into them, are drowned in the honie, before they can recouer & find the meanes to come out.

Our honie alſo is taken and reputed to be the beſt, bicauſe it is harder, better wrought, and clenlier veſſelled vp, than that which commeth from beyond the ſea, where they ſtampe and ſtreine their combs, bées, and yong blowings altogither into the ſtuffe, as I haue béene informed. In vſe alſo of medicine our phyſicians and apothecaries eſchew the forren, eſpeciallie that of Spaine and Ponthus, by reaſon of a venemous qualitie naturallie planted in the ſame, as ſome write, and chooſe the home made: not onelie by reaſon of our ſoile, which hath no leſſe plentie of wild thime growing therein than in Sicilia, & about Athens, and maketh the beſt ſtuffe; as alſo for that it breedeth (being gotten in harueſt time) leſſe choler, and which is oftentimes (as I haue ſéene by experience) ſo white as ſugar, and corned as if it were ſalt. Our hiues are made commonlie of rie ſtraw, and wadled about with bramble quarters: but ſome make the ſame of wicker, and caſt them ouer with claie. Wée cheriſh none in trées, but ſet our hiues ſomewhere on the warmeſt ſide of the houſe, prouiding that they may ſtand drie and without danger both of the mouſe and moth. This furthermore is to be noted, that whereas in veſſels of oile, that which is néereſt the top is counted the fineſt, and of wine that in the middeſt: ſo of honie the beſt which is heavieſt and moiſteſt is alwaies next the bottome, and euermore caſteth and driueth his dregs vpward toward the verie top, contrarie to the nature of other liquid ſubſtances, whoſe grounds and léeze do generallie ſettle downewards. And thus much as by the waie of our bées and Engliſh honie.

As for the whole bodied, as the cantharides, and ſuch venemous creatures of the ſame kind, to be abundantlie found in other countries, we heare not of them: yet haue we béetles, horſeflies, turdbugs or dorres (called in Latine *Scarabei*) the locuſt or the graſhopper (which to me do ſéeme to be one thing, as I will anon declare) and ſuch like, whereof let other intreat that make an exerciſe in catching of flies, but a far greater ſport in offering them to ſpiders. As did Domitian ſometime, and an other prince yet liuing, who delited ſo much to ſée the tollie combats betwixt a ſtout flie and an old ſpider, that diuerſe men haue had great rewards giuen them for their painfull prouiſion of flies made onelie for this purpoſe. Some paraſites alſo in the time of the aforeſaid emperour, (when they were diſpoſed to laugh at his follie, and yet would ſeeme in appearance to gratifie his fantaſticall head with ſome ſhew of dutifull demenour) could deuiſe to ſet their lord on worke, by letting a fleſh flie priuilie into his chamber, which he forthwith would egerlie haue hunted (all other buſineſſe ſet apart) and neuer ceaſed till he had caught hir into his fingers: whereupon aroſe the prouerbe, *Ne muſca quidem*, vttered firſt by Vibius Priſcus, who being aſked whether anie bodie was with Domitian, anſwered, *Ne muſca quidem*, whereby he noted his follie. There are ſome cockeſcombs here and there in England, learning it abroad as men tranſregionate, which make account alſo of this paſtime, as of a notable matter, telling what a fight is ſéene betwene them, if either of them be luſtie and couragious in his kind. One alſo hath made a booke of the ſpider and the flie, wherein he dealeth ſo profoundlie, and beyond all meaſure of ſkill, that neither he himſelfe that made it, neither anie one that readeth it, can reach vnto the meaning therof. But if thoſe tollie fellows in ſtéed of the ſtraw that they thruſt into the flies tale (a great iniurie no doubt to ſuch a noble champion) would beſtow the coſt to ſet a foles cap vpon their owne heads: then might they with more ſecuritie and leſſe reprehenſion behold theſe notable battels.

Now as concerning the locuſt, I am led by diuerſe of my countrie, who (as they ſay) were either in Germanie, Italie, or Pannonia, 1542, when thoſe nations were greatly annoied with that kind of flie, and affirme verie conſtantlie, that they ſaw none other creature than the graſhopper, during the time of that annoiance, which was ſaid to come to them from the Meotides. In moſt of our tranſlations alſo of the bible, the word *Locuſta* is Engliſhed a graſhopper, and thereunto Leuit. 11. it is reputed among the cleane food, otherwiſe Iohn the Baptiſt would neuer haue liued with them in the wildernеſſe. In Barbarie, Numidia, and ſundrie other places of Affrica, as they haue béene, ſo are they eaten to this daie powdred in barels, and therefore the people of thoſe parts are called Acedophagi: neuertheles they ſhorten the life of the eaters by the production at the laſt of an irkeſome and filthie diſeaſe. In India they are three foot long, in Ethiopia much ſhorter, but in England ſeldome aboue an inch. As for the cricket called in Latin *Cicada*, he hath ſome likelihood, but not verie great, with the graſhopper, and therefore he is not to be brought in as an vmpier in this caſe. Finallie Matthiolus, and ſo manie as deſcribe the locuſt, do ſet downe none other forme than that of our graſhopper, which maketh me ſo much the more to reſt vpon my former imagination, which is, that the locuſt and graſhopper are one.

Sée Diodorus Siculus.

Of our Engliſh dogs and *their qualities*.

Chap. 7.

There is no countrie that make (as I take it) compare with ours, in number, excellencie, and diuerſitie of dogs. And therefore if Polycrates of Samia were now aliue, he would not ſend to Epyre for ſuch merchandize: but to his further coſt prouide them out of Britaine, as an ornament to his countrie, and péece of huſbandrie for his common wealth, which he furniſhed of ſet purpoſe with Moloſſian and Lacaonian dogs, as he did the ſame alſo with ſhéepe out of Attica and Miletum, gotes from Scyro and Parus, ſwine out of Sicilia, and artificers out of other places. Howbeit the learned doctor Caius in his Latine treatiſe vnto Geſner *De canibus Anglicis*, bringeth them all into three ſorts: that is, the gentle kind ſeruing for game: the homelie kind apt for ſundrie vſes: and the curriſh kind méet for many toies. For my part I can ſay no more of them than he hath done alredie. Wherefore I will here ſet downe onelie a ſumme of that which he hath written of their names and natures, with the addition of an example or two now latelie had in experience, whereby the courages of our maſtiffes ſhall yet more largelie appeare. As for thoſe of other countries I haue not to deale with them: neither care I to report out of Plinie, that dogs were ſometime killed in ſacrifice, and ſometime their whelps eaten as a delicate diſh, Lib. 29. cap. 4. Wherefore if anie man be diſpoſed to read of them, let him reſort to Plinie lib. 8. cap. 40. who (among other wonders) telleth of an armie of two hundred dogs, which fetched a king of the Garamantes out of captiuitie, mawgre the reſiſtance of his aduerſaries: alſo to Cardan, lib. 10. *De animalibus*, Ariſtotle, &c: who write maruels of them, but none further from credit than Cardan, who

who is not afraid to compare ſome of them for greatneſſe with oxen, and ſome alſo for ſmalneſſe vnto the little field mouſe. Neither doo I find anie far writer of great antiquitie, that maketh mention of our dogs, Strabo excepted, who ſaith that the Galles did ſometime buy vp all our maſtiffes, to ſerue in the forewards of their battels, wherein they reſembled the Colophontans, Caſtabalenſes of Calicute and Phenicia, of whom Plinie alſo ſpeaketh, but they had them not from vs.

The firſt ſort therefore he diuideth either into ſuch as rouſe the beaſt, and continue the chaſe, or ſpringeth the bird, and bewraieth hir flight by purſute. And as theſe are commonlie called ſpaniels, ſo the other are named hounds, whereof he maketh eight ſorts, of which the formoſt excelleth in perfect ſmelling, the ſecond in quicke eſpieng, the third in ſwiftneſſe and quickeneſſe, the fourth in ſmelling and nimbleneſſe, &c: and the laſt in ſubtiltie and deceitfulneſſe. Theſe (ſaith Strabo) are moſt apt for game, and called *Sagaces* by a generall name, not onelie bicauſe of their ſkill in hunting, but alſo for that they know their owne and the names of their fellowes moſt exactlie. For if the hunter ſee anie one to follow ſkilfullie, and with likelihood of good ſucceſſe, he biddeth the reſt to barke and follow ſuch a dog, and they eftſoones obeie ſo ſone as they heare his name. The firſt kind of theſe are alſo commonlie called harters, whoſe game is the fox, the hare, the woolfe (if we had anie) hart, bucke, badger, otter, polcat, lopſtart, weſell, conie, &c: the ſecond hight a terrer, and it hunteth the badger and graie onelie: the third a bloudhound, whoſe office is to follow the fierce, and now and then to purſue a theefe or beaſt by his drie foot: the fourth hight a gaſehound, who hunteth by the eie: the fift a greihound, cheriſhed for his ſtrength, ſwiftnes, and ſtature, commended by Bratius in his *De venatione*, and not vnremembred by Hercules Stroza in a like treatiſe, but aboue all other thoſe of Britaine, where he ſaith:

——& magna ſpectandi mole Britanni,

alſo by Nemeſianus, libro Cynegeticôn, where he ſaith:

Diuiſa Britannia mittit
Veloces noſtrig, orbis venatibus aptos,

of which ſort alſo ſome be ſmooth, of ſundrie colours, and ſome ſhake hatred: the firſt a liemer, that excelleth in ſmelling and ſwift running: the ſeuenth a tumbler: and the eight a theefe, whoſe offices (I meane of the latter two) incline onelie to deceit, wherein they are oft ſo skilfull, that few men would thinke ſo miſchiefous a wit to remaine in ſuch ſillie creatures. Hauing made this enumeration of dogs, which are apt for the chaſe and hunting, he commeth next to ſuch as ſerue the falcons in their times, whereof he maketh alſo two ſorts. One that findeth his game on the land, an other that putteth vp ſuch foule as keepeth in the water: and of theſe this is commonlie moſt vſuall for the net or traine, the other for the hawke, as he doth ſhew at large. Of the firſt he ſaith, that they haue no peculiar names aſſigned to them ſeuerallie, but each of them is called after the bird which by naturall appointment he is allotted to hunt or ſerue, for which conſideration ſome be named dogs for the feaſant, ſome for the falcon, and ſome for the partrich. Howbeit, the common name for all is ſpaniell (ſaith he) and thereupon alludeth, as if theſe kinds of dogs had bin brought hither out of Spaine. In like ſort we haue of water ſpaniels in their kind. The third ſort of dogs of the gentle kind, is the ſpaniell gentle, or comforter, or (as the common terme is) the ſittinghound, and thoſe are called *Melitei*, of the Iland Malta, from whence they were brought hither. Theſe are little and prettie, proper and fine, and ſought out far and neere to ſatiſfie the nice delicacie of daintie dames, and wanton womens willes; inſtruments of follie to plaie and dallie withall, in trifling away the treaſure of time, to withdraw their minds from more commendable exerciſes, and to content their corrupt concupiſcences with vaine diſport, a fillie poore ſhift to ſhun their irkeſome idlenes. Theſe Sybariticall puppies, the ſmaller they be (and thereto if they haue an hole in the foreparts of their heads) the better they are accepted, the more pleaſure alſo they prouoke, as meet plaiefellowes for minſing miſtreſſes to beare in their boſoms, to keepe companie withall in their chambers, to ſuccour with ſleepe in bed, and nouriſh with meat at boord, to lie in their laps, and licke their lips as they lie (like yong Dianaes) in their wagons and coches. And good reaſon it ſhould be ſo, for courſeneſſe with fineneſſe hath no fellowſhip, but ſeatneſſe with neatneſſe hath neighbourhead inough. That plauſible prouerbe therefore vered ſometime vpon a tyrant, namelie that he loued his ſow better than his ſonne, may well be applied to ſome of this kind of people, who delight more in their dogs, that are depriued of all poſſibilitie of reaſon, than they doo in children that are capable of wiſedome & iudgement. Yea, they oft feed them of the beſt, where the poore mans child at their doores can hardlie come by the worſt. But the former abuſe peraduenture reigneth where there hath beene long want of iſſue, elſe where barrenneſſe is the beſt bloſſome of beautie: or finallie, where poore mens children for want of their owne iſſue are not readie to be had. It is thought of ſome that it is verie wholeſome for a weake ſtomach to beare ſuch a dog in the boſome, as it is for him that hath the palſie to feele the dailie ſmell and ſauour of a fox. But how truelie this is affirmed let the learned iudge: onelie it ſhall ſuffice for Doctor Caius to haue ſaid thus much of ſpaniels and dogs of the gentle kind.

Some bar
and bite no

Some bite
and barke

Dogs of the homelie kind, are either ſhepheards curs, or maſtiffes. The firſt are ſo common, that it needeth me not to ſpeake of them. Their vſe alſo is ſo well knowne in keeping the heard togither (either when they graſe or go before the ſhepheard) that it ſhould be but in vaine to ſpend anie time about them. Wherefore I will leaue this curre vnto his owne kind, and go in hand with the maſtiffe, tie dog, or banddog, ſo called bicauſe manie of them are tied vp in chaines and ſtrong bonds, in the daie time, for doing hurt abroad, which is an huge dog, ſtubborne, ouglie, eager, burthenous of bodie (& therefore but of little ſwiftneſſe) terrible and fearfull to behold, and oftentimes more fierce and fell than anie Archadian or Corſican cur. Our Engliſhmen to the intent that theſe dogs may be more cruell and fierce, aſſiſt nature with ſome art, vſe and cuſtome. For although this kind of dog be capable of courage, violent, valiant, ſtout and bold: yet will they increaſe theſe their ſtomachs by teaching them to bait the beare, the bull, the lion, and other ſuch like cruell and bloudie beaſts, (either brought ouer or kept vp at home, for the ſame purpoſe) without anie collar to defend their throats, and oftentimes thereto they traine them vp in fighting and wreſtling with a man (hauing for the ſafegard of his life either a pike ſtaffe, club, ſword, priuie coate) wherby they become the more fierce and cruell vnto ſtrangers. The Caſpians made ſo much account ſometime of ſuch great dogs, that euerie able man would nouriſh ſundrie of them in his houſe of ſet purpoſe, to the end they ſhould deuoure their carcaſes after their deaths, thinking the dogs bellies to be the moſt honourable ſepulchers. The common people alſo followed the ſame rate, and therfore there were tie dogs kept vp by publike ordinance, to deuoure them after their deaths: by means whereof theſe beaſts became the more eger, and with great

Homelie kind of dogs.

Tie dogs.

difficultie

difficultie after a while reſtreined from falling vpon the liuing. But whither am I digreſſed? In returning therefore to our owne, I ſaie that of maſtiffes, ſome barke onelie with fierce and open mouth but will not bite, ſome doo both barke and bite, but the cruelleſt doo either not barke at all, or bite before they barke, and therefore are more to be feared than anie of the other. They take alſo their name of the word maſe and théefe (or maſter théefe if you will) bicauſe they often ſtound and put ſuch perſons to their ſhifts in townes and villages, and are the principall cauſes of their apprehenſion and taking. The force which is in them ſurmounteth all beléefe, and the faſt hold which they take with their téeth excéedeth all credit: for three of them againſt a beare, foure againſt a lion are ſufficient to trie maſteries with them. King Henrie the ſeauenth, as the report goeth, commanded all ſuch curres to be hanged, bicauſe they durſt preſume to fight againſt the lion, who is their king and ſouereigne. The like he did with an excellent falcon, as ſome ſaie, bicauſe he feared not hand to hand to match with an eagle, willing his falconers in his owne preſence to pluck off his head after he was taken downe, ſaieng that it was not méet for anie ſubiect to offer ſuch wrong vnto his lord and ſuperiour, wherein he had a further meaning. But if king Henrie the ſeauenth had liued in our time, what would he haue done to one Engliſh maſtiffe, which alone and without anie helpe at all pulled downe firſt an huge beare, then a pard, and laſt of all a lion, each after other before the French king in one daie, when the lord Buckhurſt was ambaſſador vnto him, and whereof if I ſhould write the circumſtances, that is, how he tooke his aduantage being let looſe vnto them, and finallie draue them into ſuch excéeding feare, that they were all glad to run awaie when he was taken from them, I ſhould take much paines, and yet reape but ſmall credit: wherefore it ſhall ſuffice to haue ſaid thus much thereof. Some of our maſtiffes will rage onelie in the night, ſome are to be tied vp both daie and night. Such alſo as are ſuffered to go looſe about the houſe and yard, are ſo gentle in the daie time, that children may ride on their backs, & plaie with them at their pleaſures. Diuerſe of them likewiſe are of ſuch gelouſie ouer their maiſter and whoſoeuer of his houſhold, that if a ſtranger doo imbrace or touch anie of them, they will fall fiercelie vpon them, vnto their extreame miſchéefe if their furie be not preuented. Such an one was the dog of Nichomedes king ſometime of Bithinia, who ſéeing Conſtigne the quéene to imbrace and kiſſe hir huſband as they walked togither in a garden, did teare hir all to péeces, mauger his reſiſtance, and the preſent aid of ſuch as attended on them. Some of them moreouer will ſuffer a ſtranger to come in and walke about the houſe or yard where him liſteth, without giuing ouer to follow him: but if he put forth his hand to touch anie thing, then will they flie vpon him and kill him if they may. I had one my ſelfe once, which would not ſuffer anie man to bring in his weapon further than my gate: neither thoſe that were of my houſe to be touched in his preſence. Or if I had beaten anie of my children, he would gentlie haue aſſaied to catch the rod in his teeth and take it out of my hand, or elſe pluck downe their clothes to ſaue them from the ſtripes: which in my opinion is not vnworthie to be noted. And thus much of our maſtiffes, creatures of no leſſe faith and loue towards their maiſters than horſſes; as may appeare euen by the confidence that Maſiniſſa repoſed in them, in ſo much that miſtruſting his houſhold ſeruants he made him a gard of dogs, which manie a time deliuered him from their treaſons and conſpiracies, euen by their barking and biting, nor

Some barke and bite not.

Some bite and barke not.

of leſſe force than the Moloſſian race, brought from Epiro into ſome countries, which the poets feigne to haue originall from the braſen dog that Vulcan made, and gaue to Iupiter, who alſo deliuered the ſame to Europa, ſhe to Procris, and Procris to Cephalus, as Iulius Pollux noteth, lib. 5. cap. 5: neither vnequall in carefulneſſe to the maſtiffe of Alexander Phereus, who by his onelie courage and attendance kept his maiſter long time from ſlaughter, till at the laſt he was remoued by policie, and the tyrant killed ſléeping: the ſtorie goeth thus. Thebe the wife of the ſaid Phereus and hir three brethren conſpired the death of hir huſband, who fearing the dog onelie, ſhe found the means to allure him from his chamber doore by faire means, vnto another houſe hard by, whileſt they ſhould execute their purpoſe. Neuertheleſſe, when they came to the bed where he laie ſléeping, they waxed faint harted, till ſhe did put them in choiſe, either that they ſhould diſpatch him at once, or elſe that ſhe hir ſelfe would wake hir huſband, and giue him warning of his enimies, or at the leaſt wiſe bring in the dog vpon them, which they feared moſt of all: and therefore quicklie diſpatched him.

The laſt ſort of dogs conſiſteth of the curriſh kind méet for manie toies: of which the whappet or prickeard curre is one. Some men call them warners, bicauſe they are good for nothing elſe but to barke and giue warning when anie bodie doth ſtirre or lie in wait about the houſe in the night ſeaſon. Certes it is vnpoſſible to deſcribe theſe curs in anie order, bicauſe they haue no anie one kind proper vnto themſelues, but are a confuſed companie mixt of all the reſt. The ſecond ſort of them are called turne ſpits, whoſe office is not vnknowne to anie. And as theſe are onelie reſerued for this purpoſe, ſo in manie places our maſtiffes (beſide the vſe which tinkers haue of them in carieng their heaute budgets) are made to draw water in great wheéles out of déepe wels, going much like vnto thoſe which are framed for our turne ſpits, as is to be ſéene at Roiſton, where this feat is often practiſed. Beſides theſe alſo we haue ſholts or curs dailie brought out of Iſeland, and much made of among vs, bicauſe of their ſawcineſſe and quarrelling. Moreouer they bite verie ſore, and loue candles excédinglie, as doo the men and women of their countrie: but I may ſaie no more of them, bicauſe they are not bred with vs. Yet this will I make report of by the waie, for paſtimes ſake, that when a great man of thoſe parts came of late into one of our ſhips which went thither for fiſh, to ſée the forme and faſhion of the ſame, his wife apparrelled in fine ſables, abiding on the decke whileſt hir huſband was vnder the hatches with the mariners, eſpied a pound or two of candles hanging at the maſt, and being loth to ſtand there idle alone, ſhe fell to and eat them vp euerie one, ſuppoſing hir ſelfe to haue béene at a follie banket, and ſhewing verie pleſant geſture when hir huſband came vp againe vnto hir.

The laſt kind of toieſh curs are named danſers, and thoſe being of a mongrell ſort alſo, are taught & exerciſed to danſe in meaſure at the muſicall ſound of an inſtrument, as at the ſuſt ſtroke of a drum, ſweet accent of the citharne, and pleaſant harmonie of the harpe, ſhewing manie trickes by the geſture of their bodies: as to ſtand bolt vpright, to lie flat vpon the ground, to turne round as a ring, holding their tailes in their teeth, to ſaw and beg for meat, to take a mans cap from his head, and ſundrie ſuch properties, which they learne of their idle rogiſh maſters whoſe inſtruments they are to gather gaine, as old apes clothed in motleie, and coloured ſhort waſted iackets are for the like vagabunds, who ſéeke no bet-

ter liuing, than that which they may get by fond paſtime and idleneſſe. I might here intreat of other dogs, as of thoſe which are bred betweene a bitch and a woolfe, and called *Lycaſca*: a thing verie often ſeene in France ſaith Franciſcus Patricius in his common wealth, as procured of ſet purpoſe, and learned as I thinke of the Indians, who tie their fault bitches often in woods, that they might be loined by tigers: alſo betweene a bitch and a fox, or a beare and a maſtiffe. But as we vtterlie want the firſt ſort, except they be brought vnto vs: ſo it happeneth ſometime, that the other two are ingendered and ſeene at home amongſt vs. But all the reſt heretofore remembred in this chapter, there is none more ouglie and odious in ſight, cruell and fierce in deed, nor vntractable in hand, than that which is begotten betweene the beare and the bandog. For whatſoeuer he catcheth hold of, he taketh it ſo faſt, that a man may ſooner teare and rend his bodie in ſunder, than get open his mouth to ſeparate his chaps. Certes he regardeth neither woolfe, beare, nor lion, and therfore may well be compared with thoſe two dogs which were ſent to Alexander out of India (procreated as it is thought betweene a maſtiffe and male tiger, as be thoſe alſo of Hircania) or to them that are bred in Archadia, where copulation is oft ſeene betweene lions and bitches, as the like is in France (as I ſaid) betweene shee woolfes and dogs, whereof let this ſuffice; ſith the further tractation of them doth not concerne my purpoſe, more than the confutation of Cardans talke, *De ſubt. lib.* 10. who ſaith, that after manie generations, dogs doo become woolfes, and contrariwiſe; which if it were true, than could not England be without manie woolfes: but nature hath ſet a difference betweene them, not onelie in outward forme, but alſo in inward diſpoſition of their bones, wherefore it is impoſſible that his aſſertion can be ſound.

Of our ſaffron, and the dreſſing thereof.

Chap. 8.

AS the ſaffron of England, which Platina reckneth among ſpices, is the moſt excellent of all other: for it giueth place neither to that of Cilicia, whereof Solinus ſpeaketh, neither to anie that commeth from Cilicia, where it groweth vpon the mount Taurus, Tmolus, Italie, Ætolia, Sicilia, or Licia, in ſweetneſſe, tincture, and continuance; ſo of that which is to be had amongſt vs, the ſame that grows about Saffron Walden, ſomtime called Waldenburg, in the edge of Eſſex, firſt of all planted there in the time of Edward the third, and that of Glocester ſhire and thoſe weſterlie parts, which ſome thinke to be better than that of Walden, ſurmounteth all the reſt, and therefore beareth worthilie the higher price, by ſix pence or twelue pence moſt commonlie in the pound. The root of the herbe that beareth this commoditie is round, much like vnto an indifferent cheſnut, & yet it is not cloued as the lilie, nor flaked as the ſcallion, but hath a ſad ſubſtance *Inter bulboſa*, as *Orchis*, *hyacinthus orientalis*, and *Statyrion*. The colour of the rind is not much differing from the innermoſt ſhell of a cheſnut, although it be not altogither ſo brickle as is the pill of an onion. So long as the leafe flouriſheth the root is litle & ſmall; but when the graſſe is withered, the head increaſeth and multiplieth, the fillets alſo or ſmall roots die, ſo that when the time doth come to take them vp, they haue no roots at all, but ſo continue vntill September that they doo grow againe: and before the chiue be grounded the ſmalleſt heads are alſo moſt eſteemed; but whether they be great or ſmall, if ſheepe or neat may come to them on the heape, as they lie in the field, they will deuoure them as if they were haie or ſtuble, ſome alſo will watch for them in verie eger maner. The leafe or rather the blade thereof is long and narrow as graſſe, which come vp alwaies in October after the floures be gathered and gone, pointed on a little tuft much like vnto our liues. Sometimes our cattell will feed vpon the ſame; neuertheleſſe, if it be bitten whileſt it is greene, the head dieth, and therefore our crokers are carefull to keepe it from ſuch annoiance vntill it begin to wither, and then alſo will the cattell ſoneſt taſt thereof: for vntill that time the iuice thereof is bitter. In euerie floure we find commonlie three chiues, and three pellowes, and double the number of leaues. Of twiſted floures I ſpeake not; yet is it found, that two floures grow togither, which bring forth fiue chiues, ſo that alwaies there is an od chiue and od pellow, though three or foure floures ſhould come out of one root. The whole herbe is named in Greeke Crocos, but of ſome (as Dioſcorides ſaith) Caſtor, Cynomorphos, or Hercules blood: yet in the Arabian ſpeech, (from whence we borow the name which we giue thervnto) I find that it is called Zahafaran, as Rembert doth beare witneſſe. The cauſe wherefore it was called Crocus was this (as the poets feigne) ſpecialie thoſe from whome Galen hath borowed the hiſtorie, which he noteth in his ninth booke *De medicamentis ſecundum loca*, where he writeth after this maner (although I take Crocus to be the firſt that vſed this commoditie.) A certeine yong gentleman called Crocus went to plaie at coits in the field with Mercurie, and being heedleſſe of himſelfe, Mercuries coit happened by miſhap to hit him on the head, whereby he receiued a wound that yer long killed him altogither, to the great diſcomfort of his friends. Finallie, in the place where he bled, ſaffron was after found to grow, whereupon the people ſeeing the colour of the chiue as it ſtood (although I doubt not but it grew there long before) adiudged it to come of the blood of Crocus, and therefore they gaue it his name. And thus farre Rembert, who with Galen, &c: differ very much from Ouids Metamorphoſ. 4. who writeth alſo thereof. Indeed the chiue, while it remaineth whole & vnbruſed, reſembleth a darke red, but being broken and conuerted into vſe, it yeeldeth a yellow tincture. But what haue we to doo with fables?

Occaſion of the name.

Raiſing.

The heads of ſaffron are raiſed in Julie, either with plough, raiſing, or tined hooke; and being ſcowred from their roſſe or filth, and ſeuered from ſuch heads as are ingendred of them ſince the laſt ſetting, they are interred againe in Julie and Auguſt by ranks or rowes, and being couered with moulds, they reſt in the earth, where they caſt forth litle fillets and ſmall roots like vnto a ſcallion, vntill September, in the beginning of which moneth the ground is pared, and all weeds and graſſe that groweth vpon the ſame remoued, to the intent that nothing may annoie the floure when as his time doth come to riſe.

Paring

Gathering

These things being thus ordered in the latter end of the aforeſaid moneth of September, the floure beginneth to appeere of a whitiſh blew, reſſe or ſkie colour, and in the end ſhewing it ſelfe in the owne kind, it reſembleth almoſt the Leucotion of Theophraſt, ſauing that it is longer, and hath in the middeſt thereof three chiues verie red and pleaſant to behold. These floures are gathered in the morning before the riſing of the ſunne, which otherwiſe would cauſe them to welke or flitter. And the chiues being picked from the floures, theſe are throwne into the

dwongbill; the other dried vpon little kells couered with ſtreined canuaſſes vpon a ſoft fire: wherby, and by the weight that is laied vpon them, they are dried and preſſed into cakes, and then bagged vp for the benefit of their owners. In good yeeres we gather foure ſcore or an hundred pounds of wet ſaffron of an acre, which being dried doth yeeld twentie pounds of drie and more. Whereby, and ſith the price of ſaffron is commonlie about twentie ſhillings in monie, or not ſo little, it is eaſie to ſee what benefit is reaped by an acre of this commoditie, towards the charges of the ſetter, which indeed are great, but yet not ſo great as he ſhall be thereby a loſer, if he be anie thing diligent. For admit that the triple tillage of an acre doth coſt 13 ſhillings foure pence before the ſaffron be ſet, the clodding ſixteene pence, the taking of euerie load of ſtones from the ſame foure pence, the raiſing of euerie quarter of heads ſix pence, and ſo much for cleanſing of them, beſides the rent of ten ſhillings for euerie acre, thirtie load of dung which is worth ſix pence the load to be laid on the firſt yeere, for the ſetting three and twentie ſhillings and foure pence, for the paring fiue ſhillings, ſix pence for the picking of a pound wet, &c: yea though he hire it readie ſet, and paie ten pounds for the ſame, yet ſhall he ſuſteine no damage, if warme weather and open ſeaſon do happen at the gathering. This alſo is to be noted, that euerie acre aſketh twentie quarters of heads, placed in ranks two inches one from an other in long beds, which conteine eight or ten foot in breadth. And after three yeeres that ground will ſerue well, and without compoſt for barleie by the ſpace of eightéene or twentie yeeres togither, as experience doth confirme. The heads alſo of euerie acre at the raiſing will ſtore an acre and an halfe of new ground, which is a great aduantage, and it will floure eight or ten daies togither. But the beſt ſaffron is gathered at the firſt; at which time foure pounds of wet ſaffron will go verie neere to make one of drie; but in the middeſt fiue pounds of the one will make but one of the other, becauſe the chiue wareth ſmaller, as ſix at the laſt will do no more but yéeld one of the dried, by reaſon of the chiue which is now verie leane and hungrie. After twentie yeeres alſo the ſame ground may be ſet with ſaffron againe. And in lieu of a concluſion, take this for a perpetuall rule, that heads comming out of a good ground will proſper beſt in a lighter ſoile; and contrariwiſe: which is one note that our crokers do carefullie obſerue.

Raiſing. The heads are raiſed euerie third yeare about vs, to wit, after Midſummer, when the roſſe commeth drie from the heads; and commonlie in the firſt yeere after they be ſet they yéeld verie little increaſe: yet that which then commeth is counted the fineſt and greateſt chiue, & beſt for medicine, and called ſaffron Du hort. The next crop is much greater; but the third exceedeth, and then they raiſe againe about Walden and in Cambridge ſhire. In this period of time alſo the heads are ſaid to child, that is, to yéeld out of ſome parts of them diuerſe other headlets, whereby it hath béene ſéene, that ſome one head hath béene increaſed (though with his owne detriment) to three, or foure, or fiue, or ſix, which augmentation is the onlie cauſe wherby they are ſold ſo good cheape. For to my remembrance I haue not knowne foure buſhels or a coome of them to be valued much aboue two ſhillings eight pence, except in ſome od yéeres that they ariſe to eight or ten ſhillings the quarter, and that is when ouer great ſtore of winters water hath rotted the moſt of them as they ſtood within the ground, or heat in ſummer parched and burnt them vp.

In Northfolke and Suffolke they raiſe but once in ſeuen yeeres: but as their ſaffron is not ſo fine as that of Cambridgeſhire and about Walden, ſo it will not cake, ting, nor hold colour withall, wherein lieth a great part of the value of this ſtuffe. Some craftie iackes vſe to mix it with ſcraped brazell or with the floure of Sonchus, which commeth ſomewhat neere indeed to the hue of our good ſaffron (if it be late gathered) but it is ſone bewraied both by the depth of the colour and hardneſſe. Such alſo was the plentie of ſaffron about twentie yeeres paſſed, that ſome of the townesmen of Walden gaue the one halfe of the floures for picking of the other, and ſent them ten or twelue miles abroad into the countrie, whileſt the reſt, not thankfull for the abundance of Gods bleſſing beſtowed vpon them (as wiſhing rather more ſcarſitie thereof becauſe of the keeping vp of the price) in moſt contemptuous maner murmured againſt him, ſaieng that he did ſhite ſaffron therewith to choake the market. But as they ſhewed themſelues no leſſe than ingrat infidels in this behalfe, ſo the Lord conſidered their vnthankfulneſſe, & gaue them euer ſince ſuch ſcarſitie, as the greateſt murmurers haue now the leaſt ſtore; and moſt of them are either worne out of occupieng, or remaine ſcarſe able to mainteine their grounds without the helpe of other men. Certes it hath generallie decaied about Saffron Walden ſince the ſaid time, vntill now of late within theſe two yeares, that men began againe to plant and renew the ſame, becauſe of the great commoditie. But to proceed. When the heads be raiſed and taken vp, they will remaine ſixteene or twentie daies out of the earth or more: yea peraduenture a full moneth. Howbeit they are commonlie in the earth againe by ſaint Iames tide, or verie ſhortlie after. For as if they be taken vp before Midſummer, or beginning of Julie, the heads will ſhrinke like a roſted warden: ſo after Auguſt they will wax drie, become vnfruitfull, and decaie. And I know it by experience, in that I haue carried ſome of them to London with me; and notwithſtanding that they haue remained there vnſet by the ſpace of fortie dais and more: yet ſome of them haue brought forth two or three floures a peece, and ſome floures three or fiue chiues, to the greeat admiration of ſuch as haue gathered the ſame, and not béene acquainted with their nature and countrie where they grew. The crokers or ſaffron men do vſe an obſeruation a litle before the comming vp of the floure, and ſometime in the taking vp at Midſummer tide, by opening of the heads to iudge of plentie and ſcarſitie of this commoditie to come. For if they ſée as it were many ſmall hairie veines of ſaffron to be in the middeſt of the bulbe, they pronounce a fruitfull yeare. And to ſaie truth, at the cleaning of ech head, a man ſhall diſcerne the ſaffron by the colour, and ſée where about the chiue will iſſue out of the root. Warme darke nights, ſweet dews, fat grounds (cheeflie the chalkie) and miſtie mornings are verie good for ſaffron; but froſt and cold do kill and keepe backe the floure, or elſe ſhrinke vp the chiue. And thus much haue I thought good to ſpeake of Engliſh ſaffron, which is hot in the ſecond and drie in the firſt degree, and moſt plentifull as our crokers hold, in that yeere wherein ewes twin moſt. But as I can make no warrantize hereof, ſo I am otherwiſe ſure, that there is no more deceit vſed in anie trade than in ſaffron. For in the making they will greaſe the papers on the kell with a little candle greaſe, to make the worſt ſaffron haue ſo good a colour as the beſt: afterwards alſo they will ſprinkle butter thereon to make the weight better. But both theſe are bewraied, either by a quantitie thereof holden ouer the fire in a ſiluer ſpoone, or by the ſoftneſſe thereof betweene the fore finger and the thumbe; or thirdlie, by

the colour thereof in age: for if you laie it by farre worſe ſaffron of other countries, the colour will bewraie the forgerie by the ſwartneſſe of the chiue, which otherwiſe would excell it, and therevnto being ſound, remaine criſpe, brickle, and drie: and finallie, if it be holden nére the face, will ſtrike a certeine biting heat vpon the ſkin and eies, whereby it is adiudged good and merchant ware indéed among the ſkilfull crokers.

Now if it pleaſe you to heare of anie of the vertues thereof, I will note theſe inſuing at the requeſt of one, who required me to touch a few of them with whatſoeuer breuitie I liſted. Therefore our ſaffron (beſide the manifold vſe that it hath in the kitchin and paſtrie, alſo in our cakes at bridals, and thankſgiuings of women) is verie profitably mingled with thoſe medicins which we take for the diſeaſes of the breaſt, of the lungs, of the liuer, and of the bladder: it is good alſo for the ſtomach if you take it in meat, for it comforteth the ſame and maketh good digeſtion: being ſodden alſo in wine, it not onelie kéepeth a man from drunkenneſſe, but incorageth alſo vnto procreation of iſſue. If you drinke it in ſweet wine, it inlargeth the breath, and is good for thoſe that are troubled with the tiſike and ſhortneſſe of the wind: mingled with the milke of a woman, and laied vpon the eies, it ſtaieth ſuch humors as deſcend into the ſame, and taketh awaie the red wheales and pearles that oft grow about them: it killeth moths if it be ſowed in paper bags verie thin, and laid vp in preſſes amongſt tapiſtrie or apparell: alſo it is verie profitablie laid vnto all inflammations, painefull apoſthumes, and the ſhingles; and doth no ſmall eaſe vnto deafnes, if it be mingled with ſuch medicins as are beneficiall vnto the eares: it is of great vſe alſo in ripening of botches and all ſwellings proceéding of raw humors. Or if it ſhall pleaſe you to drinke the rot thereof with maluoſie, it will maruellouſlie prouoke vrine, diſſolue and expell grauell, and yéeld no ſmall eaſe to them that make their water by dropmeales. Finallie, three drams thereof taken at once, which is about the weight of one ſhilling nine pence halfepenie, is deadlie poiſon; as Dioſcorides doth affirme: and drunke in wine (ſaith Platina) lib. 3. cap. 13. *De honeſta voluptate*, doth haſt on drunkenneſſe, which is verie true. And I haue knowne ſome, that by eating onelie of bread more than of cuſtome ſtreined with ſaffron, haue become like drunken men, & yet otherwiſe well known to be but competent drinkers. For further confirmation of this alſo, if a man do but open and ranſake a bag of one hundred or two hundred weight, as merchants do when they buie it of the crokers, it will ſtrike ſuch an aire into their heads which deale withall, that for a time they ſhall be giddie and ſicke (I meane for two or three houres ſpace) their noſes and eies in like ſort will yéeld ſuch plentie of rheumatike water, that they ſhall be the better for it long after, eſpeciallie their eieſight, which is wonderfullie clarified by this meanes: howbeit ſome merchants not liking of this phyſike, muffle themſelues as women do when they ride, and put on ſpectacles ſet in leather, which doth in ſome meaſure (but not for altogither) put by the force thereof. There groweth ſome ſaffron in manie places of Almaine, and alſo about Vienna in Auſtria, which later is taken for the beſt that ſpringeth in thoſe quarters. In ſtéed of this ſome do vſe the Carthamus, called amongſt vs baſtard ſaffron, but neither is this of anie value, nor the other in any wiſe comparable vnto ours. Whereof let this ſuffice as of a commoditie brought into this Iland in the time of Edward 3. and not commonlie planted till Richard 2. did reigne. It would grow verie well (as I take it) about the Chiltern hils, & in all the vale of the White horſſe ſo well as in Walden and Cambridgeſhire, if they were carefull of it. I heare of ſome alſo to be cheriſhed alreadie in Glocеſterſhire, and certeine other places weſtward. But of the fineneſſe and tincture of the chiue, I heare not as yet of anie triall. Would to God that my countriemen had béene heretofore (or were now) more carefull of this commoditie! then would it no doubt haue prooued more beneficiall to our Iland than our cloth or woll. But alas! ſo idle are we, and heretofore ſo much giuen to eaſe, by reaſon of the ſmalneſſe of our rents, that few men regard to ſearch out which are their beſt commodities. But if landlords hold on to raiſe the rents of their farms as they begin, they will inforce their tenants to loke better vnto their gains, and ſcratch out their rent from vnder euerie clod that may be turned aſide. The greateſt mart for ſaffron is at Aquila in Abruzo, where they haue an eſpeciall weight for the ſame of ten pounds leſſe in the hundred than that of Florens and Luke: but how it agréeth with ours it ſhall appéere hereafter.

Of quarries of ſtone for building.

Chap. 9.

QVarries with vs are pits or mines, out of which we dig our ſtone to build withall, & of theſe as we haue great plentie in England, ſo are they of diuerſe ſorts, and thoſe verie profitable for ſundrie neceſſarie vſes. In times paſt the vſe of ſtone was in maner dedicated to the building of churches, religious houſes, princely palaces, biſhops manours, and holds onlie: but now that ſcrupulous obſeruation is altogither infringed, and building with ſtone ſo commonlie taken vp, that amongſt noble men & gentlemen, the timber frames are ſuppoſed to be not much better than paper worke, of little continuance, and leaſt continuance of all. It farre paſſeth my cunning to ſet downe how manie ſorts of ſtone for building are to be found in England, but much further to call each of them by their proper names. Howbeit, ſuch is the curioſitie of our countrimen, that notwithſtanding almightie God hath ſo bleſſed our realme in moſt plentifull maner, with ſuch and ſo manie quarries apt and meet for piles of longeſt continuance, yet we as lothſome of this abundance, or not liking of the plentie, do commonlie leaue theſe naturall gifts to mould and cinder in the ground, and take vp an artificiall bricke, in burning whereof a great part of the wood of this land is dailie conſumed and ſpent, to the no ſmall decaie of that commoditie, and hinderance of the poore that periſh oft for cold.

Our elders haue from time to time, following our naturall vice in miſliking of our owne commodities at home, and deſiring thoſe of other countries abroad, moſt eſtéemed the cane ſtone that is brought hither out of Normandie: and manie euen in theſe our daies following the ſame veine, do couet in their works almoſt to vſe none other. Howbeit experience on the one ſide, and our ſkilfull maſons on the other (whoſe iudgement is nothing inferiour to thoſe of other countries) do affirme, that in the north and ſouth parts of England, and certeine other places, there are ſome quarries, which for hardneſſe and beautie are equall to the outlandiſh greet. This maie alſo be confirmed by the kings chappell at Cambridge, the greateſt part of the ſquare ſtone wherof was brought thither out of the north. Some commend the veine of white frée ſtone, ſlate, and méere ſtone, which is betweene

twéne Pentolwen, and the blacke head in Cornewall, for verie fine ſtuffe. Other doo ſpeake much of the quarries at Hamden, nine miles from Wilberie, and pauing ſtone of Barbacke. For toph ſtone, not a few allow of the quarrie that is at Dzelleie, diuerſe miſlike not of the veines of hard ſtone that are at Oxford, and Burford. One praiſeth the free ſtone at Hanchelter, & Pzeſtburie in Glocеſterſhire; another the quarries of the like in Richmont. The third liketh well of the hard ſtone in Clee hill in Shzopſhire; the fourth of that of Thzowbzidge, Welden, and Terrinton. Whereby it appeareth that we haue quarries inow, and good inough in England, ſufficient for vs to build withall, if the péeuiſh contempt of our owne commodities, and delectations to inrich other countries, did not catch ſuch foliſh hold vpon vs. It is alſo verified (as anie other waie) that all nations haue rather néed of England, than England of anie other. And this I thinke may ſuffice for the ſubſtance of our woorks. Now if you haue regard to their ornature, how manie mines of ſundzie kinds of courſe & fine marble are there to be had in England? But chiefflie one in Staffordſhire, an other nære to the Peke, the third at Vauldzie, the fourth at Snothill (longing to the lord Chaindois) the fift at Egleſtone, which is of blacke marble, ſpotted with graie or white ſpots, the firſt not farre from Durham. Of white marble alſo we haue ſtore, and ſo faire as the Parpelian of Paris Ile. But what meane I to go about to recite all, or the moſt excellent? ſith theſe which I haue named alredie are not altogither of the beſt, nor ſcarſelie of anie value in compariſon of thoſe, whoſe places of growth are vtterlie vnknowne vnto me, and whereof the blacke marble ſpotted with græne is none of the vileſt ſort, as maie appeare by parcell of the pauement of the lower part of the quire of Paules in London, and alſo in Weſtminſter, where ſome péeces thereof are yet to be ſéene and marked, if anie will looke for them. If marble will not ſerue, then haue we the fineſt alabaſter that maie elſewhere bée had, as about ſaint Wanlds of Wales; alſo nære to Beau manour, which is about foure or fiue miles from Leiceſter, & taken to be the beſt, although there are diuerſe other quarries hereof beyond the Trent, as in Yorkeſhire, &c: and ſullie ſo good as that, whoſe names at this time are out of my remembzance. What ſhould I talke of the plaiſter of Arholme (for of that which they dig out of the earth in ſundzie places of Lincolne and Darbiſhires, wherewith they blanch their houſes in ſtead of lime, I ſpeake not) certes it is a fine kind of alabaſter. But ſith it is ſold commonlie but after twelue pence the load, we iudge it to be but vile and courſe. For my part I cannot skill of ſtone, yet in my opinion it is not without great vſe for plaiſter of paris, and ſuch is the mine of it, that the ſtones thereof lie in flakes one vpon an other like plankes or tables, and vnder the ſame is an exceeding hard ſtone verie profitable for building, as hath often times béene proued. This is alſo to be marked further of our plaiſter white and graie, that not contented with the ſame, as God by the quarrie doth ſend and yéeld it forth, we haue now deuiſed to caſt it in moulds for windowes and pillers of what forme and faſhion we liſt, euen as alabaſter it ſelfe: and with ſuch ſtuffe ſundzie houſes in Yorkſhire are furniſhed of late. But of what continuance this deuiſe is like to prooue, the time to come ſhall eaſilie bewzaie. In the meane time ſir Rafe Bucher knight hath put the deuiſe in practiſe, and affirmeth that ſix men in ſix moneths ſhall trauell in that trade to sée greater profit to the owner, than twelue men in ſix yeares could before this tricke was inuented.

If neither alabaſter nor marble doth ſuffice, we haue the touchſtone, called in Latine *Lydius lapis*, ſhining as glaſſe, either to match in ſockets with our pillers of alabaſter, or contrariwiſe: or if it pleaſe the woorkeman to ioine pillers of alabaſter or touch with ſockets of bzaſſe, pewter, or copper, we want not alſo theſe mettals. So that I think no nation can haue more excellent & greater diuerſitie of ſtuffe for building, than we maie haue in England, if our ſelues could ſo like of it. But ſuch alas is our nature, that not our own but other mens do moſt of all delite vs; & for deſire of noueltie, we oft exchange our fineſt cloth, corne, tin, and woolles, for halfe penie cockhorſes for children, dogs of war or of chéeſe, two pennie tabers, leaden ſwords, painted feathers, gewgaws for fooles, dogtricks for diſards, hawkeſwhoods, and ſuch like trumperie, whereby we reape iuſt mockage and repzoch in other countries. I might remember here our pits for milſtones, that are to be had in diuerſe places of our countrie, as in Angleſeie, Kent, alſo at Queene hope of bleu gréet, of no leſſe value than the Colaine, yea than the French ſtones: our grindſtones for hardware men. Our whetſtones are no leſſe laudable than thoſe of Creta & Lacedemonia, albeit we vſe no oile with them, as they did in thoſe parties, but onelie water, as the Italians and Parians doo with theirs: whereas they that grow in Cilicia muſt haue both oile and water laid vpon them, or elſe they make no edge. Theſe alſo are diuided either into the hard greet, as the common that ſhomakers vſe, or the ſoft gréet called hones, to be had among the barbars, and thoſe either blacke or white, and the rub or bzickle ſtone which husbandmen doo occupie in the whetting of their ſithes.

In like maner ſlate of ſundzie colours is euerie where in maner to be had, as is the flint and chalke, the ſhalder and the peble. Howbeit for all this wée muſt fetch them ſtill from farre, as did the Hull men their ſtones out of Iſeland, wherewith they paued their towne for want of the like in England: or as ſir Thomas Gresham did, when he bought the ſtones in Flanders, wherwith he paued the Burſe. But as he will anſwer peraduenture, that he bargained for the whole mould and ſubſtance of his woorkemanſhip in Flanders: ſo the Hullanders or Hull men will ſaie, how that ſtockefiſh is light loding, and therfore they did balaſte their veſſels with theſe Iſeland ſtones, to kéepe them from turning ouer in their ſo tedious a voiage. And thus much bzieflie of our quarries of ſtone for building, wherein oftentimes the woorkemen haue found ſtrange things incloſed, I meane liuelie creatures ſhut vp in the hard ſtones, and liuing there without reſpiration or bzeathing, as frogs, todes, &c: whereof you ſhall read more in the chronologie following: alſo in Caius Langius, William of Newburie, Agricola, Cornelius of Amſterdam, Bellogius de aquatilibus, Albert the great, lib. 19. cap. 9. *De rebus metallicis*, and Goropius in Niloſcopio, pag. 237, &c. Sometime alſo they find pzetious ſtones (though ſeldome) and ſome of them perfectlie ſquared by nature, and much like vnto the diamond, found of late in a quarrie of marble at Naples, which was ſo perfectlie pointed, as if all the woorkemen in the world had cõſulted about the perfozmance of that woorkemanſhip. I know that theſe repozts vnto ſome will ſéeme incredible, and therefore I ſtand the longer vpon them; neuertheleſſe omitting to ſpeake particularlie of ſuch things as happen amongſt vs, and rather ſéeking to confirme the ſame by the like in other countries, I will deliuer a few more examples, whereby the truth hereof ſhall ſo much the better appeare. For in the middeſt of a ſtone not long ſince found at Chius, vpon the breaking vp thereof, there was ſéene *Caput paniſci* incloſed therin, verie perfectlie formed as the beholders doo remember. How come the grains of gold to be ſo faſt incloſed in the ſtones

that are ꝛ haue bæne found in the Spanish Batis: But this is most marueilous, that a most delectable and swæt oile, comparable to the finest balme, or oile of spike in smell, was found naturallie included in a stone, which could not otherwise be broken but with a smiths hammer. Goropius doth tell of a pearch perfectlie formed to be found in Britaine: but as then committed into hard stone, vpon the top of a crag. Aristotle and Theophrast speake of fishes digged out of the earth, farre from the sea in Græce, which Seneca also confirmeth, but with addition that they are perillous to be eaten. In pope Martins time, a serpent was found fast inclosed in a rocke, as the kernell is within the nut, so that no aire could come to it: and in my time another in a coffin of stone at Auignion, wherein a man had bæne buried, which so filled the rome, and late so close from aire, that all men wondered how it was possible for the same to liue and continue so long time there. Finallie I my selfe haue sæne stones opened, and within them the substances of corrupted wormes like vnto adders (but far shorter) whose crests and wrinkles of bodie appeared also therein, as if they had bene ingraued in the stones by art and industrie of man. Wherefore to affirme; that as well liuing creatures, as pretious stones, gold, ꝛc: are now and then found in our quarries, shall not hereafter be a thing so incredible as manie talking philosophers, void of all experience, do affirme, and wilfullie mainteine against such as hold the contrarie.

Of sundrie minerals.

Chap. 10.

With how great benefits this Iland of ours hath bæne indued from the beginning, I hope there is no godlie man but will readilie confesse, and yeeld vnto the Lord God his due honour for the same. For we are blessed euerie waie, ꝛ there is no temporall commoditie necessarie to be had or craued by anie nation at Gods hand, that he hath not in most aboundant maner bestowed vpon vs Englishmen, if we could see to vse it, ꝛ be thankefull for the same. But alas (as I said in the chapter precedent) we loue to inrich them that care not for vs, but for our great commodities: and one trifling toie not worth the cariage, cõming (as the prouerbe saith) in thræ ships from beyond the sea is more worth with vs, than a right good iewell, easie to be had at home. They haue also the cast to teach vs to neglect our owne things, for if they sæ that we begin to make anie account of our commodities (if it be so that they haue also the like in their owne countries) they will suddenlie abase the same to so low a price, that our gaine not being worthie our trauell, and the same commoditie with lesse cost readie to be had at home from other countries (though but for a while) it causeth vs to giue ouer our indeuours, and as it were by and by to forget the matter wherabout we went before, to obteine them at their hands. And this is the onelie cause wherefore our commodities are oft so little estæmed of. Some of them can saie without anie teacher, that they will buie the case of a fox of an Englishman for a groat, and make him afterward giue twelue pence for the taile. Would to God we might once war wiser, and each one indeuor that the common-wealth of England may flourish againe in hir old rate, and that our commodities may be fullie wrought at home (as cloth if you will for an example) and not caried out to be shorne and dressed abroad, while our clothworkers here do starue and beg their bread, and for lacke of dailie practise vtterlie neglect to be skilfull in this science! But to my purpose.

We haue in England great plentie of quicke siluer, antimonie, sulphur, blacke lead, and orpiment red and yellow. We haue also the finest alume (wherein the diligence of one of the greatest fauourers of the common-wealth of England of a subiect hath bæne of late egregiouslie abused, and euen almost with barbarous inciuilitie) ꝛ of no lesse force against fire, if it were vsed in our parietings than that of Lipara, which onlie was in vse somtime amongst the Asians ꝛ Romans, ꝛ wherof Sylla had such triall that when he meant to haue burned a tower of wood erected by Archelaus the lieutenant of Mithridates, he could by no meanes set it on fire in a long time, bicause it was washed ouer with alume, as were also the gates of the temple of Jerusalem with like effect, and perceiued when Titus commanded fire to be put vnto the same. Beside this we haue also the naturall cinnabarum or vermilion, the sulphurous glebe called bitumen in old time for morter, and yet burned in lamps where oile is scant and geason: the chrysocolla, coperis, and minerall stone, whereof petriolum is made, and that which is most strange the minerall pearle, which as they are for greatnesse and colour most excellent of all other, so are they digged out of the maine land, and in sundrie places far distant from the shore. Certes the westerne part of the land hath in times past greatlie abounded with these and manie other rare and excellent commodities, but now they are washed awaie by the violence of the sea, which hath deuoured the greatest part of Cornewall and Deuonshire on either side: and it doth appære yet by good record, that whereas now there is a great distance betweene the Sylan Iles and point of the lands end, there was of late yeares to speke of scarselie a broke or draine of one fadam water betweene them, if so much, as by those euidences appæreth, and are yet to be sæne in the hands of the lord and chiefe owner of those Iles. But to proceed.

The lord Admiral.

Of colemines we haue such plentie in the north and westerne parts of our Iland, as may suffice for all the realme of England: and so must they do hereafter in deed, if wood be not better cherrished than it is at this present. And to saie the truth, notwithstanding that verie manie of them are caried into other countries of the maine, yet their greatest trade beginneth now to grow from the forge into the kitchin and hall, as may appære alreadie in most cities and townes that lie about the coast, where they haue but little other fewell, except it be turfs and hassocke. I maruell not a little that there is no trade of these into Suffer and Southhampton shire, for want whereof the smiths do worke their iron with charcoale. I thinke that far carriage be the onelie cause, which is but a slender excuse to inforce vs to carrie them vnto the maine from hence.

Gold. Siluer.

Beside our colemines we haue pits in like sort of white plaster, and of fat and white and other coloured marle, wherewith in manie places the inhabitors do compest their soile, and which doth benefit their land in ample maner for manie yeares to come. We haue saltpeter for our ordinance, and salt soda for our glasse, ꝛ thereto in one place a kind of earth (in Southerts as I wæne hard by Codington, and somtime in the tenure of one Crorton of London) which is so fine to make moulds for goldsmiths and casters of mettall, that a load of it was worth fiue shillings thirtie yeares agone: none such againe they saie in England. But whether there be or not, let vs not be vnthankefull to God for these and other his benefits bestowed

beſtowed vpon vs, wherby he ſheweth himſelfe a louing and mercifull father vnto vs, which contrariewiſe returne vnto him in lieu of humilitie and obedience, nothing but wickednelſe, auarice, mære contempt of his will, pꝛide, exceſſe, atheiſme, and no leſſe than Iewiſh ingratitude.

Of mettals to be had in our *land.*

Chap. 11.

ALl mettals receiue their beginning of quickſiluer and ſulphur, which are as mother and father to them. And ſuch is the purpoſe of nature in their generations: that ſhe tendeth alwaies to the pꝛocreation of gold, neuertheleſſe ſhe ſildome reacheth vnto that hir end, bicauſe of the vnequall mixture and pꝛopoꝛtion of theſe two in the ſubſtance ingendered, whereby impediment and coꝛruption is induced, which as it is moꝛe oꝛ leſſe, doth ſhew it ſelfe in the mettall that is pꝛoduced. Firſt of all therefoꝛe the ſubſtance of ſulphur and quickſiluer being mixed in due pꝛopoꝛtion, after long and temperate decoction in the bowels of the earth, oꝛderlie ingroſſed and fixed, becommeth gold, which Encelius doth call the ſunne and right heire of nature: but if it ſwarue but a little (ſaith he) in the commixtion and other circumſtances, then doth it pꝛoduct ſiluer the daughter, not ſo noble a child as gold hir bꝛother, which among mettall is woꝛthilie called the cheeſe. Contrariwiſe, the ſubſtances of the afoꝛeſaid parents mixed without pꝛopoꝛtion, and leſſe digeſted and fixed in the entraiſes of the earth, whereby the radicall moiſture becommeth combuſtible and not of foꝛce to indure heat and hammer, doth either turne into tin, lead, copper, oꝛ iron, which were the firſt mettals knowne in time paſt vnto antiquitie, although that in theſe daies there are diuerſe other, whereof neither they noꝛ our alchumiſts had euer anie knowledge. Of theſe therfoꝛe which are reputed among the third ſoꝛt, we here in England haue our parts, and as I call them to mind, ſo will I intreat of them, and with ſuch bꝛeuitie as may ſerue the turne, and yet not altogither omit to ſaie ſomewhat of gold and ſiluer alſo, bicauſe I find by good experience how it was not ſaid of old time without great reaſon, that all countries haue nꝛed of Bꝛitaine, and Bꝛitaine it ſelfe of none. Foꝛ truelie if a man regard ſuch neceſſities as nature onelie requireth, there is no nation vnder the ſunne, that can ſaie ſo much as ours: ſith we doo want none that are conuenient foꝛ vs. Wherefoꝛe if it be a benefit to haue anie gold at all, we are not void of ſome, neither likewiſe of ſiluer: whatſoeuer Cicero affirmeth to the contrarie, *Lib. 4. ad Atticum epi. 16.* in whoſe time they were not found, *Britannici belli exitus* (ſaith he) *expectatur, conſtat enim aditus inſulæ eſſe munitos mirificis molibus: etiam illud iam cognitum eſt, neque argenti ſcrupulum eſſe vllum in illa inſula, neque vllam ſpem prædæ niſi ex mancipijs, ex quibus nullos puto te litteris aut muſicis eruditos expectare.* And albeit that we haue no ſuch abundance of theſe (as ſome other countries doo yéeld) yet haue my rich countrimen ſoꝛe inough of both in their purſſes, where in time paſt they were wont to haue leaſt, bicauſe the garniſhing of our churches, tabernacles, images, ſhꝛines and apparell of the pꝛieſts conſumed the greateſt part, as experience hath confirmed.

Gold. Siluer.

Of late my countriemen haue found out I wot not what voiage into the weſt Indies, from whence they haue bꝛought ſome gold, whereby our countrie is inriched: but of all that euer aduentured into thoſe parts, none haue ſped better than ſir Francis Dꝛake whoſe ſucceſſe 1582 hath far paſſed euen his owne expectation. One Iohn Frobiſher in like maner attempting to ſeeke out a ſhoꝛter cut by the noꝛtherlie regions into the peaceable ſea and kingdome of Cathaie, happened 1577 vpon certeine Ilands by the waie, wherein great plentie of much gold appeared, and ſo much that ſome letted not to giue out foꝛ certeintie, that Salomon had his gold from thence, wherewith he builded the temple. This golden ſhew made him ſo deſirous alſo of like ſucceſſe, that he left off his foꝛmer voiage, & returned home to bꝛing newes of ſuch things as he had ſeene. But when after another voiage it was found to be but dꝛoſſe, he gaue ouer both the enterpꝛiſes, and now kæpeth home without anie deſire at all to ſeeke into farre countries. In truth, ſuch was the plentie of oꝛe there ſeene and to be had, that if it had holden perfect, might haue furniſhed all the woꝛld with abundance of that mettall; the ioꝛneie alſo was ſhoꝛt and perfoꝛmed in foure oꝛ fiue moneths, which was a notable incouragement. But to pꝛoceed.

Tin and lead, mettals which Strabo noteth in his time to be carried vnto Marſilis from hence, as Diodorus alſo confirmeth, are verie plentifull with vs, the one in Coꝛnewall, Deuonſhire (& elſe-where in in the noꝛth) the other in Darbiſhire, Weredale, and ſundꝛie places of this Iland; whereby my countriemen doo reape no ſmall commoditie, but eſpeciallie our pewterers, who in time paſt imploied the vſe of pewter onelie vpon diſhes, pots, and a few other trifles foꝛ ſeruice here at home, whereas now they are growne vnto ſuch exquiſit cunning, that they can in maner imitate by infuſion anie foꝛme oꝛ faſhion of cup, diſh, ſalt, bowle, oꝛ goblet, which is made by goldſmiths craft, though they be neuer ſo curious, exquiſite, and artificiallie foꝛged. Such furniture of houſhold of this mettall, as we commonlie call by the name of veſſell, is ſold vſuallie by the garniſh, which doth conteine twelue platters, twelue diſhes, twelue ſaucers, and thoſe are either of ſiluer faſhion, oꝛ elſe with bꝛode oꝛ narrow bꝛims, and bought by the pound, which is now valued at ſix oꝛ ſeuen pence, oꝛ peraduenture at eight pence. Of poꝛringers, pots, and other like I ſpeake not, albeit that in the making of all theſe things there is ſuch exquiſite diligence vſed, I meane foꝛ the mixture of the mettall and true making of this commoditie (by reaſon of ſharpe laws pꝛouided in that behalfe) as the like is not to be found in any other trade. I haue béene alſo infoꝛmed that it conſiſteth of a compoſition, which hath thirtie pounds of kettle bꝛaſſe to a thouſand pounds of tin, whervnto they ad thꝛée oꝛ foure pounds of tinglaſſe: but as too much of this doth make the ſtuffe bꝛickle, ſo the moꝛe the bꝛaſſe be, the better is the pewter, and moꝛe pꝛofitable vnto him that doth buie and purchaſe the ſame. But to pꝛoceed.

Tin. Lead.

In ſome places beyond the ſea a garniſh of good flat Engliſh pewter of an oꝛdinarie making (I ſaie flat, bicauſe diſhes and platters in my time begin to be made dæpe like baſons, and are indeed moꝛe conuenient both foꝛ ſawce, bꝛoth, and kæping the meat warme) is eſtéemed almoſt ſo pꝛetious, as the like number of veſſels that are made of fine ſiluer, and in maner no leſſe deſired amongſt the great eſtates, whoſe woꝛkmen are nothing ſo ſkilfull in that trade as ours, neither their mettall ſo good, noꝛ plentie ſo great, as we haue here in England. The Romans made excellent looking glaſſes of our Engliſh tin, howbeit our woꝛkemen were not then ſo equiſite in that feat as the Bꝛunduſiens: wherefoꝛe the wꝛought mettall was carried ouer vnto them by waie of merchandize, and verie highlie were thoſe glaſſes eſtæmed

eſtéemed of till ſiluer came generallie in place, which in the end brought the tin into ſuch contempt, that in manner euerie diſhwaſher refuſed to looke in other than ſiluer glaſſes for the attiring of hir head. Howbeit the making of ſiluer glaſſes had béene in vſe before Britaine was knowne vnto the Romans, for I read that one Praxiteles deuiſed them in the yoong time of Pompeie, which was before the comming of Cæſar into this Iland.

There were mines of lead ſometimes alſo in Wales, which indured ſo long till the people had conſumed all their wood by melting of the ſame (as they did alſo at Comeriſt with ſix miles from Stradfleur) and I ſuppoſe that in Plinies time the abundance of lead (whereof he ſpeaketh) was to be found in thoſe parts, in the ſeauentéenth of his thirtie fourth booke: alſo he affirmeth that it laie in the verie ſwart of the earth, and dailie gotten in ſuch plentie, that the Romans made a reſtraint of the cariage thereof to Rome, limiting how much ſhould yearelie be wrought and tranſported ouer the ſea. And here by the waie it is worthie to be noted, of a crow which a miner of tin, dwelling néere Comeriſt with (as Leland ſaith) had made ſo tame, that it would dailie flie and follow him to his worke and other places where ſoeuer he happened to trauell. This labourer working on a time in the bottome or vallie, where the firſt mine was knowne to be, did laie his purſſe and girdle by him, as men commonlie do that addreſſe themſelues to aplie their buſineſſe earneſtlie, and he himſelfe alſo had vſed from time to time before. The crow likewiſe was verie buſie flittering about him, and ſo much moleſted him, that he waxed angrie with the bird, & in his furie threatened to wring off his necke, if he might once get him into his hands; to be ſhort, in the end the crow haſtilie caught vp his girdle and purſſe, and made awaie withall ſo faſt as hir wings could carrie hir. Hérevpon the poore man falling into great agonie (for he feared to loſe peraduenture all his monie) threw downe his mattocke at aduenture and ran after the bird, curſſing and menacing that he ſhould loſe his life if euer he got him againe: but as it fell out, the crow was the meanes whereby his life was ſaued, for he had not béene long out of the mine, yer it fell downe and killed all his fellowes. If I ſhould take vpon me to diſcourſe and ſearch out the cauſe of the thus dealing of this bird at large, I ſhould peraduenture ſet my ſelfe further into the briers than well find which waie to come out againe: yet am I perſuaded, that the crow was Gods inſtrument herein, wherby the life of this poore labourer was preſerued. It was done alſo in an other order than that which I read of another tame crow, kept vp by a ſhomaker of Dutch land in his ſhop or ſtoue: who ſéeing the ſame to ſit vpon the pearch among his ſhone, verie beautlie and drouſie, ſaid vnto the bird: What aileth my iacke, whie art thou ſad and penſiue? The crow hearing his maiſter ſpeake after this ſort vnto him, anſwered (or elſe the diuell within him) out of the pſalter: *Cogitaui dies antiquos & æternos in mente habui*. But whither am I digreſſed, from lead vnto crowes, & from crowes vnto diuels? Certes it is now high time to returne vnto our mettals, and reſume the tractation of ſuch things as I had earſt in hand.

Iron. Iron is found in manie places, as in Suſſex, Kent, Weredale, Mendip, Walſhall, as alſo in Shropſhire, but chéeflie in the woods betwixt Weluos and Willocke or Wicberie néere Mancheſter, and elſewhere in Wales. Of which mines diuerſe do bring forth ſo fine and good ſtuffe, as anie that commeth from beyond the ſea, beſide the infinit gaines to the owners, if we would ſo accept it, or beſtow a little more coſt in the refining of it. It is alſo of ſuch toughneſſe, that it yéeldeth to the making of clarichord wire in ſome places of the realme. Neuertheleſſe, it was better cheape with vs when ſtrangers onelie brought it hither: for it is our qualitie when we get anie commoditie, to vſe it with extremitie towards our owne nation, after we haue once found the meanes to ſhut out forreners from the bringing in of the like. It breedeth in like manner great expenſe and waſte of wood, as doth the making of our pots and table veſſell of glaſſe, wherein is much loſſe ſith it is ſo quicklie broken; and yet (as I thinke) eaſie to be made tougher, if our alchumiſts could once find the true birth or production of the red man, whoſe mixture would induce a metallicall toughneſſe vnto it, whereby it ſhould abide the hammer. Great. Laon. Chalchitis.

Copper. Copper is latelie not found, but rather reſtored againe to light. For I haue read of copper to haue béene heretofore gotten in our Iland; howbeit as ſtrangers haue moſt commonly the gouernance of our mines, ſo they hitherto make ſmall gains of this in hand in the north parts: for (as I am informed) the profit doth verie hardlie countervaile the charges; whereat wiſe men do not a litle marueil, conſidering the abundance which that mine doth ſéeme to offer, and as it were at hand. Leland our countrieman noteth ſundrie great likelihods of naturall copper mines to be eaſtwards, as betwéene Dudman and Trewardth in the ſea cliffes, beſide other places, whereof diuerſe are noted here and there in ſundrie places of this booke alreadie, and therefore it ſhall be but in vaine to repeat them here againe: as for that which is gotten out of the marchaſite, I ſpeake not of it, ſith it is not incident to my purpoſe. In Dorſetſhire alſo a copper mine latelie found is brought to good perfection.

Steele. As for our ſtéele, it is not ſo good for edge-toles as that of Colaine, and yet the one is often ſold for the other, and like tale vſed in both, that is to ſaie, thirtie gads to the ſheffe, and twelue ſheffes to the burden. Our alchumie is artificiall, and thereof our ſpoones and ſome ſalts are commonlie made, and preferred before our pewter with ſome, albeit in truth it be much ſubiect to corruption, putrifaction, more beaute and foule to handle than our pewter; yet ſome ignorant perſons affirme it to be a mettall more naturall, and the verie ſame which Encelius calleth *Plumbum cinereum*, the Germans, wiſemute, mithan, & counterfeie, adding, that where it groweth, ſiluer can not be farre off. Neuertheleſſe it is knowne to be a mixture of braſſe, lead, and tin (of which this latter occupieth the one halfe) but after another proportion than is vſed in pewter. But alas I am perſuaded that neither the old Arabians, nor new alchumiſts of our time did euer heare of it, albeit that the name thereof do ſéeme to come out of their forge. For the common ſort indeed do call it alchumie, an vnwholſome mettall (God wot) and worthie to be baniſhed and driuen out of the land. And thus I conclude with this diſcourſe, as hauing no more to ſaie of the mettals of my countrie, except I ſhould talke of braſſe, bell mettall, and ſuch as are brought ouer for merchandize from other countries: and yet I can not but ſaie that there is ſome braſſe found alſo in England, but ſo ſmall is the quantitie, that it is not greatlie to be eſtéemed or accounted of.

Of

Of pretious ſtones.

Chap. 12.

THe old writers remember few other ſtones of eſtimation to be found in this Iland than that which we call geat, and they in Latine *Gagates*: whereunto furthermore they aſcribe ſundrie properties, as vſuallie practiſed here in times paſt, whereof none of our writers do make anie mention at all. Howbeit whatſoeuer it hath pleaſed a number of ſtrangers (vpon falſe ſurmiſe) to write of the vſages of this our countrie, about the triall of the virginitie of our maidens by drinking the powder hereof againſt the time of their beſtowing in mariage: certeine it is that euen to this daie there is ſome plentie to be had of this commoditie in Darbiſhire and about Barwike, whereof rings, ſalts, ſmall cups, and ſundrie trifling toies are made, although that in manie mens opinions nothing ſo fine as that which is brought ouer by merchants dailie from the maine. But as theſe men are drowned with the common errour conceiued of our nation, ſo I am ſure that in diſcerning the price and value of things, no man now liuing can go beyond the iudgement of the old Romans, who preferred the geat of Britaine before the like ſtones bred about Luke and all other countries whereſoeuer. Marbodeus Gallus alſo writing of the ſame among other of eſtimation, ſaith thus:

Geat.

Laon. Chalchonide.

Naſcitur in Lycia lapis & propè gemma Gagates,
Sed genus eximium fœcunda Britannia mittit,
Lucidus & niger eſt, leuis & leuiſſimus idem,
Vicinas paleas trahit attritu calefactus,
Ardet aqua lotus, reſtinguitur vnctus oliuo.

The Germane writers confound it with amber as if it were a kind therof: but as I regard not their iudgement in this point, ſo I read that it taketh name of Gagas a citie and riuer in Silicia, where it groweth in plentifull maner, as Dioſcorides ſaith. Nicander in Theriaca calleth it Engangin and Gangitin, of the plentie thereof that is found in the place aforeſaid, which he calleth Ganges, and where they haue great vſe of it in driuing awaie of ſerpents by the onelie perfume thereof. Charles the fourth emperour of that name glaſed the church withall that ſtandeth at the fall of Tangra, but I cannot imagine what light ſhould enter therby. The writers alſo diuide this ſtone into fiue kinds, of which the one is in colour like vnto lion tawnie, another ſtraked with white veines, the third with yellow lines, the fourth is garled with diuerſe colours, among which ſome are like drops of bloud (but thoſe come out of Inde) and the fift ſhining blacke as anie rauens feather.

Moreouer, as geat was one of the firſt ſtones of this Ile, whereof anie forren account was made, ſo our pearles alſo did match with it in renowme: inſo much that the onelie deſire of them cauſed Cæſar to aduenture hither, after he had ſeene the quantities and heard of our plentie of them, while he abode in France, and whereof he made a taberd which he offered vp in Rome to Uenus, where it hong long after as a rich and notable oblation and teſtimonie of the riches of our countrie. Certes they are to be found in theſe our daies, and thereto of diuerſe colours, in no leſſe numbers than euer they were in old time. Yet are they not now ſo much deſired bicauſe of their ſmalneſſe, and alſo for other cauſes, but eſpeciallie ſith churchworke, as copes, veſtments, albes, tunicles, altarclothes, canopies, and ſuch traſh, are worthilie aboliſhed; vpon which our countrimen ſuperſtitiouſly beſtowed no ſmall quantities of them. For I thinke there were few churches or religious houſes, beſides biſhops miters, bookes and other pontificall veſtures, but were either throughlie fretted, or notablie garniſhed with huge numbers of them. Marbodeus likewiſe ſpeaking of pearles, commendeth them after this maner:

Gignit & inſignes antiqua Britannia baccas, &c.

Marcellinus alſo Lib. 23, *in ipſo fine*, ſpeaketh of our pearls and their generation, but he preferreth greatlie thoſe of Perſia before them, which to me doth ſeeme vnequallie done. But as the Britiſh geat or orient pearle were in old time eſteemed aboue thoſe of other countries; ſo time hath ſince the conqueſt of the Romans reuealed manie other: inſomuch that at this ſeaſon there are found in England the Aetites (in Engliſh called the erneſtone, but for erne ſome pronounce eagle) and the hematite or bloodſtone, and theſe verie pure and excellent: alſo the calcedonie, the porphyrite, the chriſtall, and thoſe other which we call calaminares and ſpeculares, beſides a kind of diamond or adamant, which although it be verie faire to ſight, is yet much ſofter (as moſt are that are found toward the north) than thoſe that are brought hither out of other countries. We haue alſo vpon our coaſt the white corall, nothing inferiour to that which is found beyond the ſea in the albe, neere to the fall of Tangra, or to the red and blacke, whereof Dioſcorides intreateth, Lib. 5. cap. 8. We haue in like ſort ſundrie other ſtones dailie found in cliffes and rocks (beſide the load ſtone which is oftentimes taken vp out of our mines of iron) whereof ſuch as find them haue either no knowledge at all, or elſe do make but ſmall account, being ſeduced by outlandiſh lapidaries, whereof the moſt part diſcourage vs from the ſearching and ſeeking out of our owne commodities, to the end that they maie haue the more free vtterance of their naturall and artificiall wares, whereby they get great gaines amongſt ſuch as haue no ſkill.

I haue heard that the beſt triall of a ſtone is to laie it on the naile of the thombe, and ſo to go abroad into the cleare light, where if the colour hold in all places a like, the ſtone is thought to be naturall and good: but if it alter, eſpeciallie toward the naile, then is it not ſound, but rather to be taken for an artificiall peece of practiſe. If this be true it is an experiment worthie the noting. Cardan alſo hath it in his *De ſubtilitate*; if not, I haue read more lies than this, as one for example out of Cato, who ſaieth, that a cup of iuie will hold no wine at all. I haue made ſome veſſels of the ſame wood, which refuſe no kind of liquor, and therefore I ſuppoſe that there is no ſuch Antipathia betweene wine and our iuie, as ſome of our reading philoſophers (without all maner of practiſe) will ſeeme to infer amongſt vs: and yet I denie not but the iuie of Greece or Italie may haue ſuch a propertie; but why ſhould not the iuie then of France ſomewhat participat withall in the like effect, which groweth in an hotter ſoile than ours is? For as Baptiſta porta ſaith, it holdeth not alſo in the French iuie, wherfore I can not beleeue that it hath anie ſuch qualitie at all as Cato aſcribeth vnto it. What ſhould I ſay more of ſtones? Trulie I can not tell, ſith I haue ſaid what I may alreadie, and peraduenture more than I thinke neceſſarie: and that cauſeth me to paſſe ouer thoſe that are now & then taken out of our oiſters, todes, muſkels, ſnailes and adders, and likewiſe ſuch as are found vpon ſundrie hils in Gloceſterſhire, which haue naturallie ſuch ſundrie proportions, formes & colours in them, as paſſe all humane poſſibilitie to imitate, be the workeman neuer ſo ſkilfull

Triall of a ſtone.

Lib. 7.

ſkilfull and cunning, alſo thoſe that are found in the heads of our perches and carps much deſired of ſuch as haue the ſtone, & yet of themſelues are no ſtones but rather ſhels or griſtles, which in time conſume to nothing. This yet will I ad, that if thoſe which are found in muſkels (for I am vtterlie ignorant of the generation of pearls) be good pearle in déed, I haue at ſundrie times gathered more than an ounce of them, of which diuerſe haue holes alreadie entered by nature, ſome of them not much inferiour to great peaſon in quantitie, and thereto of ſundrie colours, as it happeneth amongſt ſuch as are brought from the eſterlie coaſt to Saffron Walden in Lent, when for want of flesh, ſtale ſtinking fiſh and welked muſkels are thought to be good meat; for other fiſh is too déere amongſt vs when law doth bind vs to vſe it. Sée more for the generation of pearls in the deſcription of Scotland, for there you ſhall be further informed out of Boetius in that behalfe. They are called orient, becauſe of the cléerenelle, which reſembleth the colour of the cléere aire before the riſing of the ſun. They are alſo ſought for in the later end of Auguſt, a little before which time the ſwéetneſſe of the dew is moſt conuenient for that kind of fiſh, which doth ingender and conceiue them, whoſe forme is flat, and much like vnto a lempet. The further north alſo that they be found the brighter is their colour, & their ſubſtances of better valure, as lapidaries do giue out.

liquor, as both the other. Some ſaie (or rather fable) that this ſalt ſpring did faile in the time of Richard de la Wich biſhop of Chicheſter, and that afterwards by his interceſſion it was reſtored to the profit of the old courſe (ſuch is the ſuperſtition of the people) in remembrance whereof, or peraduenture for the zeale which the Wich men and ſalters did beare vnto Richard de la Wich their countriman, they vſed of late times on his daie (which commeth once in the yeare) to hang this ſalt ſpring or well about with tapiſtrie, and to haue ſundrie games, drinkings, and fooliſh reuels at it. But to proceed. There be a great number of ſalt cotes about this well, wherein the ſalt water is ſodden in leads, and brought to the perfection of pure white ſalt. The other two ſalt ſprings be on the left ſide of the riuer a pretie waie lower than the firſt, and (as I found) at the verie end of the towne. At theſe alſo be diuerſe fornaces to make ſalt, but the profit and plentie of theſe two are nothing comparable to the gaine that riſeth by the greateſt. I aſked of a ſalter how manie fornaces they had at all the three ſprings, and he numbred them to eightéene ſcore, that is, three hundred and ſixtie, ſaieng how euerie one of them paied yearelie ſix ſhillings and eight pence to the king. The truth is that of old they had liberties giuen vnto them for three hundred fornaces or more, and therevpon they giue a fee farme (or Vectigal) of one hundred pounds yearelie. Certes the penſion is as it was, but the number of fornaces is now increaſed to foure hundred. There was of late ſearch made for another ſalt ſpring there abouts, by the meanes of one Newport a gentleman dwelling at the Wich, and the place where it was appéereth, as doth alſo the wood and timber which was ſet about it, to kéepe vp the earth from falling into the ſame. But this pit was not ſince occupied, whether it were for lacke of plentie of the ſalt ſpring, or for letting or hindering of the profit of the other three. We thinke that if wood and ſale of ſalt would ſerue, they might dig and find more ſalt ſprings about the Wich than three, but there is ſomewhat elſe in the wind. For I heard that of late yeares a ſalt ſpring was found in an other quarter of Worceſterſhire, but it grew to be without anie vſe, ſith the Wich men haue ſuch a priuilege, that they alone in thoſe quarters ſhall haue the making of ſalt. The pits be ſo ſet about with gutters, that the ſalt water is eaſilie turned to euerie mans houſe, and at Nantwich verie manie troughs go ouer the riuer for the commoditie of ſuch as dwell on the other ſide of the ſame. They ſeeth alſo their ſalt water in fornaces of lead, and lade out the ſalt ſome in caſes of wicker, through which the water draineth, and the ſalt remaineth. There be alſo two or three but verie little ſalt ſprings at Dertwitch, in a low bottome, where ſalt is ſometime made.

other catcheth the birds, as we maie ſe in batſowling.

Priuileges doo ſometimes harme.

Of ſalt made in England.

Chap. 13.

THere are in England certein welles where ſalt is made, whereof Leland hath written abundantlie in his cõmentaries of Britaine, and whoſe words onlie I will ſet downe in Engliſh as he wrote them, becauſe he ſeemeth to haue had diligent conſideration of the ſame, without adding anie thing of mine owne to him, except it be where neceſſitie doth inforce me for the mere aid of the reader, in the vnderſtanding of his mind. Treating therefore his iournie from Worceſter in his peregrination and laborious trauell ouer England, he ſaith thus: From Worceſter I road to the Wich by incloſed ſoile, hauing mætlie good corne ground, ſufficient wood and good paſture, about a ſix miles off, Wich ſtandeth ſomewhat in a vallie or low ground, betwixt two ſmall hils on the left ripe (for ſo he calleth the banke of euerie broke through out all his Engliſh treatiſes) of a pretie riuer which not far beneath the Wich is called Salope broke. The beautie of the towne in maner ſtandeth in one ſtréet, yet be there manie lanes in the towne beſides. There is alſo a meane church in the maine ſtréet, and once in the wéeke an indifferent round market. The towne of it ſelfe is ſomewhat foule and durtie when anie raine falleth by reaſon of much cariage through the ſtréets, which are verie ill paued or rather not paued at all. The great aduancement alſo hereof is by making of ſalt. And though the commoditie thereof be ſingular great, yet the burgeſſes be poore generallie, becauſe gentlemen haue for the moſt part gotten the great gaine of it into their hands, whileſt the poore burgeſſes yeeld vnto all the labour. There are at this preſent time three hundred ſalters, and three ſalt ſprings in the towne of Wich, whereof the principall is within a butſhot of the right ripe (or banke) of the riuer that there commeth downe: and this ſpring is double ſo profitable in yeelding of ſalt

A common plague in all things of anie great commoditie, for one beateth the buſh but an-

occupi-

decuplengs, thoſe wonted ſprings are now decaied, and they be inforced to ſeeke their wood ſo far as Worceſter towne, and all the parts about Brenſgraue, Alchirch, and Alceſter. I asked a ſalter how much wood he ſuppoſed yearelie to be ſpent at theſe fornaces: and he answered that by eſtimation there was conſumed about ſix thouſand load, and it was round pole wood for the moſt, which is eaſie to be cleft, and handſomelie riuen in peeces. The people that are about the fornaces are verie ill coloured, and the iuſt rate of euerie fornace is to make foure loads of ſalt yearelie, and to euerie load goeth fiue or ſix quarters as they make their accounts. If the fornace men make more in one fornace than foure loads, it is (as it is ſaid) imploied to their owne auaile. And thus much hath Leland left in memorie of our white ſalt, who in an other booke, not now in my hands, hath touched the making alſo of baie ſalt in ſome part of our countrie. But ſith that booke is deliuered againe to the owner, the tractation of baie ſalt can not be framed in anie order, becauſe my memorie will not ſerue to ſhew the true maner and the place. It ſhall ſuffice therfore to haue giuen ſuch notice of it, to the end the reader may know that aſwell the baie as white are wrought and made in England, and more white alſo vpon the weſt coaſt toward Scotland, in Eſſex and elſe where, out of the ſalt water betweene Wire and Cokermouth, which commonlie is of like price with our wheat. Finallie, hauing thus intermedled our artificiall ſalt with our minerals, let vs giue ouer, and go in hand with ſuch mettals as are growing here in England.

Of our accompt of time & hir parts.

Chap. 14.

AS *Libra* is *As* or *Aſſis* to the Romans for their weight, and the foot in ſtandard meaſure: ſo in our accompt of the parts of time, we take the daie conſiſting of foure and twentie houres, to be the greateſt of the leaſt, and leaſt of the greateſt, whereby we keepe our reckoning: for of the houre (to ſaie the truth) the moſt ancient Romans, Greeks, nor Hebrues had anie vſe; ſith they reckoned by watches: and whereof alſo Cenſorinus cap. 19. ſheweth a reaſon wherefore they were neglected. For my part I do not ſee anie great difference vſed in the obſeruation of time & hir parts, betweene our owne & any other forren nation, wherfore I ſhall not need to ſtand long on this matter. Howbeit to the end our exact order herein ſhall appeere vnto all men, I will ſet downe ſome ſhort rehearſall thereof, and that in ſo briefe manner as vnto me is poſſible. As for our aſtronomicall practiſes, I meane not to meddle with them, ſith their courſe is vniformelie obſerued ouer all. Our common order therefore is to begin at the minut, which conteineth ¼ part of an houre, as at the ſmalleſt part of time knowne vnto the people, notwithſtanding that in moſt places they deſcend no lower than the halfe quarter or quarter of the houre; and from thence they proceed vnto the houre, to wit, the foure and twentith part of that which we call the common and naturall daie, which doth begin at midnight, and is obſerued continuallie by clockes, dialles, and aſtronomicall inſtruments of all ſorts. The artificiall varietie of which kind of ware is ſo great here in England, as no place elſe (in mine opinion) can be comparable therein to this Ile. I will not ſpeake of the coſt beſtowed vpon them in perle and ſtone, neither of the valure of mettall, whereof they haue beene made, as gold, ſiluer, &c: and almoſt no abbeie or religious houſe without ſome of them. This onelie ſhall ſuffice to note here (as by the waie) that as antiquitie hath delighted in theſe things, ſo in our time pompe and exceſſe ſpendeth all, and nothing is regarded that bringeth in no bread. Of vnequall or temporall houres or daies, our nation hath no regard, and therefore to ſhew their quantities, differences, and diuiſions, into the greater and the leſſer, (whereof the later conteineth one vnequall houre, or the riſing of halfe a ſigne, the other of a whole ſigne, which is in two houres ſpace, wherof Marke ſeemeth to ſpeake cap. 15 c 25, as the reſt of the euangeliſts (yea and he alſo ibid. verſ. 33) do of the other, Matth. 27 e 45 Luke 23 e 44, John 19 b 14) it ſhould be but in vaine. In like ſort, whereas the elder Aegyptians, Italians, Bohemians, latter Atheniens, and Jews begin their daie at the ſun ſet ouer night; the Perſians, Babylonians, Grecians, and Noribergians, at the ſun riſing (ech of them accompting their daies and nights by vnequall houres) alſo the elder Atheniens, Arabians, Dutchmen, Umbers, Hetruriens, and Aſtronomers at high noone, and ſo reckon from noone to noone: we after Hipparchus and the latter Aegyptians, or to ſpeake more properlie, imitating the Roman maner vſed in the church there of long time, chooſe the verie point of midnight; from whence we accompt twelue equall houres vnto middaie inſuing, and other twelue againe vnto the aforeſaid point, according to theſe verſes;

Manè diem Græca gens incipit aſtra ſequentes
In medio lucis Iudæis veſpere ſancta,
Inchoat eccleſia media ſua tempora nocte.

And this is our generall order for the naturall daie. Of the artificiall we make ſo farre accompt, as that we reckon it daie when the ſun is vp, and night when the ſun leaueth our horizon. Otherwiſe alſo we diuide it into two parts, that is to ſaie, fore noone and after noone, not regarding the ruddie, ſhining, burning and warming ſeaſons (of three vnequall houres a peece, which others ſeeme to diuide into ſpring time, ſummer, autumne, and winter, in like curious manner) and whereof I read theſe verſes:

Solis equi lucis dicuntur quatuor horæ,
Hæc rubet, hæc ſplendet, hæc calet, illa tepet.

Indeed our phyſicians haue another partition of the daie, as men of no leſſe learning no doubt than the beſt of forren countries, if we could ſo conceiue of them. And herein they concurre alſo with thoſe of other nations, who for diſtinction in regiment of our humors, diuide the artificiall daie and night in ſuch wiſe as theſe verſes do import, and are indeed a generall rule which ech of them doth follow:

Tres lucis primas, noctis tres ſanguinis imas,
Vis choleræ medias lucis ſex vendicat horas.
Dátque melam primas noctis, tres lucis & imas,
Centrales ponas ſex noctis phlegmatis horas.

Or thus, as Tanſteter hath giuen them forth in his prælections:

A nona noctis donec ſit tertia lucis,
Eſt dominus ſanguis, ſex inde ſequentibus horis
Eſt dominans cholera, dum lucis nona ſit hora
Poſt niger humid ineſt donec ſit tertia noctis,
Poſthæc phlegma venit, donec ſit nona quietis.

In Engliſh thus in effect:

Three houres yer ſun doo riſe,
and ſo manie after, blud,
From nine to three at after noone,
hot choler beares the ſwaie,
Euen ſo to nine at night,
ſwart choler hath to rule,
As phlegme from thence to three at morne
ſix houres ech one I ſaie.

In

Night. In like sort for the night we haue none other parts than the twilight, darkenight, midnight, and cocks crowing: wheras the Latins diuide the same into 7 parts, as *Vesper* or *Vespergo*, as Plautus calleth it, as Virgil vseth the word *Hesper* the euening, which is immediatlie after the setting of the sun. *Crepusculum* the twilight (which some call *Prima fax*, because men begin then to light candles) when it is betweene daie and night, light and darkenesse, or properlie neither daie nor night. *Concubium* the still of the night, when ech one is laid to rest. *Intempestum*, the dull or dead of the night, which is midnight, when men be in their first or dead sléepe. *Gallicinium*, the cocks crowing. *Conticinium*, when the cocks haue left crowing. *Matutinum*, the breach of the daie, and *Diluculum siue aurora*, the ruddie, orenge, golden or shining colour, séene immediatlie before the rising of the sun, and is opposite to the euening, as *Matutinum* is to the twilight.

Vesper. Crepusculum. Concubium. Intempestum. Gallicinium. Conticinium. Matutinum. Diluculum.

watches. Other there are which dw reckon by watches, diuiding the night after sun setting into foure equall parts. Of which the first beginneth at euening called the first watch, and continueth by three vnequall houres, and so forth vntill the end of the ninth houre, whereat the fourth watch entreth, which is called the morning watch, bicause it concurreth partlie with the darke night, and partlie with the morning and breach of the daie before the rising of the sun.

Houre. As for the originall of the word houre, it is verie ancient; but yet not so old as that of the watch, whereof we shall read abundantlie in the scriptures, which was deuised first among souldiors for their better safegard and change of watchmen in their camps; the like whereof is almost vsed among our seafaring men, which they call clearing of the glasse, and performed from time to time with great héed and some solemnitie. Herevnto the word *Hora* among the Grecians signified so well the foure quarters of the yéere, as the foure and twentith part of the daie, and limits of anie forme. But what stand I vpon these things to let my purpose staie? To proceed therefore.

Weeke. Of naturall daies is the wéeke compacted, which consisteth of seauen of them, the fridaie being commonlie called among the vulgar sort either king or worling, bicause it is either the fairest or foulest of the seauen: albeit that I cannot ghesse of anie reason whie they should so imagine. The first of these entreth with mondaie, whereby it commeth to passe, that we rest vpon the sundaie, which is the seauenth in number, as almightie God hath commanded in his word. The Iews begin their wéeke vpon our saturdaie at the setting of the sun: and the Turks in these daies with the saturdaie, whereby it commeth to passe, that as the Iews make our last daie the first of their wéeke, so the Turks make the Iewish sabaoth the beginning of their *Hebdoma*: bicause Mahomet their prophet (as they saie) was borne and dead vpon the fridaie, and so he was indeed, except their Alcharon deceiue them. The Iews dw reckon their daies by their distance from their sabaoth, so that the first daie of their wéeke is the first daie of the sabaoth, and so forth vnto the sixt. The Latins and Aegyptians accompted their daies after the seauen planets, chosing the same for the denominator of the daie, that entreth his regiment with the first vnequall houre of the same after the sun be risen. Howbeit, as this order is not wholie reteined with vs, so the vse of the same is not yet altogither abolished, as may appéere by our sunday, mondaie, and saturdaie. The rest were changed by the Saxons, who in remembrance of Theut sometime their prince, called the second day of the wéek Theutsdach, the third Woden, Othin, Othon, or Edon, or Wodensdach. Also of Thor they named the fourth daie Thorsdach, and of Frea wife to Woden the fift was called Freadach. Albeit there are (and not amisse as I thinke) that suppose them to meane by Thor, Iupiter, by Woden, Mercurie, by Frea (or Frigga as Saxo calleth hir) Uenus, and finallie by Theut, Mars: which if it be so, then it is an easie matter to find out the german Mars, Uenus, Mercurie, and Iupiter, whereof you may read more hereafter in my chronologie. The truth is, that Frea albeit that Saxo giueth hir scant a good report, for that she loued one of hir husbands men better than himselfe, had seauen sonnes by Woden; the first, father to Wecca, of whome descended those that were afterwards kings of Kent. Fethelgeta was the second, and of him came the kings of Mercia. Baldaie the third, father to the kings of the west Saxons. Beldagius the fourth, parent to the kings of Bzenicia or Northumberland. Weogodach the fift, author of the kings of Deira. Caser the first race of the east Angle race, & Nascad originall burgeant of the kings of Esser. As for the kings of Sussex, although they were of the same people, yet were they not of the same streine, as our old monuments dw expresse. But to proceed.

As certeine of our daies suffered this alteration by the Saxons, so in our churches we reteined for a long time the number of daies or of * feries from the sabaoth, after the manner of the Iews, I meane vntill the seruice after the Romane vse was abolished, which custome was first receiued (as some thinke) by pope Sylvester, though other saie by Constantine; albeit another sort dw affirme, that Sylvester caused the sundaie onelie to be called the Lords day, and dealt not with the rest. * Feriæ.

Moneth. In like maner of wéekes our moneths are made, which are so called of the moone, each one conteining eight and twentie daies, or foure wéekes, without anie further curiositie. For we reckon not our time by the yeare of the moone, as the Iews, Grecians, or Romans did at the first; or as the Turks, Arabians and Persians dw now: neither anie parcell thereof by the said planet, as in some part of the west Indies, where they haue neither wéeke, moneth, nor yéere, but onlie a generall accompt of hundreds and thousands of moones. Wherefore if we saie or write a moneth, it is to be expounded of eight and twentie daies, or foure wéeks onelie, and not of hir vsuall period of nine and twentie daies and one and thirtie minuts. Or (if you take it at large) for a moneth of the common calender, which neuertheless in plées and suites is nothing at all allowed of, sith the moone maketh hir full reuolution in eight and twentie daies or foure wéeks, that is, vnto the place where she left the sun: notwithstanding that he be now gone, and at hir returne not to be found verie often in that signe wherin she before had left him. Plutarch writeth of diuers barbarous nations which reckoned a more or lesse number of these moneths for whole yeares: and that of these some accompted but three, as the Archadians did foure, the Acarnans six, and the Aegyptians but one for a whole yeare, which causeth them to make such a large accompt of their antiquitie and originall. But forsomuch as we are not troubled with anie such disorder, it shall suffice that I haue generallie said of moneths and their quantities at this time. Now a word or two of the ancient Romane calender. *Triuethus in Antartico.*

In old time each moneth of the Romane calender was reckoned after the course of the moone, and their enterances were vncerteine, as were also the changes of that planet: whereby it came to passe, that the daie of the change was the first of the moneth, howsoeuer it fell out. But after Julius Cesar had once corrected the same, the seuerall beginnings of euerie one of them did not onelie remaine fixed, but

but alſo the old order in the diuiſion of their parts continued ſtill vnaltered: ſo that the moneth is yet diuided as before, into calends, ides and nones, albeit that in my daies, the vſe of the ſame bée but ſmall, and their order reteined onelie in our calenders, for the better vnderſtanding of ſuch times, as the hiſtoriographers and old authors do remember. The reckoning alſo of each of theſe goeth (as you ſée) after a prepoſterous order, whereby the Romans did rather note how many daies were to the next change from the precedent, than contrariwiſe, as by peruſall of the ſame you ſhall more eaſilie perceiue.

The daies alſo of the change of the moneth of the moone, are called *Calendæ*, which in time of paganiſme were conſecrated to Iuno, and ſacrifice made to that goddeſſe on the ſame. On theſe daies alſo, and on the ides and nones they would not marie. Likewiſe the morow after each of them were called *Dies atri*, blacke daies, as were alſo diuerſe other, and thoſe either by reaſon of ſome notable ouerthrow or miſhap that befell vnto the Romans vpon thoſe daies, or in reſpect of ſome ſuperſtitious imagination conceiued of euill ſucceſſe likelie to fall out vpon the ſame. Of ſome they were called *Dies Ægyptiaci*. Whereby it appeareth that this pœuiſh eſtimation of theſe daies came from that nation. And as we do note our holie and feſtiuall daies with red letters in our calenders, ſo did the Romans their principall feaſts & circle of the moone, either in red or golden letters, and their victories in white, in their publike or conſulatie tables. This alſo is more to be added, that if anie good ſucceſſe happened afterward vpon ſuch day as was alreadie blacke in their calender, they would ſolemnlie enter it in white letters by racing out of the blacke, whereby the blacke daie was turned into white, and wherein they not a little reioiſed.

The word *Calendæ* (in Greéke *Neomenia*) is deriued of *Calo*, to call: for vpon the firſt day of euerie moneth, the prieſt vſed to call the people of the citie and countrie togither in Calabria, for ſo the place was called where they met, and ſhew them by a cuſtome how manie daies were from the ſaid calends to the nones, & what feaſts were to be celebrated betweéne that and the next change. Their order is retrograde, becauſe that after the moneth was halfe expired, or the moone paſt the full, they reckoned by the daies to come vntill the next change, as ſeuenteéne daies, ſirteéne daies, fourteéne daies, &c: as the Greékes did in the latter decad onelie, for they had no vſe of calends. The verie day therefore of the change is called *Calendæ*, dedicated to Iuno, who thereof was alſo called *Calendaris*. At the firſt alſo the faſts or feaſt daies were knowne by none other meanes vnto the people but by the denunciation of the prieſts (as I ſaid) vpon this daie, till Flauius Scriba cauſed them to be written & publiſhed in their common calenders, contrarie to the will and meaning of the ſenat, for the eaſe and benefit of the people, as he pretended.

The nones commonlie are not aboue foure or ſix in euerie moneth: and ſo long as the nones laſted, ſo long did the markets continue, and therefore they were called *Nonæ quaſi Nundinæ*. In them alſo were neither holie daies more than is at this preſent (except the day of the purification of our ladie) no ſacrifice offered to the gods, but each one applied his buſineſſe, and kept his market, reckoning the firſt day after the calends or change, to be the fourth or fift daie before the faire ended. Some thinke that they were called *Nonæ*, of the word *Non, quia in iſdem dij non coluntur*. For as Ouid ſaith, *Nonarum tutela deo caret*, or for that the nones were alwaies on the ninth daie before the ides: other becauſe *Nundina dea* was honored the ninth day before the ides, albeit I ſuppoſe rather that *Nundina dea* (a goddeſſe far yonger than the name of *Nonæ*) toke hir name of the nones, whereon it was a cuſtome among the Romans, *Luſtrare infantes ac nomina maribus imponere*, as they did with their maid children vpon the eight: but howſoeuer this be, ſure it is that they were the mart daies of euerie moneth, wherin the people bought, ſold, exchanged or bartered, and did nothing elſe.

The ides are ſo named of the Hetruſcan word, *Iduare*, to diuide: and before that Ceſar altered the calender, they diuided the moneth commonlie by the middeſt. But afterward when he had added certeine daies thereto, thereby to make it agrée to the yéere of the ſunne (which he intruded about the end of euerie moneth, becauſe he would not alter the celebration of their vſuall feaſts, whereof the chiefe were holden alwaies vpon the day of the ides) then came they ſhort of the middeſt, ſometime by two or thrée daies. In theſe therefore (which alwaies are eight) the merchants had leiſure to packe vp and conuete their merchandize, to pay their creditors, and make merie with their friends.

After the ides do the calends follow, but in a decreaſing order (as I noted) as the moone doth in light when ſhe is paſt the full. But herein lieth all the myſterie, if you can ſay ſo manie daies before the next change or new moone, as the number there expreſſed doth betoken, as for 16 calends ſo manie daies before the next conjunction, &c: (as is aboue remembred.) Of theſe calends, I meane touching their number in euerie moneth, I find theſe verſes inſuing:

Ianus & Auguſtus denas nouémq; December,
Iunius Aprilis September & ipſe November
Terſenas retinent, Februs bis octo calendas,
Iulius October Mars Maius epta decémq;.

In Engliſh thus.

December Iune and Auguſt month
full nineteene calends haue,
Septemb Aprill Nouemb and Iune
twiſe nine they doo deſire,
Sixteene foule Februarie hath,
no more can he well craue,
October Maie and Iulie hot
but ſeuenteene doo require.

In like maner do the nones and ides.

Sex Maius nonas, October, Iulius, & Mars,
Quatuor at reliqui, dabit idus quilibet octo.

To Iulie, Mars, October, Maie,
ſix nones I hight,
The reſt but foure, and as for ides
they keepe ſtill eight.

Againe touching the number of daies in euerie moneth:

Iunius, Aprilis, Septémq;, Nouémq; tricenos,
Vnum plus reliqui, Februs tenet octo vicenos,
At ſi biſſextus fuerit ſuperadditur vnus.

Thirtie daies hath Nouember,
Aprill, Iune, and September,
Twentie and eight hath Februarie alone,
and all the reſt thirtie and one,
but in the leape you muſt ad one.

Our yeare is counted after the courſe of the ſunne, and although the church hath ſome vſe of that of the moone for obſeruation of certeine moueable feaſts, yet it is reductible to that of the ſunne, which in our ciuill dealings is chiefliе had in vſe. Herein onelie I find a ſcruple, that the beginning thereof is not vniforme and certeine, for moſt of our records beare date the 25 of March, and our calenders the firſt of Januarie; ſo that with vs Chriſt is borne before he be conceiued. Our ſundrie officers alſo haue ſundrie entrances into their charges of cuſtome, which breédeth great confuſion, whereas if all theſe might be referred to one originall (and that to be the firſt of Januarie) I do not thinke but that there would be more

certeintie, and leſſe trouble for our hiſtoriographers, notaries, & other officers in their account of the yere. In old time the Atheniens began their yeare with the change of the mœne that fell nèereſt to the entrance of the ſunne into the crab, the Latines at the winter ſolſtice, or his going into the goat, the Iewes in ciuill caſe at the latter equinoctiall, and in eccleſiaſticall with the firſt. They of Calecute begin their yeare ſomewhere in September, but vpon no daie certeine, ſith they firſt conſult with their wiſards, who pronounce one day or other thereof to be moſt happie (as the yeare goeth about) and therewith they make their entrance, as Oſorius doth remember, who addeth that vpon the eleuenth calends of September, they haue ſolemne plaies, much like to the idoll games, & that they write in leaues of trèe with a pencill, in ſtead of paper, which is not found among them. Some of the old Grecians began their yere alſo in September: but ſith we ſeeke herein but for the cuſtome of our countrie onelie, it ſhall be enough to affirme that we make our account from the calends or firſt of Ianuarie, and from the middeſt of the night which is *Limes* betweene that and the laſt of December, whereof this maie ſuffice. I might ſpeake of the Cynike yeare alſo in this place (for the eaſe of our Engliſh readers) ſometime in vſe amongſt the Egyptians, which conteineth 1460 common yeares, whoſe beginning is alwaies reckoned from the riſing of the leſſer dog. The firſt vſe thereof entered the ſelfe yeare wherin the Olimpiads were reſtored. And forſomuch as this nation hath no vſe of intercalation, at the end of euerie 1460 yeares, they added an whole yeare of intercalation, becauſe there are 365 leape yèers in the period, ſo that 1460 Julian yèers do conteine 1461 after the Egyptians account, wherby their common yeare is found to be leſſe than ours. Furthermore, whereas our intercalation for the leape yere is ſomewhat too much by certeine minuts, which in 115 yeares amount vnto about an whole day, if one intercalation in ſo manie were omitted, our calender would be the more perfect: and I would wiſh that the ſame yeare wherein the ſaid intercalation trulie found out ſhould be ouerpaſſed, might be obſerued and called *Annus magnus Elizabethæ*, in perpetuall remembrance of our noble and ſouereigne princeſſe now reigning amongſt vs.

I might here ſaie ſomewhat alſo of the prime and hir alteration, which is riſen higher by fiue daies in our common calender than it was placed by Iulius Cæſar: and in ſeauen thouſand yeares ſome writer would grow to an error of an whole, if the world ſhould laſt ſo long. But forſomuch as in ſome calenders of ours it is reduced againe to the daie of euerie change, it ſhall ſuffice to ſaie no more therof. The pope alſo hath made a generall correction of the calender, wherein he hath reduced it to the ſame that it was or ſhould haue bèene at the councell of Nice. Howbeit as he hath aboliſhed the vſe of the golden number, ſo hath he continued the epact, applieng it vnto ſuch generall vſe, as doth now ſerue both the turnes, whoſe reformation had alſo yet this time bèene admitted into England, if it had not proceèded from him, againſt whom and all whoſe ordinances we haue ſo faithfullie ſworne and ſet our hands.

Certes the next omiſſion is to be performed if all princes would agrèe thereto in the leape yeare that ſhall be about the yeare of Grace 1668: if it ſhall pleaſe God that the world may laſt ſo long, and then may our calender alſo ſtand without anie alteration as it doth alreadie. By this alſo it appeareth how the defect of our calender may be ſupplied from the creation, wherein the firſt equinoctiall is ſeene higher toward the beginning of March than Cæſars calender now extant doth yèld vnto by ſeauen daies. For as in Cæſars time the true equinoctiall was pointed out to happen (as Stadius alſo noteth) either vpon or about the ſixtèenth or ſeauentèenth of March, albeit the manifeſt apperance thereof was not found vntill the fiue and twentith of that moneth in their dials or by eie-ſight: ſo at the beginning of the world the ſaid entrance of the ſunne into the ram, muſt nèeds fall out to be about the twentith or one & twentith of Aprill, as the calender now ſtandeth, if I faile not in my numbers. Aboue the yeare we haue no more parts of time, that carie anie ſeuerall names with them, except you will affirme the word age to be one, which is taken for a hundred yeares, and ſignifieth in Engliſh ſo much as Seculum or Æuum doth in Latine; neither is it nèedfull to remember that ſome of my countrimen do reckon their times not by years but by ſummers and winters, which is verie common among vs. Wherefore to ſhut vp this chapiter withall, you ſhall haue a table of the names of the daies of the wèeke, after the old Saxon and Scotiſh maner, which I haue borowed from amongſt our ancient writers, as I haue peruſed their volumes.

The preſent names.

Monday.	Fridaie.
Tueſday.	Saturdaie.
Wedneſday.	Sunday, or the
Thurſday.	Lords daie.

The old Saxon names.

Monendeg.	Frigeſdeg.
Tueſdeg.	Saterdeg.
Wodneſdeg.	Sunnan-
Thunreſdeg.	deg.

The Scotiſh vſage.

Diu Luna.	Diu Friach.
Diu Mart.	Diu Satur.
Diu Yath.	Diu Se-
Diu Ethamon.	roll.

Of our principall faires and *markets.*

Chap. 15.

I Haue heretofore ſaid ſufficientlie of our faires, in the chapter of fairs and markets; and now to performe my promiſe there made, I ſet downe here ſo manie of our faires as I haue found out by mine owne obſeruation, and helpe of others in this behalfe. Certes it is impoſſible for me to come by all, ſith there is almoſt no towne in England, but hath one or more ſuch marts holden yearelie in the ſame, although ſome of them (I muſt nèeds confeſſe) be ſcarſe comparable to Lowſe faire, and little elſe bought or ſold in them more than good drinke, pies, and ſome pedlerie traſh: wherefore it were no loſſe if diuerſe of them were aboliſhed. Neither do I ſee whereunto this number of paltrie fairs tendeth, ſo much as to the corruption of youth, who (all other buſineſſe ſet apart) muſt nèeds repaire vnto them, whereby they often ſpend not onelie the wèeke daies, but alſo the Lords ſabbaoth in great vanitie and riot. But ſuch hath bèene the iniquitie of ancient times. God grant therefore that ignorance being now aboliſhed, and a further inſight into things growne into the minds of magiſtrates, theſe old errors

rors may be conſidered of, and ſo farre reformed, as that thereby neither God may be diſhonored, nor the common wealth of our countrie anie thing diminiſhed. In the meane time, take this table here inſuing in ſtead of a calender of the greateſt, ſith that I cannot, or at the leaſt wiſe care not to come by the names of the leſſe, whoſe knowledge cannot be ſo profitable to them that be farre off, as they are oft preiudiciall to ſuch as dwell neere hand to the places where they be holden and kept, by pilferers that reſort vnto the ſame.

Faires in Ianuarie.

The firſt day being Twelfe day at Saliſburie, the fiue and twentith being ſaint Paules day, at Briſtow, at Grauеſend, at Churchingford, at Rotherham in Yorkeſhire, where is kept a faire euerie wedneſday from Chriſtmaſſe vntill June.

Faires in Februarie.

The firſt day at Bromleie. The ſecond at Lin, at Bath, at Maidſtone, at Bickleſworth, at Budworth. The fourteenth at Feuerſham. On Aſhwedneſday at Lichfield, at Tamworth, at Roiſton, at Exceſter, at Abington, at Ciceſter. The foure and twentith at Henlie vpon Thames, at Tewkeſburie.

Faires in March.

On the twelfth day, at Stamford, Sappesford, and at Sudburie. The thirteenth day at Wie, at the Mount, & at Bodmin in Cornewall. The firſt ſunday in Lent, at Grantham, at Saliſburie. On monday before our ladie day in Lent, at Wiſbich, at Kendall, Denbigh in Wales. On palmeſunday eeuen, at Pumfret. On palmeſunday, at Worceſter. The twentith day at Durham. On our ladie day in Lent at Northamton, at Walden, at great Chart, at Newcaſtell. And all the ladie daies at Huntington. And at Saffron Walden on midlentſunday.

Faires in Aprill.

The fift day at Wallingford. The ſeuenth at Darbie. The ninth at Bickleſworth, at Belinſworth. On monday after, at Eueſham in Worceſterſhire. On tueſday in Eaſter weeke at Northfleet, at Rochford, at Hitchin. The third ſunday after Eaſter, at Louth. The two and twentith at Stabford. On ſaint Georges day, at Charing, at Ipſwich, at Tamworth, at Ampthill, at Hinninham, at Gilford, at ſaint Pombes in Cornewall. On ſaint Markes day at Darbie, at Dunmow in Eſſex. The ſix and twentith at Tenderden in Kent.

Faires in Maie.

On Maie daie at Ripon, at Perin in Cornwall, at Deſtrie in Wales, at Lexfield in Suffolke, at Stow the old, at Reading, at Leiceſter, at Chenſford, at Maidſtone, at Brickehill, at Blackeborne, at Cogilton, at Stokeneie land. The third at Bramyard, at Henningham, at Elſtow, Waltham, Holicroſſe, and Hedningham caſtell. The ſeuenth at Beuerleie, at Newton, at Orford. On Aſcenſion day at Newcaſtell, at Yerne, at Brimechame, at ſaint Edes, at Biſhopſtratford, at Wicham, at Middlewich, at Stopford, at Chapell frith. On Whitſuneeuen, at Skipton vpon Crauen. On Whitſunday, at Richell, at Gribbie, and euerie wedneſday fortnight at Kingſton vpon Thames, at Kateſdale, at Kirbiſtephin in Weſtmerland. On monday in Whitſunweeke, at Darington, at Exceſter, at Bradford, at Rigate, at Burton, at Salforth, at Whitechurch, at Cockermouth, at Aplebie, at Bickleſworth, at Stokeclare. On tueſday in Whitſunweeke, at Lewſe, at Rochford, at Canturburie, at Ormeſkirke, at Perith, at long Milford. On wedneſday in Whitſunweeke, at Sandbarre, at Raiſton. On Trinitie ſunday, at Kendall, and at Rowell. On thurſday after Trinitie ſunday, at Preſcote, at Stapford, at ſaint Annes, at Newburie, at Couentrie, at ſaint Edes, at Biſhop ſtortford, at Roſſe. The ninth at Locheſter, at Dunſtable. The twentie ſeuenth day, at Lenham. The twentie ninth at Crambrooke. On monday in Rogation weeke at Rech, and ſunday after Aſcenſion day, at Tharſted.

Faires in Iune.

The ninth day at Maidſtone. The xj, at Okingham, at Newbourgh, at Bardfield, at Marfield, & Holt. The ſeuentæenth at Hadſtocke. The twentie three at Shrewſburie, at ſaint Albans. The twentie fourth day, at Horſham, at Wedell, at Strackſtocke, at ſaint Annes, at Wakefield, at Colcheſter, at Reading, at Bedford, at Barnewell beſide Cambridge, at Wollerhampton, at Crambrooke, at Gloceſter, at Lincolne, at Peterborow, at Windſor, at Harſtone, at Lancaſter, at Weſtcheſter, at Halifax, at Aſhborne. The twentie ſeuenth, at Folkeſtone. The twentie eight, at Hetcorne, at ſaint Pombes. The twentie ninth, at Woodhurſt, at Marleborough, at Holleſworth, at Wollerhampton, at Peterfield, at Lempſter, at Sudburie, at Gargrainge, at Bromleie.

Faires in Iulie.

The ſecond at Congreton, at Aſhton vnder line. The ſunday after the third of Julie, at Raiſton. The eleuenth at Partneie, and at Lid. The fiftеenth, at Pichbacke. The ſeuentеenth, at Winchcombe. The twentith, at Urbridge, at Cateſbie, at Bolton. The twentie two, at Marleborow, at Wincheſter, at Colcheſter, at Tetburie, at Coling, at Yealdon, at Bridgenorth, at Clitherall, at Norwich in Cheſhire, at Cheſwike, at Battelfield, at Bickleworth. The twentie fift, at Briſtow, at Douer, at Chilham, at Darbie, at Ipſwich, at Northampton, at Dudleie in Staffordſhire, at ſaint James beſide London, at Reading, at Ereth in the Ile, at Walden, at Hyemhall, at Baldocke, at Louth, at Malmeſburie, at Bromeleie, at Chicheſter, at Liuerpole, at Altergam, at Rauenglaſſe in the north. The twentie ſixt, at Tiptrie. The twentie ſeuenth at Canturburie, at Horſham, at Richmund in the north, at Warington, at Chappell frith.

Faires in Auguſt.

The firſt day at Exceſter, at Feuerſham, at Dunſtable, at ſaint Edes, at Bedford, at Northam church, at Wiſbich, at Yorke, at Rumneie, at Newton, at Peland. The fourth at Linton. The tenth at Waltham, at Tharſted, at Blackemore, at Hungerford, at Bedford, at Stroides, at Fernam, at S. Laurence by Bodmin, at Walton, at Croileie, at Seddell, at new Brainford. The xv, at Cambridge, at Dunmow, at Caerleill, at Preſton in Andall, at Wakefield on the two ladie daies, and vpon the ſunday after the fiftеenth day of Auguſt, at Yauerhull. On Bartholomew day, at London, at Beggers buſh beſide Rie, at Teukeſburie, at Sudburie, at Rie, at Nantwich, at Pagets, Bromleie, at Norwich, at Northalerton, at Douer. On the ſunday after

after Bartholomew day, at Sandwich. The twentie ſeuenth, and at Aſhford.

Faires in September.

The firſt day at S. Giles at the Buſh. The eight day at Wolfpit, at Wakefield, at Sturbridge, in Southwarke at London, at Snide, at Kecoluer, at Gisbourgh both the ladie daies, at Partnete. The three ladie daies at Blackeburne, at Gisborne in Yorkeſhire, at Chalton, at Utceſter. On Holirode day, at Richmond in Yorkeſhire, at Rippond a horſe faire, at Penhad, at Berſlete, at Waltam abbeie, at Wotton vnder hedge, at Smalding, at Cheſterfield, at Denbigh in Wales. On ſaint Mathies day, at Marleborough, at Bedford, at Croidon, at Holden in Holdernes, at ſaint Edmundſburie, at Malton, at ſaint Jues, at Shrewesburie, at Lanesham, at Witnall, at Sittingborne, at Brainetrie, at Baldocke, at Katharine hill beſide Gilford, at Douer, at Eaſtrie. The twentie ninth day being Michaelmas day, at Canturburie, at Malton a noble horſſe faire, at Lancaſter, at Blackeborne, at Weſtcheſter, at Cokermouth, at Aſhborne, at Hadleie, at Malden an horſſe faire, at Maie hill, at Newburie, and at Leiceſter.

Faires in October.

The fourth day at Michell. The firſt day at ſaint Faiths beſide Norwich, at Maidſtone. The eight at Harborough, at Hereford, at Biſhop Stortford. On S. Edwards day, at Roiſton, at Grauesend, at Windſor, at Marchfield. The ninth day at Colcheſter. On ſaint Lukes euen, at Elie, at Wrickle, at Wpane, at Thirſk, at Bridgenorth, at Stanton, at Charing, at Burton vpon Trent, at Charleton, at Wigan, at Friſwides in Orford, at Tisdale, at Middlewich, at Holt in Wales. The twentie one day at Saffron Walden, at Newmarket, at Hertford, at Cicester, at Stokeleie. The twentie third, at Preſton, at Bikelſworth, at Kitchdale, at Whitechurch. The twentie eight, at Newmarket, and Hertford. On all ſaints euen, at Wakefield, and at Rithen.

Faires in Nouember.

The ſecond at Blechinglie, at Kingſton, at Warfield, at Epping. The firſt day, at Newport pond, at Stanleie, at Tregnie, at Salford, at Leſford, and Wethod faire at Hertford. The tenth, at Leuton. The eleuenth, at Marleborough, at Douer. The thirtenth, at ſaint Edmundſburie, at Gilford. The ſeuentæenth day, at Low, at Hide. The ninetæenth, at Horſham. On ſaint Edmunds day, at Hith, at Ingerſtone. The twentie third day, at Sandwich. On ſaint Andrews day at Colingbourgh, at Rocheſter, at Peterfield, at Maidenhed, at Bewdleie, at Warington in Lancaſhire, at Bedford in Yorkeſhire, at Oſtrie in Wales, and at Powles Belcham.

Faires in December.

On the firſt day, at Pluckeleie. On the firſt, at Caſed, at Hedningham, at Spalding, at Exceſter, at Stocke, at Arnedale, and at Northwich in Cheſhire. The ſeuenth day at Sandhurſt. The eight day being the conception of our ladie, at Clitherall in Lancaſhire, at Walpas in Cheſhire. The twentie ninth, at Canturburie, and at Saliſburie.

Of our innes and thorowfaires.

Chap. 16.

THoſe townes that we call thorowfaires haue great and ſumptuous innes builded in them, for the receiuing of ſuch trauellers and ſtrangers as paſſe to and fro. The manner of harbouring wherein, is not like to that of ſome other countries, in which the hoſt or goodman of the houſe doth chalenge a lordlie authoritie euer his gheſts, but cleane otherwiſe, ſith euerie man may vſe his inne as his owne houſe in England, and haue for his monie how great or little varietie of vittels, and what other ſeruice himſelfe ſhall thinke expedient to call for. Our innes are alſo verie well furniſhed with naperie, bedding, and tapiſſerie, eſpeciallie with naperie: for beſide the linnen vſed at the tables, which is commonlie waſhed dailie, is ſuch and ſo much as belongeth vnto the eſtate and calling of the gheſt. Euerie commer is ſure to lie in cleane ſheets, wherein no man hath beene lodged ſince they came from the landreſſe, or out of the water wherein they were laſt waſhed. If the traueller haue an horſſe, his bed doth coſt him nothing, but if he go on foot he is ſure to paie a penie for the ſame: but whether he be horſſeman or footman if his chamber be once appointed he may carie the kaie with him, as of his owne houſe ſo long as he lodgeth there. If he loſe oughts whileſt he abideth in the inne, the hoſt is bound by a generall cuſtome to reſtore the damage, ſo that there is no greater ſecuritie anie where for trauellers than in the greteſt ins of England. Their horſſes in like ſort are walked, dreſſed and loked vnto by certeine hoſtelers or hired ſeruants, appointed at the charges of the goodman of the houſe, who in hope of extraordinarie reward will deale verie diligentlie after outward appearance in this their function and calling. Herein neuertheleſſe are manie of them blameworthie, in that they do not onelie deceiue the beaſt oftentimes of his allowance by ſundrie meanes, except their owners loke well to them; but alſo make ſuch packs with ſlipper merchants which hunt after preie (for what place is ſure from euill & wicked perſons) that manie an honeſt man is ſpoiled of his goods as he trauelleth to and fro, in which feat alſo the counſell of the tapſters or drawers of drinke, and chamberleins is not ſeldome behind or wanting. Certes I beleeue not that chapman or traueller in England is robbed by the waie without the knowledge of ſome of them, for when he commeth into the inne, & alighteth from his horſſe, the hoſtler forthwith is verie buſie to take downe his budget or capcaſe in the yard from his ſadle bow, which he peiſeth ſtilie in his hand to feele the weight thereof: or if he miſſe of this pitch, when the gheſt hath taken vp his chamber, the chamberleine that loketh to the making of the beds, will be ſure to remoue it from the place where the owner hath ſet it as if it were to ſet it more conuenientlie ſome where elſe, whereby he getteth an inkling whether it be monie or other short wares, & therof giueth warning to ſuch od gheſts as haunt the houſe and are of his confederacie, to the vtter vndoing of manie an honeſt yeoman as he iourneieth by the waie. The tapſter in like ſort for his part doth marke his behauiour, and what plentie of monie he draweth when he paieth the ſhot, to the like end: ſo that it ſhall be an hard matter to eſcape all their ſubtile practiſes. Some thinke it a gay matter to commit their budgets at their comming to the goodman of the houſe: but therby they oft be-

wraie

wraie themſelues. For albeit their monie be ſafe for the time that it is in his hands (for you ſhall not heare that a man is robbed in his inne) yet after their departure the hoſt can make no warrantiſe of the ſame, ſith his protection extendeth no further than the gate of his owne houſe: and there cannot be a ſurer token vnto ſuch as prie and watch for thoſe booties, than to ſée anie gheſt deliuer his capcaſe in ſuch maner. In all our innes we haue plentie of ale, béere, and ſundrie kinds of wine, and ſuch is the capacitie of ſome of them that they are able to lodge two hundred or three hundred perſons, and their horſſes at eaſe, & therto with a verie ſhort warning make ſuch prouiſion for their diet, as to him that is vnacquainted withall may ſeeme to be incredible. Howbeit of all in England there are no worſe ins than in London, and yet manie are there far better than the beſt that I haue heard of in anie forren countrie, if all circumſtances be dulie conſidered. But to leaue this & go in hand with my purpoſe. I will here ſet downe a table of the beſt thorowfaires and townes of greateſt trauell of England, in ſome of which there are twelue or ſirtéene ſuch innes at the leaſt, as I before did ſpeake of. And it is a world to ſée how ech owner of them contendeth with other for goodneſſe of interteinement of their gheſts, as about fineſſe & change of linnen, furniture of bedding, beautie of roomes, ſeruice at the table, coſtlineſſe of plate, ſtrength of drinke, varietie of wines, or well vſing of horſſes. Finallie there is not ſo much omitted among them as the gorgeouſnes of their verie ſignes at their doores, wherein ſome doo conſume thirtie or fortie pounds, a méere vanitie in mine opinion, but ſo vaine will they néeds be, and that not onelie to giue ſome outward token of the inne kéepers welth, but alſo to procure good gheſts to the frequenting of their houſes in hope there to be well vſed. Lo here the table now at hand, for more of our innes I ſhall not néed to ſpeake.

The waie from Walſingham to London.

From Walſingham to Picknam	12.miles
From Picknam to Brandonferie	10.miles
From Brandonferie to Newmarket	10.miles
From Newmarket to Brabram	10.miles
From Brabram to Barkewaie	20.miles
From Barkewaie to Puchrich	7.miles
From Puchrich to Ware	5.miles
From Ware to Waltham	8.miles
From Waltham to London	12.miles

The waie from Barwike to Yorke, and ſo to London.

From Barwike to Belford	12.miles
From Belford to Anwike	12.miles
From Anwike to Morpit	12.miles
From Morpit to Newcaſtell	12.miles
From Newcaſtell to Durham	12.miles
From Durham to Darington	13.miles
From Darington to Northalerton	14.miles
From Northalerton to Toplife	7.miles
From Toplife to Yorke	16.miles
From Yorke to Tadcaſter	8.miles
From Tadcaſter to Wantbridge	12.miles
From Wantbridge to Dancaſter	8.miles
From Dancaſter to Tutford	18.miles
From Tutford to Newarke	10.miles
From Newarke to Grantham	10.miles
From Grantham to Stanford	16.miles
From Stanford to Stilton	12.miles
From Stilton to Huntington	9.miles
From Huntington to Roiſton	15.miles
From Roiſton to Ware	12.miles
From Ware to Waltham	8.miles
From Waltham to London	12.miles

The waie from Carnaruan to Cheſter, and ſo to London.

From Carnaruan to Conwaie	24.miles
From Conwaie to Denbigh	12.miles
From Denbigh to Flint	12.miles
From Flint to Cheſter	10.miles
From Cheſter to Wich	14.miles
From Wich to Stone	15.miles
From Stone to Lichfield	16.miles
From Lichfield to Colſill	12.miles
From Colſill to Couentrie	8.miles

And ſo from Couentrie to London, as hereafter followeth.

The waie from Cockermouth to Lancaſter, and ſo to London.

From Cockermouth to Kilwike	6.miles
From Kilwike to Grocener	8.miles
From Grocener to Kendale	14.miles
From Kendale to Burton	7.miles
From Burton to Lancaſter	8.miles
From Lancaſter to Preſton	20.miles
From Preſton to Wigam	14.miles
From Wigam to Warington	20.miles
From Warington to Newcaſtell	20.miles
From Newcaſtell to Lichfield	20.miles
From Lichfield to Couentrie	20.miles
From Couentrie to Daintrie	14.miles
From Daintrie to Toceſter	10.miles
From Toceſter to Stonikratford	6.miles
From Stonikratford to Brichill	7.miles
From Brichill to Dunſtable	7.miles
From Dunſtable to ſaint Albons	10.miles
From ſaint Albons to Barnet	10.miles
From Barnet to London.	10.miles

The waie from Yarmouth to Colcheſter, and ſo to London.

From Yarmouth to Becclis	8.miles
From Becclis to Blibour	7.miles
From Blibour to Snapbridge	8.miles
From Snapbridge to Woodbridge.	8.miles
From Woodbridge to Ipſwich	5.miles
From Ipſwich to Colcheſter	12.miles
From Colcheſter to Caſtford	8.miles
From Caſtford to Chelmeſford	10.miles
From Chelmeſford to Brentwood	10.miles
From Brentwood to London	15.miles

The waie from Douer to London.

From Douer to Canturburie	12.miles
From Canturburie to Sittingborne	12.miles
From Sittingborne to Rocheſter	8.miles
From Rocheſter to Grauеſend	5.miles
From Grauеſend to Datford	6.miles
From Datford to London	12.miles

The waie from ſaint Burien in Cornewall to London.

From S. Burien to the Mount	20.miles
From the Mount to Thurie	12.miles
From ſaint Thurie to Bodman	20.miles
From Bodman to Launſtone	20.miles
From Launſtone to Dcomton	15.miles
From Dcomton to Crokehornewell	10.miles

From Crokehorne well to Excester 10.miles
From Excester to Honiton 12.miles
From Honiton to Chard 10.miles
From Chard to Crokehorne 7.miles
From Crokehorne to Shirborne 10.miles
From Shirborne to Shaftsburie 10.miles
From Shaftsburie to Salisburie 18.miles
From Salisburie to Andeuor 15.miles
From Andeuor to Basingstocke 18.miles
From Basingstocke to Hartford 8.miles
From Hartford to Bagshot 8.miles
From Bagshot to Stanes 8.miles
From Stanes to London 15.miles

The waie from Bristowe to London.

From Bristow to Marfield 10.miles
From Marfield to Chipnam 10.miles
From Chipnam to Marleborough 15.miles
From Marleborough to Hungerford 8.miles
From Hungerford to Newburie 7.miles
From Newburie to Reading 15.miles
From Reading to Maidenhead. 10.miles
From Maidenhead to Colbroke 7.miles
From Colbroke to London 15.miles

The waie from saint Dauids to London.

From saint Dauids to Arford 20.miles
From Arford to Carmarden 10.miles
From Carmarden to Newton 10.miles
From Newton to Lanburie 10.miles
From Lanburie to Brechnocke 16.miles
From Brechnocke to Haie 10.miles
From Haie to Harford 14.miles
From Harford to Roso 9.miles
From Roso to Glocester 12.miles
From Glocester to Cicester 15.miles
From Cicester to Farington 16.miles
From Farington to Habington 7.miles
From Habington to Dorchester 7.miles
From Dorchester to Henleie 12.miles
From Henleie to Maidenhead 7.miles
From Maidenhead to Colbroke 7.miles
From Colbroke to London 15.miles

Of thorowfares, from Douer to Cambridge.

From Douer to Canturburie 12.miles
From Canturburie to Rochester 20.miles
From Rochester to Grauesend 5.miles
From Grauesend ouer the Thames, to Horne-
don 4.miles
From Hornedon to Chelmesford 12.miles
From Chelmesford to Dunmow 10.miles
From Dunmow to Harsted 5.miles
From Harsted to Radwinter 3.miles
From Radwinter to Linton 5.miles
From Linton to Babrenham 3.miles
From Babrenham to Cambridge 4.miles

From Canturburie to Oxford.

From Canturburie to London 43.miles
From London to Vxbridge or Colbroke 15.mile
From Vxbridge to Baccansfield 7.miles
From Baccansfield to east Wickham 5.miles
From Wickham to Stocking church 5.miles
From Stocking church to Thetisford 5.miles
From Thetisford to Whatleie 6.miles
From Whatleie to Oxford 4.miles

From London to Cambridge.

From London to Edmondton 6.miles
From Edmondton to Waltham 6.miles
From Waltham to Hoddesdon 5.miles
From Hoddesdon to Ware 3.miles
From Ware to Pulcherchurch 5.miles
From Pulcherchurch to Barkewaie 7.miles
From Barkewaie to Fulmere 6.miles
From Fulmere to Cambridge 6.miles

Or thus better waie.

From London to Hoddesdon 17.miles
From Hoddesdon to Hadham 7.miles
From Hadham to Saffron Walden 12.miles
From Saffron Walden to Cambridge 10.miles

Of certeine waies in Scotland, out of Reginald Wolfes his annotations.

From Barwijc to Edenborow.

From Barwijc to Chirneside 10.miles
From Chirneside to Coldingham 3.miles
From Coldingham to Pinketon 6.miles
From Pinketon to Dunbarre 6.miles
From Dunbarre to Linton 6.miles
From Linton to Haddington 6.miles
From Haddington to Seaton 4.miles
From Seaton to Aberladie or Muskelborow 8.mi.
From thence to Edenborow 8.miles

From Edenborow to Barwijc another waie.

From Edenborow to Dalketh 5.miles
From Dalketh to new Battell & Lander 5.miles
From Lander to Vrsildon 6.miles
From Vrsildon to Dziburg 5.miles
From Dziburg to Carlton 6.miles
From Carlton to Barwijc 14.miles

From Edenborow to Dunbrittaine westward.

From Edenborow to Kirkelisson 6.miles
From Kirkelisson to Lithco 6.miles
From Lithco to Farekirke ouer Forth 6.miles
From thence to Striuelin vpon Forth 6.miles
From Striuelin to Dunbrittaine 24.miles

From Striuelin to Kinghorne eastward.

From Striuelin to Downe in Menteth 3.miles
From Downe to Campskenell 3.miles
From Campskenell to Alwie vpon Forth 4.miles
From Alwie to Culrose on Fiffe 10.miles
From Culrose to Dunfermelin 2.miles
From Dunfermelin to Cuerkennin 2.miles
From Cuerkennin to Aberdoze on Forth 3.miles
From Aberdoze to Kinghorne vpon Forth 3.miles

From Kinghorne to Taimouth.

From Kinghorne to Dissard in Fiffe 3.miles
From Dissard to Cowper 8.miles

From

From Colwper to S. Andrews 14. miles
From S. Andrews to the Taimouth 6. miles

From Taimouth to Stockeford.

From Taimouth to Balmerinoth abbeie 4. mil.
From thence to Londores abbeie 4. miles
From Londores to S. Johns towne 12. miles
From S. Johns to Schone 5. miles
From thence to Abernithie, where the Erne runneth into the Tate 15. miles
From Abernithie to Dundée 15. miles
From Dundæ to Arbroth and Puros 24. miles
From Puros to Aberden 20. miles
From Aberden to the water of Doneie 20. miles
From thense to the riuer of Spaie 30. miles
From thence to Stockeford in Rosse, and so to the Nesse of Yaben, a famous point on the west side 30. miles

From Carleill to Whiteherne westward.

From Carleill ouer the Ferie against Redkirke 4. miles
From thence to Dunfrés 20. miles
From Dunfrés to the Ferie of Cre 40. miles
From thence to Wigton 3. miles
From thence to Whitherne 12. miles

Hitherto of the common waies of England and Scotland, whereunto I will adioine the old thorowfaires ascribed to Antoninus, to the end that by their conference the diligent reader may haue further consideration of the same than my leisure will permit me. In setting forth also thereof, I haue noted such diuersitie of reading, as hath happened in the sight of such written and printed copies, as I haue seene in my time. Notwithstanding I must confesse the same to be much corrupted in the rehearsall of the miles.

Iter Britanniarum.

A GESSORIACO.
De Gallis Ritupis in portu Britanniarum stadia numero. CCCCL.

A LIMITE, ID EST, A VALLO
Prætorio vsque M. P. CLVI. sic:

Britannia.

A Bramenio Corstopitum, m. p. xx
Vindomora, m. p. ix
Viconia* m. p. xix *Vinouia Vinouium*
Cataractoni m. p. xxii Darington.
Isurium m. p. xxiiii Aldborow *aliàs* Topcliffe.
Eburacum legio vi Victrix m. p. xvii yorke.
Deruentione m. p. vii Tadcaster.
Delgouitia m. p. xiii Wentbridge.
Prætorio m. p. xxv Tudford.

ITEM A VALLO AD
portum Ritupis m. p. 481
491 sic,

Ablato Bulgio* castra exploratorum m. p. x, 15 *aliàs à* Blato
Lugu-vallo* m. p. xii aliàs à Lugu-valio. Cairleill.
Voreda m p. xiiii
Brouonacis* m.p. xiii *Brauoniacis*
Verteris m. p. xx, 13
Lauatris m. p. xiiii
Cataractone* m. p. xxi *Caturractonium.* Darington.
Isuriam* m. p. xxiiii *Isoriam.* Aldborow *aliàs* Topcliffe.
Eburacum* m. p. xviii *Eboracum.* yorke.
Calcaria* m. p. ix *Cacaria*
Camboduno m. p. xx
Mammuncio* m. p. xviii *Manucio*
Condate m. p. xviii
Deua legio xxiiii. ci. m. p. xx
Bouio* m. p. x *Bonio*
Medioland m. p. xx
Rutunio m. p. xii
Vrio Conio* m. p. xi *Viroconium,* Shrewsburie *propè.*
Vxacona m. p. xi
Penno-Crucio m. p. xii
Etoceto m. p. xii
Mandues Sedo m. p. xvi
Venonis m. p. xii
Bennauenta* m. p. xvii *Bannauenta*
Lactorodo* m. p. xii *Lactodoro*
Maginto* m. p. xvii. 12 *Magiouintum*
Duro-Cobriuis m. p. xii Dunstable.
Vero-Lanio m. p. xii S. Albanes.
Sullomacis* m. p. ix Barnet.
Longidinio m. p. xii *Londinio.* London.
Nouiomago m. p. xii
Vagniacis m. p. vi
Durobrouis m. p. v *Duroprouis.* Rochester.
Duroleuo m. p. xvi. 8
Duror-Verno* m. p. xii *Drouerno Durouerno*
Ad portum Ritupis m. p. xii *Duraruenno Daruerno*

ITEM A LONDINIO
ad portum Dubris m. p. 56
66, sic:

Dubobrus* m. p. xxvii *Durobrouis Durobrius.* Rochester.
Duraruenno m. p. xv, 25 Canturburie.
Ad portum Dubris m. p. xiiii Douer hauen.

ITEM A LONDINIO AD
portum Lemanis m. p. 68 sic:

Durobrius m. p. xxvii Rochester.
Duraruenno m. p. xv, 25 Canturburie.
Ad portum* Lemanis m. p. xvi Limming hauen.

ITEM A LONDINIO
Lugu-Valio ad Vallum m. p.
443, sic:

Cæsaromago m. p. xxviii
Colonia m. p. xxiiii
Villa Faustini m. p. xxxv, 25
Icianos m. p. xviii
Camborico m. p. xxxv
Duroliponte m. p. xxv
Durobriuas m. p. xxxv
Gausennis m. p. xxx
Lindo m. p. xxvi
Segeloci m. p. xiiii
Dano m. p. xxi
Lege-Olio* m. p. xvi *Logetium*
Eburaco m. p. xxi
Isubrigantum* m. p. xvi *Isurium Brigantum*
Cataractoni m. p. xxiiii
Leuatris* m. p. xviii *Leuatrix*
Verteris m. p. xiiii
Brocouo* m. p. xx *Brocouicum*
Lugu-Vallo m. p. xxv, 22

ITEM A LONDINIO
Lindo m. p. 156 sic:

Verolami m. p. xxi
Duro Cobrius m. p. xii
Magiouinio* m. p. xii *Maginto*
Lactodoro m. p. xvi *Magis*
Isanna Vantia* m. p. xii *Isanna vatia*
Tripontio m. p. xii *Isanna varia*
Venonis m. p. ix
Ratas m. p. xii
Verometo m. p. xiii
Margi-duno m. p. xii
Ad Pontem* m. p. vii *Pons Aelij*
Croco Calana* m. p. vii *Crorolana*
Lindo m. p. xii

ITEM A REGNO
Londinio m. p. 116,
96 sic:

Clausentum m. p. xx
Venta Belgarum m. p. x
Galleua* Atrebatum m p. xii *Gelleua,*
Pontibus m. p. xii Reding. *Callina,* Walingford.
Londinio m. p. xxii

ITEM

ITEM AB EBVRACO Londinium m. p. 227 sic:

Lagecio m. p. xxi	Dancaster.
Dano m. p. xvi	
Ageloco * m. p. xxi	Segeloco
Lindo m. p. xiiii	
Crococalano m. p. xiiii	
Margi-duno m. p. xiiii	
Vernemeto * m. p. xii	Veromeio
Ratis m. p. xii	
Vennonis m. p. xii	
Bannauanto m. p. xix	
Magio Vinio m. p. xxviii	
Durocobrius m. p. xii	Dunstable.
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